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ARABIC-ISLAMIC VIEWS OF THE LATIN WEST

TRACING THE EMERGENCE OF MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Daniel G. König

After academic studies in Salamanca and Bonn, as well as teaching German as a foreign language at the University of Aleppo, **Daniel G. König** acquired his PhD at the University of Bonn in 2006 with a thesis on the Christianization of Western Europe. From 2007 to 2011 he worked in the section for Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages at the German Historical Institute in Paris where he coordinated a research group on cultural exchange in the medieval Mediterranean. From 2011 to 2014 he was active as a researcher and lecturer at the University of Frankfurt am Main. In 2014, he received a professorship for transcultural studies within the research programme 'Asia and Europe in a Global Context' at the University of Heidelberg.



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Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West

*Tracing the Emergence of
Medieval Europe*

DANIEL G. KÖNIG

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Preface

Images of 'Europe' and 'the West' play a pivotal role in various forms of discourse involving Muslims from all over the world, including from Western Europe. It is against this background that the study at hand questions established interpretations of how 'the Islamic world' perceived 'Europe' in the foundational period of their shared history. From a historian's perspective, it calls for the necessity of reflecting upon the large variety of different factors at work in forming a highly differentiated range of 'Muslim' perceptions.

My choice of topic, however, arose from the wish to combine my training as a historian of the cluster of non-Muslim societies commonly defined as medieval Western or Latin-Christian Europe with my training as an Arabist. At the beginning of my research, the medievalist's predilection for the history of Europe was still dominant. Inspired, *inter alia*, by Norman Cousins's dictum that the most significant thing about the first lunar voyage 'was not so much that man set foot on the moon but that he set eye on the earth',¹ I believed in the necessity of explaining European history not only from within, but also 'from the outside'. To understand how medieval Western Europe was perceived from an Arabic-Islamic perspective I began compiling and organizing many theories and scraps of knowledge recorded by Arabic-Islamic scholars between the seventh and the fifteenth century. Soon engrossed in the intricacies of Arabic-Islamic source material, I realized that my endeavour to write a history of Europe from an extra-European perspective amounted to an effort of describing the interplay of radiation and impact in macro-historical terms. Thus, I began tracing manifold processes of reception cutting across a millennium and thousands of square kilometres. Seen together, these processes constituted what I termed an 'information landscape'.

This information landscape is of course much more complex than the initially chosen dichotomy of the observer and the observed would seem to suggest at first sight. The period and area of investigation cannot be described in terms of a cultural bipolarity marked by two antagonistic cultures. Rather, the emergence of this information landscape is grounded in historical processes that helped to bring forth 'contact zones', 'third spaces', and a great number of people moving in and between multiple and permeable cultural spheres and milieus. However, the study at hand does not pertain to the field of social history and neither focuses on the political, economic, social, or cultural relations between Christians and Muslims nor on transcultural phenomena resulting from their interaction. The study rather belongs to a field commonly defined as history of historiography: it endeavours to understand how the representatives of an intellectual tradition defined by the use of one language (Arabic) and adherence to a specific interpretation of the divine

¹ <<http://history.nasa.gov/EP-125/part2.htm>>.

(Islam) traced the emergence of a neighbouring non-Muslim sphere over the centuries.

The 'protagonists' of this study, the Arabic-Islamic scholars responsible for the documentation of medieval Europe, constituted a particular but highly differentiated group within a much greater mass of Muslims involved in relations with Latin-Christian Europe. Their writings do not necessarily reflect the entire range of views held on medieval Western Europe by Muslims in the area and period under investigation. Notwithstanding, they reproduce different kinds of information acquired during various encounters between Muslims and various aspects of the Latin-Christian sphere. As individual records, they are an obvious product of a specific historical constellation marked by the time, place, and social milieu of their production. Their chronological analysis allows to trace if and how the notion of a Latin-Christian sphere emerged in an Arabic-Islamic scholarly tradition that accumulated data over the centuries in reaction to important geopolitical developments and resulting social processes. The Arabic-Islamic expansion, the assimilation of intellectual and human resources drawn from a large variety of subject populations, regional diversification, developing foreign relations between Islamicate and non-Muslim societies as well as the subjection of various Muslim populations in the course of Latin-Christian expansionism had a considerable impact on how Arabic-Islamic scholars perceived and recorded the highly differentiated and ever-changing orbit of medieval Western Europe.

In recording the histories and describing the contemporary societies of non-Muslims, Arabic-Islamic scholars clearly acknowledged that the non-Muslim sphere, including medieval Western Europe, merited attention. In spite of the occasional derogatory or polemic comment, many a scholar regarded non-Muslim societies as alternative manifestations of human existence that could demand respect. As Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) highlighted, not only Muslims, but all humans, regardless of their origins or allegiance, are capable of sophisticated thought:

The intellectual sciences are natural to man given that he is capable of thought. They are not restricted to a certain [religious] group (*milla*), but to a specific state of mind that can be encountered among all groups.... They have existed in humankind since the inhabitedness of the Creation.²

In acknowledging and accepting the multiplicity of human societies, creeds, and forms of existence, Arabic-Islamic scholars were not unfaithful to their creed, for the Qur'ān can be read as advocating the multiplicity of human orientations, stating (5:48) that:

had God willed, He would have made you one congregation (*umma*). However, He wished to put you to a test with regards to what He has given to you. So compete in

² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 1, p. 629: 'wa-ammā al-'ulūm al-'aqliyya allatī hiya ṭabī'iyya li-l-insān min ḥaythu innahu dhū fikiran fa-hiya ghayr mukhtaṣṣa bi-milla bal bi-wajh al-naẓar fihā ilā ahl al-milal kullihim.... wa-hiya mawjūda fī l-naw' al-insānī mundhu kāna 'umrān al-khalīqa.'

good works. To God you will all return, and He will inform you about what you used to differ.³

If all this is taken into consideration, it becomes obvious that the Arabic-Islamic world in its entirety was never slave to a rigid, uncompromising, and unchangeable interpretation of Islam. Multiple perspectives, not one single 'Muslim' world-view, characterize(d) its approach(es) to the non-Muslim world.

Working on such a large chronological and geographical scale, I was neither able to proffer a critical analysis of every individual source, nor to acknowledge the entire range of scholarship on the innumerable phenomena relevant within this wide framework. It was, for example, not possible to provide background information on every source or to correlate every Arabic-Islamic statement on a particular aspect of Latin Christendom with the latest state of the art on this subject. I consciously paid this price to be able to trace, in the *longue durée*, how Arabic-Islamic scholars described the non-Muslim societies of medieval Western or Latin-Christian Europe over the centuries. It is under this provision that I would like to hand this study over to the scholarly community and the interested public for criticism. This is done in the hope that, in spite of its flaws, the study will prove useful to future scholarship and interesting to its readers.

However, before introducing the reader to the subject, I would like to express my thanks to all those without whom this book could not have been written. When the main idea of this book was conceived in spring 2007, the birth of our first child was imminent, my contract was nearing its end, a first application had been rejected, and I was desperately looking for employment. I am sincerely indebted to my PhD supervisor Matthias Becher (Bonn) who, in this situation, offered to provide me with a temporary post at his chair should all other options fail. When the possibility arose to apply for a position at the German Historical Institute in Paris, my wife unfailingly encouraged me to propose a research project that suited my interests and skills rather than the anticipated expectations of the academic job market.

Thus, I was able to take up a post in the institute's section for Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in November 2007. In her quest to reform the institute's research structure, the director, Gudrun Gersmann, provided me with the marvelous possibility of coordinating a research group on exchange processes in the medieval Mediterranean. Soon a father of two, always in fear of not being able to secure the next position before the temporary contract ended, I was an industrious but sometimes nettlesome employee to deal with. The directing 'triumvirate', headed by Gudrun Gersmann and flanked by Stefan Martens and Stephan Geifes, deserves my warmest thanks for its understanding and support. All of my colleagues at the institute were generous in many ways and made these four years of working routine very enjoyable. However, I would like to single out Karin Förtsch, Dunja Houelleu, Martin Heinzelmann, Torsten Hiltmann, and Anna Karla, all of

³ Qur'ān 5:48: 'wa-law shā'a llāhu la-ja'alakum ummatan wāḥidatan wa-lākin li-yablūwakum fī mā atākum fa-stabiqū l-khayrāt ilā llāhi marjī'ukum jamī'an fa-yunabbi'ukum bi-mā kuntum fīhi takhtalifūn.'

whom encouraged me in professional and/or personal matters. Supported by Martin Kintzinger and Claudia Zey, my colleagues Rania Abdellatif, Yassir Benhima, and Elisabeth Ruchaud from the research group 'FranceMed' opened up the field of Mediterranean studies for me, and, especially Yassir Benhima, generously acquainted me with many an important scholar both in and outside France. This institutional and personal support enabled me to explore the fascinating range of high quality research offered by the French academic system, in and beyond the field of relations between Europe and the Islamic world. I would like to thank Magali Coumert, Jocelyne Dakhliia, Philippe Depreux, Sylvie Joye, Wolfgang Kaiser, Edouard Méténier, Christian Müller, Philippe Sénac, Michel Sot, Dominique Valérian, and Eric Vallet for their welcoming gestures and assistance. Thanks to my colleagues in the extremely enriching DFG-priority programme 'Integration and Disintegration of Cultures in the European Middle Ages', headed by Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller, I was able to remain connected to the German medievalist scene. Along with those who invited me to present papers in various locations, they regularly provided me with helpful criticism and inspiration. This also goes for Sāmīr Qandīl who, with the help of his generous colleagues headed by 'Abd al-'Azīz Ramaḍān from the history department of 'Ayn Shams-University, made possible a conference on 'Images of the Other' in Cairo, and supplied me with a recent Arabic study on the topic of this book.

The summer of 2011 saw my family and I moving to Frankfurt am Main where Bernhard Jussen employed me as researcher and lecturer at his chair for medieval studies, leaving me almost completely free from other obligations. Now father of three, I received much help from my colleagues, in particular from Mi Anh Duong, Tim Geelhaar, Christian Kleinert, Ulla Kypta (who read parts of the manuscript), Falk Müller, Peter Gorzolla, Christina Weitzel, and Dirk Wiegandt. In addition, I was supported in different ways by Frank Bernstein, Moritz Eppe, Hartmut Leppin, Jan Rüdiger, and, in particular, Stefan Leder, whom I would like to thank again for coming to Frankfurt as part of the examining board at the occasion of my habilitation. Under these circumstances, I was able to acquire the academic qualifications needed to apply for a full professorship in 2013.

I owe great thanks to Antje Flüchter for informing me about a call for applications for a start-up professorship at the cluster 'Asia and Europe in a Global Context' at the University of Heidelberg. This 'last-minute call' opened up a fascinating research landscape. I received a warm welcome not only from the cluster's administrative staff and researchers, but also from the historical department—from Nikolas Jaspert, Jenny Oesterle, Klaus Oschema, and the ever-encouraging Bernd Schneidmüller among others. During the past two years, many fruitful discussions have taken place with my colleagues from the DFG-network 'Transcultural Entanglement in the Medieval Euromediterranean', and I owe much to Georg Christ, Saskia Dönitz, the inimitable Şevket Küçük Hüseyin, Margit Mersch, Britta Müller-Schauenburg, Ulrike Ritzerfeld, Christian Vogel, and Julia Zimmermann. Last but by no means least, Aouni Shahoud Almousa and Rosanna Sirignano have provided invaluable assistance to my teaching and research in the past year.

It is in this stimulating context that I was able to prepare the final manuscript, improved thanks to the helpful comments of Bernhard Jussen, Stefan Leder, Hartmut Leppin, Moritz Epple, Jan Rüdiger, and three anonymous reviewers. Noha Stephanos' painstaking correction of my Arabic transcriptions saved me from many an embarrassment, all remaining mistakes being my own. I am also most grateful to Mandi Gomez for her patient, friendly, and very conscientious copy-editing that considerably improved the manuscript. It is thanks to my editors Stephanie Ireland and Cathryn Steele, production editor Carol Carnegie and project manager Manikandan Chandrasekaran, and their colleagues from Oxford University Press, including proofreader Karen Parker, that this book found its material form, the cover image having been designed by Shareef Fahim.

Writing this monograph would not have been possible without the unfailing support of my parents-in-law, Karl and Mathilde Rossa, and my mother, Johanna König, who regularly stepped in at short notice to help out our family in times of necessity. I would also like to give heartfelt thanks to my sister Barbara for many years of backing and encouragement, to my brothers Hans and Christian, as well as to Şevket Küçükhüseyin, Stephan Cursiefen, and Shareef Fahim for their support during the difficult last phase of preparing the manuscript for publication. My wife, Agnes Rossa, and my children Carmen, Penelope, and Simeon, have endured many phases of high tension from my side, but have nevertheless given and rightfully demanded the support and loving care that forms the basis of a stable family life. It is to them that I would like to dedicate this book.

Daniel G. König

*Frankfurt/Heidelberg,
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Abbreviations

a.	anno
AA	Auctores Antiquissimi
AH	anno hegirae (Muslim era)
AR	Arabic
BAS	Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula
BCE	Before Christian/Common Era
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter
cap.	capitulum (chapter)
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio mediaevalis
CCL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CE	Christian/Common Era
ch.	chapter
CIC	Corpus Islamo-Christianum
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
CSM	Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum
DE	deutsch (German)
DHC	Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades
ep.	epistula
Epp.	Epistolae
ES	español (Spanish)
FAH	Fuentes árabe-hispanas
FC	Fontes Christiani
fl.	floruit
fol.	folio
FR	français (French)
IT	italiano (Italian)
lib.	liber (book)
lin.	linea (line)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
RHC	Recueil des historiens des croisades (historiens occidentaux/historiens orientaux/documents arméniens)
RS	Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores (Rolls Series)
s. a.	sine anno
s. ed.	sine editore
s. l.	sine loco

SC	Sources Chrétiennes
sed.	sedit
SS	Scriptores (in folio/in usum scholarum/rerum Germanicarum Nova Series/ rerum Langobardorum/rerum Merovingicarum)
v.	verse

1

Arabic-Islamic Records on Latin-Christian Europe

The study at hand aims at explaining how Arabic-Islamic scholars, i.e. Muslim scholars writing in Arabic, portrayed medieval Western or 'Latin-Christian' Europe between the seventh and the early fifteenth century. At the end of the period of investigation, Western Europe had not only emerged as a dynamic sphere at the brink of becoming active on a global scale, but also as a discernible, though roughly defined and multiple phenomenon, in Arabic-Islamic sources. Tracing this double process of 'emergence' is the main objective of this book.

The present chapter questions previous interpretations of related Arabic-Islamic records and outlines the study's alternative approach. Chapter 2 lists channels of transmission by means of which information on Latin-Christian Europe reached the Arabic-Islamic sphere. Chapter 3 deals with the general factors that influenced the reception and presentation of this data at the hands of Arabic-Islamic scholars. Chapters 4 to 8 analyse how these scholars dealt with certain themes, i.e. the western dimension of the Roman Empire, the Visigoths and the Franks, the papacy, and, finally, Western Europe in the age of Latin-Christian expansionism. Against this background, Chapter 9 provides a concluding re-evaluation.

1.1. DISPUTED CATEGORIZATIONS

The categories 'Arabic-Islamic' and 'Latin-Christian' suggest that it is possible to operate with clearly defined 'subjects' and 'objects' of perception that correspond to self-contained and static cultural orbits prone to produce uniform sensations in the minds of outsiders. This is not the case: the terms 'Arabic-Islamic' and 'Latin-Christian' can only serve as terminological tools to circumscribe permeable cultural spheres subject to constant change.

1.1.1. 'Arabic-Islamic'

In the context of this study, the Arabic-Islamic sphere represents a pool of uncountable perceptions held and formulated in Arabic by individuals who pledged allegiance to Islam in its existing variants. In most cases, the latter were members

of societies subject to the rule of Muslim elites and the corresponding social, political, and juridical framework.

Soon after Muḥammad had proclaimed the message of Islam on the Arabian Peninsula between 610 and 10/632, expanding Muslim elites began to establish a new order in an area ranging from the Iberian Peninsula in the West to Central Asia in the East. This constituted a considerable step for an Arab world that, up to the first half of the seventh century, had been more or less confined to the Middle East.

The expansion was accompanied by the emergence of an Islamic scholarly culture that increasingly put down its intellectual endeavours in writing. Arabic script and literature developed in such a significant way that Arabic became one of the leading vehicles of thought in the post-Roman period. Soon various scholarly genres served to record the world-view of an intellectual elite of Islamic faith in Arabic.

Initially, Islamic scholarly culture built on Arab lore and a selective approach to the Judaeo-Christian heritage. Then the expansion opened up new intellectual horizons. Forced or negotiated submission on the one hand, conversion on the other hand led to the incorporation of individuals, groups, and entire societies into the growing Islamic orbit. Their integration entailed the assimilation of customs, traditions as well as practical and theoretical knowledge on the part of a Muslim world that became increasingly heterogeneous as regards its ethnic and cultural composition.

The vast area from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Asia went through several processes of regional reconfiguration under the auspices of elites professing different variants of Islam. However, many existing cultural and economic links were maintained thanks to a common framework of Islamic social organization and Arabic as a supra-regional vehicle of communication. In spite of regional and milieu-dependent variants, religion and language contributed to establishing certain juridical, political, economical, social, and intellectual standards that existed throughout the pre-Ottoman Islamic world. Both constitute the markers of a cultural sphere and literary production defined here as 'Arabic-Islamic'.

Applied to the scholarly circles that stand at the centre of this enquiry, the ascription 'Arabic-Islamic' denotes intellectuals of diverse ethnic origin who professed Islam and recorded their ideas in Arabic, thus being heirs to and representatives of a specific, but highly variegated religious and literary tradition. They have to be distinguished from exponents of other written traditions such as Muslim scholars writing in Persian, Christian scholars writing in Arabic, Greek, Latin, etc. or Jewish scholars writing in Hebrew or Arabic. They also have to be distinguished from Muslims who were not able to or interested in expressing their cultural heritage in writing. Although Arabic-Islamic scholars epitomize two core elements of the pre-modern Muslim world, it is methodologically unsound to regard each written record produced by a Muslim in Arabic as the manifestation of an overriding 'Muslim' attitude towards the non-Muslim world. Various factors influenced what a scholar knew and wrote. The macro-historical approach chosen here precluded dealing with each scholar or text in detail. However, the study will repeatedly distinguish between Arabic-Islamic scholarly milieus in the Muslim

West, i.e. al-Andalus, the Maghreb, and Ifriqiya, and the Middle East, i.e. the area from Egypt to Iran.

1.1.2. 'Latin-Christian'

The Latin-Christian sphere is treated in terms of a rather elusive multiplicity of objects of perception that form part of an ever-changing cluster of societies at the western fringe of the Asian landmass. In spite of important differences, common features bound these societies together. These include their geographical position west of the Byzantine zone of influence as well as north of the Mediterranean coastlines subject to Muslim rule, the pre-eminence of Christianity in almost all sectors of society, finally the use of Latin as the dominant language of cult and intellectual endeavours. Most labels used for this cultural orbit, e.g. 'medieval Western Europe', 'Latin Christendom', 'Occident latin', 'Christliches Abendland', 'Lateineuropa' etc., tend to highlight at least one of these aspects.

Even if they refuse to think in terms of 'civilizations' or criticize 'holistic' conceptions of culture, most historians working on the European Middle Ages operate on the assumption that medieval Europe—heir to the Roman West and prelude to an age of expansion into the Atlantic sphere—constitutes a legitimate object of study.¹ This assumption is carried by the conviction that certain standardizing forces have formed the societies defined here as 'Latin-Christian'. These forces include the Roman and, to a certain extent, the Carolingian administrative heritage.² The spread of Christianity led to the development of a specific form of 'Latin' (as opposed to 'Byzantine' and other forms of 'Oriental' as well as 'Mozarab') Christianity, centred on Rome and embodied by characteristic institutions such as the papacy and the monastic orders.³ An increasingly diffused socio-economic model is described, very summarily, as a form of expansionist feudalism.⁴ External stimuli also count among these standardizing forces. According to Henri Pirenne, the Arabic-Islamic expansion sealed off Europe from the Mediterranean and ushered in a period of European idiocentrism.⁵ Others have highlighted that it strengthened cohesion by confronting European Christians with an Islamic 'Other', which then came under joint attack by the proponents of crusades, Reconquista, and

¹ Burke, 'Europe' (1980), pp. 21–9; Boer et al., *History* (1995); Schneidmüller, 'Konstruktionen' (1997); Oschema, 'Europa-Begriff' (2001), pp. 191–235; Borgolte, 'Perspektiven' (2001), pp. 13–28; Le Goff, *L'Europe* (2003); Mitterauer, *Europa* (2003); Oschema, 'Europa' (2006), pp. 11–32; Oschema, 'Identität' (2007), pp. 23–43; Herbers, 'Europa' (2007), pp. 21–42; Dainotto, *Europe* (2007); Oschema, 'Europes' (2008), pp. 37–50; Oschema, *Bilder* (2013).

² Dawson, *Making* (1932), part I; Wickham, *Inheritance* (2009), parts I and IV.

³ Milman, *History* (1867), 9 vols; Heron, *Evolution* (1919); Dawson, *Making* (1932); Brown, *Rise* (1996); Padberg, *Christianisierung* (1998); Carver (ed.), *Cross* (2005); Dumézil, *Racines* (2006); Le Goff, *Birth* (2007), pp. 4–5; König, *Bekehrungsmotive* (2008).

⁴ On its beginnings, see Devroey, *Puissants* (2006); on its later expansion, see Bartlett, *Making of Europe* (1993); Balard and Ducellier (eds), *Coloniser* (1995); Feldbauer et al. (eds), *Querschnitte 2* (1999); Baschet, *Civilisation* (2006).

⁵ Pirenne, *Mahomet* (1937/1992); Ehrenkreutz, 'Remark' (1972); Hodges and Whitehouse, *Mohammed* (1983); Frank, 'Pirenne' (1993), pp. 371–83; McCormick, *Origins* (2001); Horden and Purcell, *Sea* (2000), pp. 26–49.

missionary expansion.⁶ Formative stimuli also include the ancient Greek heritage⁷ and cultural imports hailing from farther east that were transmitted via Byzantium and the Islamic world.⁸

The term 'Latin-Christian' has specific connotations. In a late antique context, 'Latin Christianity' is associated with the exponents of patristic literature in Latin in a sphere of activity—the Roman Empire—that was not confined to the European continent, but included North Africa among other places.⁹ The terms 'Latin-Christian Europe', 'Latin Christendom', or their equivalents have a stronger geographic connotation. They demarcate a medieval cultural sphere of influence vis-à-vis 'Byzantium' and 'Islam'¹⁰ that excludes the successors of Roman North Africa,¹¹ but encompasses northern and eastern parts of the European continent that never witnessed direct Roman rule. It also includes territorial extensions such as the crusader principalities of the so-called 'Latin East'.¹²

Late antique and medieval sources contain numerous Christian forms of self-identification in Latin and regularly have recourse to the Roman or Latin heritage. But although 'Latin' and 'Christian' elements pervaded contemporary identity patterns, they were neither dominant nor used identically in a landscape of diverse and fluid cultural composition. Neither is it possible to grasp a well-defined concept of 'Latin Christianity' that was common to the peoples and societies of late antique and medieval Europe.¹³ Imposing the category 'Latin-Christian' on medieval Western Europe disregards that Roman and Christian influences permeated the various parts of Europe to a different degree, as is obvious if one compares the medieval 'Romania'¹⁴ with its contemporary Scandinavian counterpart.¹⁵ It also stresses certain unifying factors of medieval Europe to the detriment of cultural diversity and hybridity.¹⁶

In view of this, the term 'Latin-Christian' can only function as a label to be used with caution when generalizing, comparing, and juxtaposing on a macro-historical scale.¹⁷ As will be shown, the Arabic-Islamic records analysed in the present study repeatedly formulate the rather diffuse notion that the Christian societies of the

⁶ Erdmann, *Entstehung* (1935/1955); Kedar, *Crusade* (1988); Tolan, *Saracens* (2002).

⁷ Haskins, *Renaissance* (1927/1970); Hunke, *Sonne* (1960); Berschin, *Mittelalter* (1980); Vernet, *Europa* (1999); Lyons, *House* (2010); Al-Khalili, *House* (2011); refusing to accept the Arabic-Islamic world's role as an important transmitter: Gougenheim, *Aristote* (2008).

⁸ E.g. Holländer, 'Spiel' (1993), pp. 389–416; Sezgin, *Numerals* (2007).

⁹ Roberts et al. (eds), *Christianity* (1885/1995); Campenhausen, *Fathers* (1969), p. 179; Gemeinhardt, *Christentum* (2007). Compare the biographies of Tertullian, Cyprian of Carthage, Ambrose of Milan, Jerome, Augustine of Hippo, and so on.

¹⁰ Mazal, *Byzanz* (1995); Pitz, *Ökumene* (2001); Lachmann, *Zukunft* (2007), p. 210; Burman, *Reading* (2007).

¹¹ Monceaux, *Histoire*, 7 vols (1901–23), ends with the advent of Islam.

¹² Riley-Smith, 'Families' (1997), pp. 1–12; Balard, *Croisades* (2003).

¹³ König, 'Historiographers' (2012), pp. 427–30.

¹⁴ Understood here in the linguistic sense of 'Romance-speaking areas' as used in Ernst (ed.), *Sprachgeschichte*, 3 vols (2003–08).

¹⁵ See the overview on Scandinavian history by Derry, *History* (1979/2000), pp. 1–85.

¹⁶ Borgolte and Schiel, 'Mediävistik' (2008), pp. 16–17; Mersch, 'Diversität' (2009), pp. 8–12.

¹⁷ Schneidmüller, 'Konstruktionen' (1997), pp. 6–16; Herbers, 'Europa' (2007), p. 25; Oschema, 'Europa' (2006), p. 15.

northwestern hemisphere constituted some kind of entity. However, none of them did this by using a single and clear-cut term or concept.¹⁸

1.1.3. 'Islam' and 'the West' in 'the Middle Ages'

The difficulty of summarizing divergent phenomena under such terms as 'Arabic-Islamic' and 'Latin-Christian' raises the question why it is necessary to use these categories at all.

Studies on perception are grounded in the dichotomy of observer and observed. It is impossible to analyse perception without recurring to categories of alterity, and there can be no doubt that such categories existed in the period under investigation. Consequently, scholarly discourse on cross-cultural perception regularly uses the categories 'Islam' or 'Muslim' on the one side, 'the West', 'Latin Christendom', or 'medieval Europe' on the other side.¹⁹ Recent scholarship has made great efforts to represent the complex, multilateral character of cross-cultural relations more adequately by putting emphasis on phenomena such as 'connectivity', 'hybridity', and 'transculturality'.²⁰ In agreement with this line of approach, the study at hand does not intend to reduce the issue of cross-cultural perception to the bipolar opposition of 'Islam' and 'the West'. However, in need of operative categories that mark its affiliation to previous scholarly discourse, it cannot wholly dispense with such categories, the more so as our digital era of scholarship increasingly relies on tags and keywords.

An important field of research that also uses the keywords 'Islam' and 'the West' deals with the medieval 'rise of Europe'. Specialists on early medieval history have highlighted processes of fragmentation and reconfiguration that led from a Mediterranean-based Roman Empire to the emergence of three dominant cultural spheres generally defined as Byzantium, Islam, and the Latin West.²¹ Specialists of the late Middle Ages have called attention to the medieval developments that laid the groundwork for Western European expansion beyond the Euromediterranean sphere.²² Both approaches deal with the 'emergence' of medieval Europe from an internal perspective. As opposed to this, the present study provides an external point of view on how Western Europe evolved in the period under investigation, i.e. the perspective of scholarly literature, written in Arabic by Muslims in the period approximately between the seventh and the fifteenth century.

¹⁸ See Chapter 9.6.

¹⁹ For 'Western' perceptions of Islam, see Daniel, *Islam* (1960/2009); Southern, *Views* (1962); d'Alverny, 'Connaissance' (1965), pp. 577–602; Rodinson, *Fascination* (1982); Sénac, *L'Occident* (1983); Tolan, *Saracens* (2002); Tolan, *Sons* (2008). For literature on 'Muslim' perceptions of medieval Western Europe, see Chapter 1.3.

²⁰ E.g. Welsch, 'Transculturality' (1999), pp. 194–213; Ruggles, 'Mothers' (2004), pp. 65–94; Epstein, *Purity* (2006); Mersch and Ritzerfeld (eds), *Begegnungen* (2009); Burkhardt et al., 'Hybridisierung' (2011), pp. 467–557; Zorgati, *Pluralism* (2011); Dakhli, 'Métis' (2012), pp. 45–57.

²¹ E.g. Dawson, *Making* (1932); Pirenne, *Mahomet* (1937/1992); McCormick, *Origins* (2001); Wickham, *Framing* (2005); Wickham, *Inheritance* (2009).

²² Verlinden, *Beginnings* (1970); Bartlett, *Making* (1993); Balard and Ducellier (eds), *Coloniser* (1995); Feldbauer et al. (eds), *Querschnitte 2* (1999); Muldoon, *Frontiers* (2008).

A last word on categories concerns the use of the term 'medieval'. Tarif Khalidi put forward several well-founded arguments that question whether it is legitimate to apply this term to the Islamic world of the seventh to fifteenth centuries, not in the least because the classifications 'ancient', 'medieval', and 'modern' in contemporary Arabic historiography are undoubtedly a product of European colonialism.²³ It seems justified to use different systems of periodization as long as one deals with 'European' or 'Islamic' history separately, but as soon as they feature in a single study of macro-historical dimensions there is no alternative to finding a system and terminology of periodization that applies to both spheres. Latin-Christian Europe and the Arabic-Islamic sphere both emerged thanks to the late antique fragmentation of the Roman Empire.²⁴ From this perspective, employing a single term for the period from the fragmentation of the Roman Empire to the period when the fall of Byzantium and the 'discovery' of the Americas considerably changed the geopolitical landscape of the Euromediterranean, seems legitimate. Although the term 'medieval' carries strong ideological connotations, historians of the European Middle Ages have largely accepted its deficiencies for the simple reason that they need a term to structure time.²⁵ As an alternative to creating a neologism with other deficiencies, it seems adequate to approach the question of periodization pragmatically and to use the term for the period and areas covered by the study at hand.

1.2. SOURCES

Phenomena of perception lie within a field of research covered by natural scientists, philosophers, psychologists, etc. For those concerned with the past, documentary evidence provides the key to analyse bygone perceptions. Art historians have recourse to artistic production and theoretical reflection on the functioning of vision.²⁶ Archaeologists can draw conclusions from material remains, e.g. in frontier zones populated by different religious, ethnic, and linguistic groups.²⁷ Historians, in turn, analyse phenomena of perception via texts.

1.2.1. Range of Available Sources

Texts written in Arabic by Muslims provide the most obvious material to reconstruct Arabic-Islamic perceptions. However, sources written in other languages by non-Muslims may also contain relevant evidence. Latin sources can be of great value, especially if they pertain from periods and regions scarcely dealt with in

²³ Khalidi, 'Reflections' (1998), pp. 107–24; Qāsim, *taṭawwur* (2004), pp. 195–204.

²⁴ This position is implicitly or explicitly maintained by Dawson, 'Spengler' (1956), pp. 385–6; Bulliet, *Case* (2004), pp. 9–39; Wickham, *Framing* (2005); Neuwirth, *Koran* (2010); Hoyland, 'Islam' (2012), pp. 1053–77.

²⁵ Arnold, 'Mittelalter' (1981), pp. 287–300; Robinson, 'Medieval' (1984), pp. 745–56; Schäferdieck, 'Mittelalter' (1994/2000), pp. 110–21.

²⁶ Belting, *Florenz* (2008). ²⁷ Sénac, 'Remarques' (2012), pp. 104–19.

Arabic-Islamic records, e.g. early medieval Italy or southern France.²⁸ Moreover, they occasionally describe how Latin Christians believed Muslims perceived them. The *Vita Iohannis* purports to reproduce what the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III said about the Ottonian realm during a conversation with the diplomatic envoy John of Gorze in 956.²⁹ Rodulfus Glaber (d. 1047), who relates how Muslim raiders abducted the abbot Maiolus of Cluny around 973, explains that they hoped for a high ransom, suggesting that interest in financial gain and not an obscure *jihād*-ideology motivated their activities. When one captor purposely trod on Maiolus’ Bible, his companions reprimanded the transgressor for not showing the respect due to the prophets. This provides Rodulfus Glaber with the opportunity to comment on how the ‘Saracens’ regarded the prophets of the Jewish and Christian tradition.³⁰ The Genoese historiographer Cafaro (d. 1166) relates that two ‘Saracens’ questioned the legitimacy of the Genoese attack on Palestine Caesarea in 1101 in front of the patriarch of Jerusalem and the papal legate.³¹ Raymond of Aguilers (early 12th cent.) claims that the ‘Saracens’ generally used the term ‘Franks’ to designate the crusaders.³² Thus, sources written by non-Muslim authors in languages other than Arabic can serve to reconstruct how Muslims perceived Latin Christians. Since relations between the Latin-Christian and the Arabic-Islamic sphere also involved members of other ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups, Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Armenian, and other texts may also contain relevant material, but are neglected here for want of the necessary linguistic skills and because of the sheer quantity of material.

Arabic-Islamic sources obviously provide the brunt of evidence on the main subject of this study. The range of perceptions characteristic of the remnants of pre-Islamic Arabic and early Arabic-Islamic literature—as far as it can be reconstructed—seems to have been confined to the wider Middle East. However, since its emergence in the seventh century, Arabic-Islamic literature reflected the processes of expansion and assimilation outlined above. Focusing on Muslim operations, the earliest works on the expansion itself include data on regions subjected to the rule of Arabic-Islamic elites. From the late ninth century onwards, works of geo-, ethno-, and historiography comprise data on an area framed by Iceland in the northwest, Timbuktu in the southwest, the Asian steppes in the northeast, and China in the southeast.

Not only the geographic horizon of this literary culture expanded. It also gained historical depth. Pre-Islamic and early Arabic-Islamic literature still approached the remote past rather unsystematically and failed to integrate it into a chronological system. By using various means of computation, universal histories produced

²⁸ Cf. Kreutz, *Normans* (1996); Sénac, *Musulmans* (1980), pp. 47–57.

²⁹ Iohannis abbas, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 4), § 136, pp. 376–7, trans. Parisse, p. 161.

³⁰ Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed./trans. France, p. 20; cf. France, ‘Rodulfus’ (1988), pp. 497–508.

³¹ Cafaro, *Annales Ianuae*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 18), a. 1101, p. 13; cf. Kedar, *Crusade* (1988), pp. 97–8.

³² Raimundus de Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, ed. Hill and Hill, § 168b, p. 52; cf. Haas, ‘Kreuzzugschroniken’ (2008), pp. 86–95.

from the late ninth century onwards began to incorporate the pre-Islamic past into their Arabic-Islamic vision of history. These histories generally begin with the Creation, deal with the Israelites, the Macedonian Empire and its aftermath as well as the imperial worlds of Rome and Persia before turning to pre-Islamic Arab history and, finally, the history of the Islamic world and its neighbours up to the time of the respective author. Given Western Europe's growing impact on the medieval Mediterranean, it was accorded more and more space in Arabic-Islamic historiography.

1.2.2. Range of Genres

What kind of information Arabic-Islamic scholars recorded and how they presented it also depended on the literary genre. Most data on the Latin-Christian world features in works of 'belles-lettres' (*adab*). Although written by scholars infused with the doctrines of Islam, *adab*-literature is centred on man and thus more 'secular' in outlook than juridical or theological writings.³³

Works of *adab* that would not seem to contain data about Western Europe may feature miscellaneous references. In his endeavour to promote the reputation of poetry produced in the Muslim West, the Andalusian scholar Ibn Dihya (d. 633/1235) reproduced a report on the diplomatic mission of al-Ghazāl, official envoy of the Umayyad *amīr* 'Abd al-Raḥmān II to the court of a Viking ruler in the ninth century. His main reason for evoking this mission was that he regarded a poem recited by al-Ghazāl to the Viking queen as a literary jewel worth preserving for posterity.³⁴ Among this literature, we also find works that approach the world systematically from a geographical, ethnographical, or historiographical perspective.

Arabic-Islamic works of geography do not always deal with the Latin-Christian orbit. The geographer al-Muqaddasī (d. after 380/990) consciously refrained from dealing with the non-Islamic world.³⁵ Other authors specialized on certain regions and consequently failed to mention or only dealt with certain facets of the Latin-Christian sphere.³⁶ Most geographers, however, tried to describe the known world as a whole, providing information on what they defined as Europe (*ʿUrūfa*), the northwestern quadrant of the inhabited world, or locations situated in the fifth, sixth, and seventh climate zone that would be classified as 'Western European' today.³⁷ In most cases, they tended to enrich strictly geographical data with historical and ethnographical material. The work of Ibn Khurdādhbah (d. c.300/911),

³³ Gabrieli, 'Adab' (1960), pp. 175–6.

³⁴ Ibn Dihya, *al-muṭrib*, ed. Seippel, p. 20; Ibn Dihya, *al-muṭrib*, ed. al-Ibyārī et al., p. 146; cf. Jacob, *Berichte* (1927), p. 42.

³⁵ al-Muqaddasī, *aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. de Goeje, p. 9, trans. Collins and Alta'i, pp. 7–8.

³⁶ al-Hamdānī (d. c.334/945), *ṣifāt jazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. Müller, concentrates on the Arabian Peninsula and only mentions Europe in the work's Introduction (vol. 1, p. 32). Geographic works on al-Andalus rarely treat locations outside the Iberian Peninsula, but provide information about its Roman and Visigothic history, see Chapter 5.2.2. and 5.3.2.

³⁷ König, 'Historiographers' (2012), pp. 431–2; Ducène, 'Sources' (2012), pp. 119–31. On the various genres, see Miquel, *Géographie* (2001), 4 vols.

for example, combines a brief geographical definition of Europe with a list of goods imported from the lands of the Franks.³⁸ Ibn Rustah (d. after 300/913) provides an elaborate description of Rome, a reference to Venice, and a distorted and outdated mention of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy.³⁹ Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), whose range of vision encompassed the world between Western Europe, Africa north of the equator, and China,⁴⁰ dedicated individual chapters to the Franks, the Galicians, the Lombards, and the Slavs.⁴¹ The work of al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) furnishes plenty of information on Western and central Europe before the crusades.⁴² The works of al-Idrīsī (d. c.560/1165), Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286), Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), and al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349) provide an updated description of Western Europe's political and geographical landscape in the period of Latin-Christian expansionism.⁴³ The geographical encyclopaedias of Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) and al-Ḥimyarī (13th–14th cent.) contain more than one lemma on toponyms generally ascribed to the Latin-Christian sphere and often touch upon the pre-Islamic history of places with a Latin past.⁴⁴

Since writing history relates to questions of collective identity, Arabic-Islamic historiography generally focuses on the Islamic world. The scope of a historiographical work considerably influenced the role played therein by non-Muslim peoples and territories. Historiography with a focus on local and regional affairs obviously only mentions those aspects of the Latin-Christian sphere that were relevant to the region in question. The monumental history of al-Andalus by Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076), for example, deals with the pre-Islamic history of the Iberian Peninsula and depicts the relations between al-Andalus and its Christian neighbours.⁴⁵ The history of Damascus written by Ibn al-Qalānisi (d. 555/1160) only contains data on the Latin-Christian sphere because it covers the first half-century of the crusading period.⁴⁶ Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), in turn, focuses on Egypt, a region with important political, economic, and ecclesiastical ties with the northern Mediterranean from Roman times to the early golden age of Venice.⁴⁷ Dynastic histories mention the Latin-Christian sphere if the respective dynasty was involved in relations with the latter. Thus, Ibn Shaddād's (d. 632/1235) biography of Saladin as well as Abū Shāma's (d. 665/1268) history of the Zangid and

³⁸ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 90–2, 153–6.

³⁹ Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥḥiyya*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 85, 128–30.

⁴⁰ Cf. Shboul, *al-Mas'ūdī* (1979), pp. 151–226; Hermes, *Other* (2012), pp. 39–70.

⁴¹ Al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat.

⁴² Al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré.

⁴³ Al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. Bombaci et al., fasc. V–VIII, pp. 523–963, trans. Jaubert, vol. 2, pp. 1–430; Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrafiyya*, ed. al-'Arabī, pp. 166–9, 178, 180–2, 192–4, 199–200; Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane; al-'Umarī, *masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Sezgin. See Chapter 8.1.2. and 8.1.3.

⁴⁴ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, ed. 'Abbās.

⁴⁵ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makki; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makki; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis III*, ed. al-'Arabī; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis VII*, ed. al-Ḥajjī.

⁴⁶ Ibn al-Qalānisi, *dhayl*, ed. Amedroz, trans. Gibb.

⁴⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-sulūk*, ed. 'Aṭā; al-Maqrīzī, *al-mawā'iz*, ed. Sayyid.

Ayyubid dynasties describe Muslim endeavours to fight the crusaders and consequently refer to the latter and their places of origin.

Works of larger geographical and chronological scope do not automatically contain more information. The early universal histories of al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905) and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), for example, deal extensively with the Roman Empire, but only provide basic information about the Latin-Christian regions that had become known in the course of the Arabic-Islamic expansion.⁴⁸ Al-Dhahabī's (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352) history of Islam focuses on the development of the *umma* and only deals with Latin Christians when their impact on the Islamic world could not be ignored.⁴⁹ Although designed as a universal history, the monumental work of Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) fails to include even the standard information on pre-Islamic and non-Islamic peoples known from other authors.⁵⁰ Other works of historiography are of truly universal scope. Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) deal with the history of Western Europe from the Roman period up to the author's times.⁵¹

Chancery manuals as produced by al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) also contain chapters dedicated to history and geography. Aiming at introducing official scribes to their tasks, al-Qalqashandī's manual contains a geographic and historical overview on the polities in touch with the Mamluk realm, an extensive discussion of the titles used in official correspondence with foreign rulers, as well as specimens of official documents such as treaties with Latin-Christian powers.⁵² Since the objective of writing history is subordinate to his aim of educating future scribes, historical data often lacks coherence.⁵³

Thus, authors of geo-, ethno-, and historiographical literature dealt with Latin-Christian Europe, as one might expect from the intellectual elite of a neighbouring cultural sphere. Certain scholars have claimed that the first historical monograph on Latin Christendom written by a Muslim was not produced until the fourteenth century, when Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318) wrote a history of the Franks, at the order of an Ilkhanid ruler, in Persian.⁵⁴ However, Rashīd al-Dīn's history of the Franks constitutes one extensive chapter on the history of Western Europe from Roman to medieval times that makes up volume 2 of his *Collection of Chronicles*.⁵⁵ The chapter depends on a source that was not available to Rashīd al-Dīn's earlier or contemporary Arabic-Islamic peers.⁵⁶ Consequently, it offers a fresh perspective. However, a comparison with the histories of Ibn al-Athīr or Ibn Khaldūn shows

⁴⁸ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muhannā; al-Ṭabarī, *tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm.

⁴⁹ al-Dhahabī, *tārīkh*, ed. Tadmurī.

⁵⁰ Ibn Kathīr, *al-bidāya*, ed. al-Turkī, fails to mention the Romans in the sections dedicated to pre-Islamic history. After the rise of Islam, he mainly deals with the history of the Islamic world. Only in the centuries preceding his own lifetime, his work contains references to the crusaders.

⁵¹ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāhāda.

⁵² al-Qalqashandī, *subh al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm.

⁵³ See Chapters 3.3.3, 3.4.3, 8.1.3, and 8.3.4.

⁵⁴ Jahn, *Frankengeschichte* (1977), pp. 9–10; Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 151.

⁵⁵ Jahn, 'Abendland' (1976), p. 4. ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 15–17.

that Rashīd al-Dīn did not know or write more about the Latin-Christian sphere than they did.

Leaving the field of *adab*, Latin Christendom also features in Arabic-Islamic juridical literature. More than once, the demands of their profession compelled specialists to find solutions to problems of Islamic law involving persons and objects from Western Europe. The jurist Ṣaḥnūn b. Sa'īd (d. 240/856) gave an opinion on the legitimacy of attacking Christian merchant ships trading with Muslim North Africa.⁵⁷ In his manual for notarial scribes, Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 399/1009) provides a standard sale contract and discusses juridical problems related to the sale of female Frankish and Galician slaves.⁵⁸ The compilation of al-Wansharīsī (d. 914/1508) contains opinions on various points of law, issued by Andalusian and North African jurisconsults between the ninth and the fifteenth century. They deal with questions arising from the presence of Christian and Muslim captives in the respective enemy's territory,⁵⁹ the legality of Muslim residence in territories under Christian rule,⁶⁰ commercial cooperation between Muslims and Christian business partners,⁶¹ the use of Christian ships for travelling,⁶² and the status of objects imported from the Latin-Christian world,⁶³ etc.

Forming an opinion on these juridical issues necessitated background knowledge and could even provoke active research. In Alexandria, Muslim merchants asked the Mālikī jurisconsult al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520/1126), originally from al-Andalus, if the import and consumption of 'Christian cheese' (*al-juḥn al-rūmī*) was in accordance with religious law.⁶⁴ In the resulting *fatwā*, al-Ṭurṭūshī describes how he obtained information on the subject. He consulted the Qur'ān, the sayings of the prophet,⁶⁵ and discussed the precepts laid down by earlier jurisconsults.⁶⁶ Moreover, he interviewed Muslim government officials and interpreters who had entered Christian ships upon their arrival in Alexandria,⁶⁷ a Muslim pilgrim from Sicily, former Muslim captives, as well as compatriots from al-Andalus who had observed the production and the shipping of cheese in Christian territory.⁶⁸ He seconded all this with personal observations.⁶⁹ Thus, a Muslim jurisconsult

⁵⁷ Talbi, 'Intérêt' (1956), pp. 289–93.

⁵⁸ Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, *al-wathāʾiq*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, pp. 33–6.

⁵⁹ Lagardère, *Histoire* (1995), *fatwā* no. 36, pp. 24–5; no. 198, p. 54; no. 199, p. 54; no. 141, p. 406; no. 142, p. 406; no. 256, p. 170; no. 216, p. 58; no. 241, p. 64; no. 250, pp. 65–6; no. 275, p. 68; no. 326, p. 365; no. 291, p. 72.

⁶⁰ Ibid., *fatwā* no. 51, p. 436; no. 68, pp. 128–9; no. 121, p. 38; no. 182, p. 48; no. 284, p. 70; no. 290, p. 71.

⁶¹ Ibid., *fatwā* no. 86, p. 33; no. 242, p. 167; no. 196, pp. 418–19; no. 370, p. 194.

⁶² Ibid., *fatwā* no. 86, p. 33; no. 122, p. 38. ⁶³ Ibid., *fatwā* no. 150, p. 42.

⁶⁴ The editor of al-Ṭurṭūshī, *risāla*, ed. al-Turkī, p. 128 n. 1, remarks that references to places in the text only concern Sicily and al-Andalus. Later geographers such as Ibn Sa'īd (d. 685/1286), *al-juḥrāfiyā*, ed. al-ʿArabī, p. 170, and Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 195, mention that cheese and honey were exported to Alexandria from Cyprus, ruled by the Lusignan family since 1192.

⁶⁵ al-Ṭurṭūshī, *risāla*, ed. al-Turkī, § 2, p. 126; § 19, p. 136; § 21, p. 137; § 28–30, pp. 140–1.

⁶⁶ Ibid., § 3–5, pp. 126–8; § 13, p. 133; § 18–21, pp. 135–7; § 23, p. 138; § 27, p. 139; § 31, p. 142.

⁶⁷ Ibid., § 6–7, pp. 128–9. ⁶⁸ Ibid., § 8–9, pp. 129–30; § 18, p. 135.

⁶⁹ Ibid., § 11, p. 132.

conducted active research on the fabrication and transport of a Christian export product.

This legal perspective also has important restrictions. Rarely dealing with Latin-Christian territories as such, it focuses on persons and objects impinging on the social order envisaged by Islamic law. Juridical opinions were not generally unfair or intolerant, and occasionally even defended the rights of Christians.⁷⁰ Nonetheless, most references deal with the Latin-Christian sphere as a problem. The jurists' main objective was to lay down norms that concurred with Qur'ānic precepts. The nature of their reasoning led them to distinguish between a Muslim in-group and a non-Muslim out-group. The terminology used for Latin Christians and the areas inhabited by them clearly emphasizes their alterity.⁷¹

This also applies to theological treatises dealing with Christianity. The latter obviously tend to emphasize the religious divide between Christianity and Islam, even if they occasionally point to parallels.⁷² Several tracts unmistakably react to Christians from the Latin-Christian orbit, among others the works of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064),⁷³ al-Qarāfi (d. 684/1285),⁷⁴ an anonymous Imām of Córdoba (13th cent.),⁷⁵ and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328).⁷⁶ However, neither these nor other Arabic-Islamic writings of the medieval period clearly distinguish between Latin and other forms of Christianity. They generally classify Latin Christians as Melkites, thus grouping them together with Byzantine Christians following the lead of Constantinople.⁷⁷ A lack of knowledge about Christianity as such cannot be held responsible. In their polemics, Arabic-Islamic theologians focus on the fundamental differences between Christianity and Islam. As opposed to the general features of Christianity that were regularly subject to theological criticism, i.e. certain contents of the gospels, the Trinitarian dogma, the cult of saints, etc., the specific variants of Christianity were of secondary importance.⁷⁸ Consequently, Muslim scholars interested in Christian theology were rather well informed about the early formation of Christian dogma in the ecumenical councils of the fourth to sixth centuries,⁷⁹ but comparatively ignorant of later developments. Since they highlight that none of these early councils declared the pope—as opposed to

⁷⁰ Cf. Lagardère, *Histoire* (1995), fatwā no. 251, p. 66, on the right of deported Mozarab Christians to build new churches in exile. Cf. Lagardère, 'Communautés' (1988), pp. 99–120.

⁷¹ Abou El Fadl, 'Law' (1994), pp. 141–87; Safran, *Boundaries* (2013), pp. 18–23.

⁷² Cf. al-Ghazālī, *iḥyā*, ed. Ṭabbāna, vol. 4, p. 70, on the shared ideal of forgiveness.

⁷³ Ibn Ḥazm, *al-faṣl*, ed. Naṣr and 'Umayra, vol. 1, pp. 109–11; vol. 2, pp. 2–77. On Ibn Ḥazm's involvement in Christian-Muslim discourse, see: Ljamai, *Ibn Ḥazm* (2003); Asin Palacios, *Aben-házam*, 5 vols (1928–32); Behloul, *Evangelienkritik* (2002); Aillet, *Mozarabes* (2010), pp. 215–17.

⁷⁴ al-Qarāfi, *al-ajwiba*, ed. al-Shahāwī, pp. 25, 148–9; cf. Fritsch, *Islam* (1930), p. 149.

⁷⁵ al-Qurṭubī, *al-īlām*, ed. Ḥijāzī al-Saqqā, p. 43. On the author and his involvement in contemporary Christian-Muslim polemics, see: Burman, *Polemic* (1994), pp. 71, 77, 80–4; Tieszen, *Identity* (2013), pp. 202–12.

⁷⁶ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. b. Ḥassan b. Nāṣir et al., vol. 2, p. 343; vol. 3, p. 500; vol. 6, p. 423.

⁷⁷ König, 'Perception(s)' (2010), p. 33; Griffith, *Church* (2008), p. 139.

⁷⁸ As highlighted by Aillet, *Mozarabes* (2010), pp. 215–16, in connection with Ibn Ḥazm.

⁷⁹ Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 1, pp. 195–8; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-faṣl*, ed. Naṣr and 'Umayra, vol. 1, pp. 109–11; vol. 2, pp. 2–77.

Arius, Nestorius, and others—anathema,⁸⁰ they probably believed that he and his flock belonged to mainstream, that is ‘Melkite’ Christianity. Only in the later Middle Ages does information about a theological-dogmatical division between Byzantine and Roman orthodoxy seem to have seeped into the Arabic-Islamic world.⁸¹

In conclusion, Arabic-Islamic sources cover a wide range of topics and provide an insight into various ways of perceiving the Latin-Christian world. Rather than a supposed ‘Muslim’ manner of perceiving the non-Muslim ‘Other’, the historical constellation, the individual author’s personal outlook, but also the demands and constraints of the genre chosen by the respective writing professional, shaped these modes of perception.

1.2.3. Dealing with Fragmentary Records

For various reasons addressed in Chapters 2 and 9, the extant Arabic-Islamic records on Latin-Christian Europe only reflect a fraction of what Muslims from al-Andalus to Central Asia actually perceived in the period between the seventh and the fifteenth century.

One reason for this is that records often did not survive, as the following example shows. For the thirteenth century, we know of twenty-six Latin letters written by several popes to various Muslim rulers, as well as nine Latin translations of letters addressed to a pope by a Muslim ruler from the Arabic-Islamic sphere. We can oppose this to one preserved Arabic original of a letter to the pope as well as two references to written correspondence with a pope in works of Arabic-Islamic scholarship.⁸² To reconstruct the Muslim perceptions involved it is obviously not sufficient to restrict analysis to Arabic-Islamic source material.

The example throws light on the role played by archives. The papacy seems to have disposed of better facilities for storing records than all Muslim rulers around the Mediterranean taken together. It is not clear why the latter failed to conserve papal letters. They may have fallen prey to destruction or may have been lost due to the disorder and neglect of government archives. The systematic destruction of documents in the Islamic world is mainly recorded in connection with religious or political texts written by Muslims regarded as heterodox.⁸³ However, a *fatwā* issued by the Maghrebian jurisconsult Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Marzūq (d. 842/1439) proves that documents from the Christian world were destroyed occasionally, in this case

⁸⁰ König, ‘Ausstrahlung’ (2010).

⁸¹ König, ‘Perception(s)’ (2010), p. 41. In a letter written to Innocent IV in December 1245, the Ayyubid governor in Homs, al-Manšūr Ibrāhīm assures him that he will not interfere in agreements between the pope and representatives of the Greek church of Antioch. Cf. Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981), pp. 166–7. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-sulūk*, ed. ‘Aṭā, vol. 7, AH 843, p. 446, writes that Byzantines and Franks met to reach an agreement on dogmatical issues at the council of Ferrara-Florence.

⁸² See Chapter 7.3.1.

⁸³ al-Hazīmī, *ḥaraq* (2003). On archiving conditions in the Arabic-Islamic world, see also Guichard and Marín, ‘Avant propos’ (1995), p. 12 n. 40.

for economic reasons: he discusses whether it is legitimate to wash and re-use 'Christian' paper or parchment (*al-waraq al-kāghid al-rūmī*).⁸⁴

Scarcity of contemporary evidence raises problems of interpretation. In the context of cross-cultural history, doubts arise as soon as only one side recorded facts, as in the case of the envoys exchanged by Charlemagne and Hārūn al-Rashīd around 800—only recorded in Latin-Christian sources,⁸⁵ or the embassy sent by Bertha of Tuscany to the caliph al-Muktafi in 293/906—only recorded in Arabic-Islamic sources.⁸⁶ Although it is legitimate to question the authenticity of such material, it is often impossible to arrive at a conclusion. In these as in other cases, various obstacles of transmission and reception may have been responsible for the lack of records on the one or the other side. Information may have circulated in certain environments but failed to be written down for want of an author. The scholarly works that form the basis of the study at hand mainly reflect the knowledge and opinions of well-educated literate elites who may have lacked access to data available in other social circles. Even if they had access to such data, linguistic hurdles, problems of analysis, interpretation, etc. could result in omissions and distortions.

Since various hazards of transmission may be responsible for the fragmentary state of the extant Arabic-Islamic records on the Latin-Christian sphere, it is of utmost importance to understand how the extant records came into being and to discuss if they can serve as representative evidence to reconstruct an overriding 'Muslim' world-view. On these grounds, Chapters 2 and 3 feature a presentation of existing channels of transmission as well as a detailed analysis of how Arabic-Islamic authors acquired and processed information.

1.3. STATE OF RESEARCH

Placing the mechanisms of transmission and reception at the centre of enquiries seems particularly important if one considers the range of studies and, even more relevant, the dominant macro-historical hypotheses on the subject hitherto available. So far, no study has set out to analyse and interpret the extant material thematically and in chronological order, thus tracing and explaining the processes of transmission, reception, and contextualization that facilitated the production of the extant Arabic-Islamic records on certain Latin-Christian phenomena.

1.3.1. Range of Available Studies

General works on Arabic-Islamic geography focus on the specificities of the prevalent geographic world-view. They deal with descriptions of Latin-Christian Europe as one among many aspects of medieval Arabic-Islamic geography. Such works

⁸⁴ Lagardère, *Occident* (1995), fatwā no. 150, p. 42.

⁸⁵ Borgolte, *Gesandtenaustausch* (1976); Sénac, 'Carolingiens' (2002), pp. 37–56.

⁸⁶ Levi della Vida, 'Corrispondenza' (1954), pp. 21–38; al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *al-dhakhā'ir*, ed. Ḥamidullāh, pp. 9–17 (Introduction), trans. al-Hijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, pp. 11–13 (Introduction); Christys, 'Queen' (2010), pp. 149–70.

only reproduce the most obvious information on the Latin-Christian sphere, and neglect to analyse in detail how Arabic-Islamic scholars acquired and processed this information over a longer period.⁸⁷

A large number of mainly smaller publications analyse specific source texts, individual authors, or a limited corpus of texts with regard to the depiction of a specific aspect of Latin-Christian Europe. Case studies include articles on the geographic perception of Europe as a whole.⁸⁸ They deal with Arabic-Islamic records on certain regions, politics, and cities of Christian Spain,⁸⁹ locations on the Apennine Peninsula,⁹⁰ in particular the city of Rome,⁹¹ the lands of the Franks as well as central and eastern Europe,⁹² and the British Isles.⁹³ Other studies discuss Arabic-Islamic records on peoples and groups including the Visigoths,⁹⁴ the Franks along with Charlemagne,⁹⁵ the Vikings,⁹⁶ and the crusaders.⁹⁷ So far, only two institutions characteristic of Latin-Christian Europe have been dealt with on the basis of Arabic-Islamic source material—the papacy⁹⁸ and the medieval emperor.⁹⁹

⁸⁷ Miquel, *Géographie* (2001), 4 vols; Nazmi, *Image* (2007).

⁸⁸ Ashtor, 'Geografia' (1983), pp. 647–708; Ducène, 'L'Europe' (2008), pp. 251–67; Schulze, 'Land' (2008), pp. 217–34.

⁸⁹ Millàs i Vallicrosa, 'Textos' (1922), pp. 125–61; Huici-Miranda, 'Djillikiyya' (1965), p. 541; Chalmeta, 'Araghūn' (1980/2004), p. 80; Chalmeta, 'Liyūn' (1986), p. 781; Al-Azmeh, 'Enemies' (1992), pp. 259–72; Bramon Planas, *Textos* (1998); Maíllo Salgado, 'Reino' (2002), pp. 229–50; Jarār, *zamān* (2004); Bennison, 'Peoples' (2007), pp. 157–74; Martínez-Gros, 'L'histoire' (2007), pp. 77–86.

⁹⁰ Schiaparelli, 'Notizie' (1888), pp. 304–16; Nallino, 'Venezia' (1963), pp. 111–20; Simone, 'Mezzogiorno' (1999), pp. 261–93; Piacentini, 'Mezzogiorno' (1999), pp. 225–59; Rizzitano, 'İtāliya' (1978), p. 274; Branco, 'Marcese' (2004), pp. 137–40.

⁹¹ Guidi, 'Roma' (1942), pp. 10–21; Nallino, 'Descrizione' (1964), pp. 295–309; Nallino, 'Mirabilia' (1966), pp. 875–93; El-Munajjid, 'Rome' (1968), pp. 51–61; Miquel, *Géographie*, vol. 2 (2001), pp. 368–77; Möhring, 'Konstantinopel' (1989), pp. 73–83; Samir, 'Confusions' (1991), pp. 93–108; Traini, 'Rūmiya' (1995), pp. 612–13; Scarcia, 'Roma' (2002), pp. 129–72; Simone and Mandalā, *L'immagine* (2002); Penelas, 'De nuevo' (2005), pp. 343–52; Branco, 'Roma' (2006), pp. 312–20; Mandalā, 'Descrizione' (2010), pp. 45–60.

⁹² Jacob, *Berichte* (1927); Hoenerbach, *Deutschland* (1938); Lewicki, 'Écrivains' (1962), pp. 1–39; Lewicki, 'L'apport' (1965), pp. 461–528; Miquel, 'L'Europe' (1966), pp. 1048–64; Lewicki, 'Namen' (1974), pp. 39–51; Urbańczyk, 'Identities' (2012), pp. 459–76.

⁹³ Dunlop, 'Scotland' (1947), pp. 114–18; Dunlop, 'Isles' (1957), pp. 11–28.

⁹⁴ Machado, 'Historia' (1944), pp. 139–53.

⁹⁵ Lewis, 'Mas'ūdī' (1960), pp. 7–10; Lewis and Hopkins, 'Ifrandj' (1971), p. 1044; Jahn, 'Abendland' (1976), pp. 1–19; Clément, 'Perception' (1987), pp. 5–16; Schilling, 'Karl' (2004), pp. 201–21; Clément, 'France' (2006), pp. 44–5; Schulze, 'Land' (2008), pp. 217–34; Clément, 'Nommer' (2009), pp. 89–105; König, 'L'Europe' (2012), pp. 669–77; Mallett, 'Franks' (2013).

⁹⁶ Seippel, *Rerum Normannicarum fontes* (1896/1928); Jacob, *Berichte* (1927), p. 38; Allen, *Poet* (1960); El-Hajji, 'Relations' (1967), pp. 67–110; Melvinger, 'al-Madīūs' (1986), p. 1118; Dietrich, 'al-Ghazāl' (1998), pp. 64–6; Christys, 'Vikings' (2012), pp. 447–58.

⁹⁷ Gabrieli, 'Historiography' (1962); Cahen, 'Crusades' (1965), p. 63; Fiorani Piacentini, 'Crociate' (1987/1990), pp. 227–52, 265–310; Hillenbrand, *Crusades* (2000), pp. 257–327; Nanai, 'L'image' (1997), pp. 11–39; Dorlian, 'L'image' (1997), pp. 211–18; Micheau, 'Croisades' (2000), pp. 52–71; Eddé, 'Saint Louis' (2000), pp. 72–111; Renterghem, 'Réaction' (2000), pp. 37–59; Humphreys, 'Dāwiyya' (2004), p. 204; Chevedden, 'Interpretation' (2006), pp. 90–136; Leclercq, *Portraits* (2010); Mallett, *Reactions* (2014).

⁹⁸ Oesterle, 'Papst' (2008), pp. 57–72; König, 'Ausstrahlung' (2010), pp. 1–52; Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), pp. 267–97.

⁹⁹ Gottschalk, 'al-anbaratūr' (1958), pp. 31–6; Oesterle, 'Papst' (2008), pp. 57–72; König, 'Ausstrahlung' (2010), pp. 1–52. On Frederick II, see Leder, 'Kaiser' (2008), pp. 82–91.

Few studies explain how Arabic-Islamic scholars understood Western Europe from a historical point of view, e.g. with respect to its Roman past, the continent's Christianization, or the transformation of political landscapes in conjunction with the rise of certain polities.¹⁰⁰

The case studies considered so far limit their analysis and evaluation to a limited corpus or topic. Another genre of texts, dealt with in detail below, sets out to tackle this study's main question of how to evaluate the entire corpus of Arabic-Islamic source material on medieval Western Europe. More often than not, these are comparatively short articles, often the product of conference papers, which pursue the aim of defining what 'the Muslim world' saw in medieval Western Europe on a very limited number of pages.¹⁰¹ Monographs on the topic are few and differ from the present study in their approach to the sources. Most often, they deal with Muslim perceptions of Europe on a level that spans the chronological period from the Middle Ages to contemporary times with a clear emphasis on the latter. A short presentation of supposed medieval realities leads up to a discussion of the present relationship between both spheres.¹⁰² Among the monographs that focus on the period under investigation, one reconstructs Arabic-Islamic views of 'the [European] Other' by focusing on two works of ethnography, a few travel accounts, and poetry written between the ninth and the twelfth century.¹⁰³ Another is extremely enumerative and lacks analysis,¹⁰⁴ while its alternatives largely compile evidence for the dominant hypotheses discussed hereafter.¹⁰⁵

1.3.2. A Focus on 'Muslim' Stereotypes

Most studies that evaluate Arabic-Islamic perceptions of medieval Europe on a larger scale fail to reflect upon the methodological difficulties of assessing the pertinence of specific patterns of perception extracted from a limited number of sources. Distinguished international scholars have had no qualms to reduce a large and differentiated range of Arabic-Islamic perceptions to a single basic pattern which is often subsumed under the keywords 'ignorance', 'indifference', and 'arrogance'.

¹⁰⁰ Martínez-Gros, 'Trace' (2000), pp. 202–16; Martínez-Gros, 'L'histoire' (2007), pp. 77–86; König, 'Christianisation' (2009), pp. 431–71; Branco, *Storie* (2009); König, 'Perception(s)' (2010), pp. 18–42; König, 'Historiographers' (2012), pp. 427–45.

¹⁰¹ Guidi, 'L'Europa' (1909), pp. 263–9; Lewis, 'Discovery' (1957), pp. 409–62; Ashtor, 'Cosa' (1969), pp. 453–79; Lewis, 'Perceptions' (1986), pp. 36–8; Al-Azmeh, 'Barbarians' (1992), pp. 3–18; Khalidi, 'Views' (1995), pp. 31–42; Thabit, 'Views' (1996), pp. 73–81; Viguera Molíns, 'Percepción' (1997), pp. 49–70; Waardenburg, 'L'Europe' (1999), pp. 103–28; Viguera Molíns, 'Textos' (2006), pp. 199–214; Ducène, 'Sources' (2012), pp. 121–33.

¹⁰² Abu-Lughod, *Rediscovery* (1963); Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001); Yared, *Travellers* (1996); Afaya, *L'Occident* (1997); Afaya, *al-gharb* (2000); Raouf, *L'Europe* (2000); Nouryeh, *Views* (2005); Matar, *Europe* (2009); Ziyāda, *taṭawwūr* (1983/2010).

¹⁰³ Hermes, *Other* (2012).

¹⁰⁴ al-Kilānī, *Urubba* (2004).

¹⁰⁵ al-'Azma, *al-'Arab* (1991); Ibrāhīm, *ālam* (2001), vol. 1.

Ignazio Guidi (1909) decried the lack of knowledge allegedly characteristic of Arabic-Islamic geography in the period before the twelfth century.¹⁰⁶ Bernard Lewis (1957) stated that 'the medieval iron curtain... between Islam and Christendom' ultimately impeded processes of cultural exchange between both spheres, to the effect that Arabic-Islamic scholars generally held a condescending view of Europeans.¹⁰⁷ Francesco Gabrieli (1962) claimed that Arabic-Islamic sources of the crusading period displayed

indifference, caused by a sense of superiority and contempt, which the Muslims always showed, except on a few occasions, for the western world, its history and culture throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁸

After analysing works of Arabic-Islamic geographers from the ninth and tenth centuries, Eliyahu Ashtor (1969) concluded that, in view of the lack of commodities Western Europe was able to offer, relations had been too insignificant to merit documentation.¹⁰⁹ Karl Jahn (1976) claimed that the intransigence of two religious spheres must be held responsible for the indifference and arrogance towards the other, attitudes manifest in the mutual documentation of both cultural spheres.¹¹⁰ André Miquel (1978) believed that Europe was only poorly known before the year 1000.¹¹¹ George Makdisi (1981) took for granted that 'Islam cared little for what was going on in the West', and spoke of 'its indifference to a lesser developed culture'.¹¹² In 1982, Bernard Lewis then published probably the most influential work on the topic entitled *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*. Translated into several European languages, it elicited reactions from various sides and probably proffers the most elaborate explanatory model so far. Although Nizar Hermes has only recently summarized and criticized Lewis' hypotheses,¹¹³ a detailed description of this work seems necessary at the starting point of the present study.

The monograph in question reiterates the position formulated by Lewis in his earlier homonymous article (1957). In the article, Lewis dealt with several Arabic-Islamic treatises of geo- and ethnography as well as a handful of historiographical works pertaining to the period between the ninth and the fourteenth century. Although he acknowledged a 'gradual extension of knowledge',¹¹⁴ Lewis arrived at the conclusion that the medieval Muslim world hardly knew anything about Western Europe. In his monograph of 1982, Lewis introduced a large quantity of new, mainly Ottoman sources to prove his argument, and concluded that, only in the course of the nineteenth century,

the pace, scale, and range of the Muslim discovery of Europe were radically transformed... and the discovery assumed an entirely new character.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁶ Guidi, 'L'Europa' (1909), p. 263: 'La conoscenza che i geografi arabi anteriori ad Edrisi hanno avuto dell'Europa occidentale cristiana è veramente minima e appena credibile in un popolo che già dal principio dell'VIII secolo avea esteso le sue conquiste fin sulla Spagna.'

¹⁰⁷ Lewis, 'Discovery' (1957), p. 411.

¹⁰⁸ Gabrieli, 'Historiography' (1962), p. 98.

¹⁰⁹ Ashtor, 'Cosa' (1969), pp. 453–79.

¹¹⁰ Jahn, 'Abendland' (1976), p. 1.

¹¹¹ Miquel, 'L'Europe' (1978), pp. 65–81.

¹¹² Makdisi, *Rise* (1981), p. 286.

¹¹³ Hermes, *Other* (2012), pp. 1–10.

¹¹⁴ Lewis, 'Discovery' (1957), p. 410.

¹¹⁵ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 303.

In a reduced form, this grand scheme of explanation also features in articles that address a larger public.¹¹⁶ Evoked anew in the introduction to his book *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (2002), it bolstered Lewis' argument that knowledge about the Islamic world had enabled Western Europeans from the Early Modern Age onwards to develop strategies and methods that served to dominate the Muslim world in the long run. Because the medieval Islamic world had underestimated Western Europe's capacities to develop in the fields of technology, economy, administration, and science, it was taken by surprise when it was steamrolled by European economic, military, and political expansionism in the modern period.¹¹⁷ By declaring medieval and early modern Muslim arrogance, indifference, and ignorance to be one of several reasons for a current crisis of the Islamic world,¹¹⁸ Lewis defined the medieval period as the starting point of a development with unprecedented consequences. Rarely are the effects of medieval phenomena on our contemporary world appreciated to such an extent.

In his writings, Lewis made efforts to explain the Islamic world's alleged lack of interest in Europe. First, Lewis pointed to the Islamic world's self-sufficiency. Muslims of the medieval period possessed their 'own internal lines of communication by land and sea'¹¹⁹ and lacked compelling reasons to concern themselves with Europe. Following the religion of an Arab prophet, reading their scriptures in Arabic, and visiting places of pilgrimage on the Arabian Peninsula, Muslims had no religious interest in Europe comparable to the religious interest of European Christians in the Middle East.¹²⁰ Second, Lewis highlighted the importance of certain mental barriers: Muslims perceived Western Europeans primarily in religious terms, regarding them as followers of a superseded and essentially inferior religion.¹²¹ Third, Lewis emphasized the lack of incentives for Muslims to concern themselves with early medieval Western Europe. In the economical, technical, and intellectual sphere, this region did not have much to offer.¹²²

When Islam was still expanding and receptive, Christian Europe flattered Muslim pride with the spectacle of a culture that was visibly and palpably inferior.¹²³

Being a region of essentially one religion, one 'race', and, in the most parts, one culture, Lewis purported, medieval Western Europe seemed a very monotonous place to medieval Muslims accustomed to living in a civilization characterized by a variety of ethnic groups, creeds, costumes, and cultures. Europe's disposition to uniformity, its inability to accommodate any deviation from established norms as well as the 'ferocious intolerance' of European rulers and peoples, impeded the establishment of resident Muslim communities in medieval Western Europe.¹²⁴ Since Muslims had to dispense with the basic amenities of Muslim religious life such as mosques, bathhouses, ritually purified food, etc., even visiting was difficult.

¹¹⁶ Lewis, 'Right' (2003).

¹¹⁷ Lewis, *Wrong* (2003), pp. 3–4, 7–8.

¹¹⁸ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), pp. 168–78, for alternative theories.

¹¹⁹ Lewis, 'Discovery' (1957), pp. 411.

¹²⁰ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), pp. 8–9.

¹²¹ Lewis, 'Discovery' (1957), p. 415; Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 302.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 299–300.

¹²³ Lewis, 'Discovery' (1957), p. 415.

¹²⁴ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 298.

Consequently, Muslim rulers mainly charged their Jewish or Christian subjects with travel to Europe, if necessary.¹²⁵

In view of all this, Muslims 'could afford to despise the barbarous and impoverished infidel in the cold and miserable lands of the north' and to cherish 'the conviction of the immeasurable and immutable superiority of their own civilisation to all others' for a certain period. By the end of the Middle Ages, this point of view 'was becoming dangerously obsolete', when Western European expansionism profoundly changed the relationship between both spheres.¹²⁶ At this point, however, 'Islam was crystallised in its ways of thought and behaviour, and had become impervious to external stimuli—especially from the millenary adversary in the West.'¹²⁷ Within the Islamic world, the 'intellectual struggle of theologians and philosophers' had ended in an 'overwhelming and enduring victory of the first over the second'. Additionally, social developments had impeded the formation of a powerful Muslim bourgeoisie that would have been able to challenge military, bureaucratic, and religious elites, the 'consequences of which can be seen in every aspect of Muslim social and intellectual history'.¹²⁸ All this confirmed the Muslim world's

belief in its own self-sufficiency and superiority as the one repository of the true faith and—which for Muslims meant the same thing—of the civilized way of life. It required centuries of defeat and retreat before Muslims were ready to modify this vision of the world and of their place in it, and to look to the Christian West with something other than contempt.¹²⁹

According to Lewis, an open attitude towards Europeans was not prevalent in the Islamic world. Direct contact with Western European residents in the Islamic world was regarded as 'a dirty and dangerous business and best left to other infidels'.¹³⁰ Muslims writing on Europe were neither moved by anthropological nor by historical curiosity. Remarks on social phenomena in European societies were mainly motivated by 'interest in the strange and wonderful'.¹³¹ Pointing to the 'striking contrast' between the degree of Muslim and Western European curiosity in the other's culture and civilization, Lewis asserted that Western Europe had developed an interest in Islamic religion and civilization relatively early.¹³² Unlike Islamic civilization, where Arabic was the principal language used in all domains of everyday life, Western European peoples had always been forced to learn different languages, not only to facilitate inner-European communication but also to access their religious and political heritage. Consequently, they were more open to studying the Arabic language and the civilization that came with it.¹³³ Whereas Muslims had no religious interest in Europe, European Christians professed a religion of Middle Eastern origin. Their sacred texts dealt with events in Middle

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 91–2.

¹²⁶ Lewis, 'Discovery' (1957), pp. 411, 415–16; quoted again in Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), pp. 299–301.

¹²⁷ Lewis, 'Discovery' (1957), p. 415.

¹²⁸ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), pp. 301–2.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 301.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 105.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 280.

¹³² Ibid., pp. 6–9, 80 (quote), 81.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 298.

Eastern lands, thus inciting European Christians to closely observe and frequently visit this region.¹³⁴ Whereas Muslims regarded Christianity as a superseded faith not worth studying, European Christians regarded Islamic civilization as 'a double threat of both conquest and conversion' and consequently began to acquire knowledge about the Islamic rival. As soon as Christian Europe became aware of the intellectual achievements of Islamic civilization, the study of the latter was not restricted to polemical purposes anymore but served to gain access to advanced knowledge. When by the end of the Middle Ages both motives had lost force, the intellectual curiosity of the Renaissance and the philological scholarship of the humanist tradition provided further impetus for the study of Islamic civilization.¹³⁵ Lewis even went as far as asserting that it

was a peculiarity of the European and one can, indeed, be more specific, of the Western European during a certain period in his history, to exhibit this kind of interest in alien cultures to which he has no visible or ascertainable relationship.¹³⁶

Focusing on the causes of large-scale historical developments (never an easy task!), Lewis' explanatory model certainly merits consideration. Since for a long time Lewis' book was the only monograph available on the subject in a European language, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* received an overwhelming reception among those interested in historical or contemporary relations between Western Europe and the Islamic world. Historians working on various periods, political scientists, sociologists, journalists, those commenting on issues of international security as well as many others have had recourse to Lewis' explanatory model. In many cases, they lacked Lewis' language skills as well as his vast knowledge of Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman sources and history. Stripping his hypotheses of their nuances, they diffused and fortified the image of a Muslim civilization too arrogant and self-centred to notice what was happening in Europe, while emphasizing Western Europe's 'curiosity' and 'open-mindedness' towards the Islamic world.¹³⁷ However, Lewis and his theory have also been fiercely attacked, e.g. by Edward Said:

For unrestrained anti-intellectualism, unencumbered by critical self consciousness, no one has quite achieved the sublime confidence of Bernard Lewis. His almost purely political exploits require more time to mention than they are worth. In a series of articles and one particularly weak book—*The Muslim Discovery of Europe*—Lewis has been busy responding to my argument, insisting that the western quest for knowledge about other societies is unique, that it is motivated by pure curiosity, and that, in contrast, Muslims were neither able nor interested in getting knowledge about Europe, as if knowledge about Europe was the only acceptable criterion for true knowledge.

¹³⁴ Ibid., pp. 8–9.

¹³⁵ Ibid., pp. 6–7.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

¹³⁷ Kramer, 'Lewis' (1999), pp. 719–20; Morgan, *Mongols* (1987), pp. 194–5; Schwartz, 'Introduction' (1994), p. 6; Nieuwenhuijze, *Paradise* (1997), p. 304; Crosby, *Measure* (1997), p. 3; Tolan and Jossereand, *Relations* (2000), pp. 192–3; Cardini, *Europe* (2001), p. ix; Waardenburg, *Muslims* (2003), pp. 152–3; Göckenjan, 'Legende' (2003), pp. 233–6; Pipes, *Path* (2003), pp. 76–82; Turner, 'Gewalträume' (2005), pp. 227–8; Stölting, 'Definition' (2001), p. 153; Morray, 'Franks' (2006), p. 268; Gaukroger, *Emergence* (2006), p. 55 n. 32; Angenendt, *Toleranz* (2007), p. 435.

Lewis's arguments are presented as emanating exclusively from the scholar's apolitical impartiality, whereas he has become a widely rated authority for anti-Islamic, anti-Arab, Zionist, and Cold War crusades, all of them underwritten by a zealotry covered with a veneer of urbanity that has very little in common with the "science" and learning Lewis purports to be upholding.¹³⁸

Less vehement and polemic, others have criticized Lewis' essentialist, generalizing, and normative approach to the Islamic world¹³⁹ as well as his tendency to restate the same hypotheses without considering recent research.¹⁴⁰ On a political level, Lewis is credited with having revived the image of Islam's cultural inferiority and of exaggerating the dangers of *jihād*,¹⁴¹ even for having actively supported the Bush administration's war against Iraq in 2003.¹⁴² Other scholars have simply questioned the above-mentioned theories without providing the macro-historical alternative proposed by the study at hand.¹⁴³

Publications post-dating *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* often display a strong penchant for focusing on stereotypes of Europe and Europeans in medieval Arabic-Islamic sources. In a monograph on the development of 'the Islamic perception' (*al-naẓra al-islāmiyya*) of Europe, Khālid Ziyāda (1983) distinguished between a 'traditional' Islamic perception of Europe (*al-naẓra al-taqlīdiyya*) dominant in the medieval period, and a 'modern' perception (*al-naẓra al-ḥadītha*) that developed significantly only from the late Middle Ages onwards.¹⁴⁴ Aziz al-Azmeh (1991/1992) highlighted the dominance of such stereotypes in several publications in Arabic and English.¹⁴⁵ According to Abdullah Thabit (1996), medieval Arabic-Islamic sources betray a lack of interest in Europe and are full of misconceptions, biases, and fantasies about the latter.¹⁴⁶ Albeit more nuanced, María Jesús Viguera Molins (1997) highlighted the conformity of recorded Arabic-Islamic perceptions with established literary conventions.¹⁴⁷ In her study on 'Islamic perspectives' of the crusades, Carole Hillenbrand (1999) focused on ethnic and religious stereotypes, highlighting

the longevity and unchanging nature of the negative perceptions of the peoples of western Europe which can be found at least from the tenth century in Islamic literature.¹⁴⁸

'Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm (2001) underscored that the medieval *dār al-islām* was self-centred, lacked substantial information on Europe, and consequently constructed

¹³⁸ Said, 'Orientalism' (2000), pp. 204–5.

¹³⁹ Gerber, *Law* (1999), p. 91; al-Azm, 'Thinking' (2002), pp. 126–7; Friedmann, *Tolerance* (2003), p. 56 n. 5; Ulbrich, 'Man' (2006), p. 95 n. 50; Arkoun, *Humanisme* (2005), p. 101.

¹⁴⁰ Dabashi, *Post-Orientalism* (2009), p. 105 n. 204.

¹⁴¹ Bischof, *Politik* (2000), p. 99.

¹⁴² Tibi, *Predicament* (2009), p. 344 n. 20; Lemann, 'Order' (2003), p. 262.

¹⁴³ Matar, *Lands* (2003), p. xiv; Aydin, *Politics* (2007), p. 15; Grabar, *Constructing* (2006), p. 412.

¹⁴⁴ Ziyāda, *taṭawwūr* (1983/2010), chs I, II, IV.

¹⁴⁵ al-'Azma, *al-'Arab* (1991); Al-Azmeh, 'Barbarians' (1992); Al-Azmeh, 'Enemies' (1992).

¹⁴⁶ Thabit, 'Views' (1996), p. 79. ¹⁴⁷ Viguera Molins, 'Percepción' (1997), pp. 65–6.

¹⁴⁸ Hillenbrand, *Crusades* (2000), pp. 257 (quote), 257–327, esp. 267–71. Leclercq, *Portraits* (2010), thoroughly analysed these stereotypes in a comparative study.

sombre and dreary images of the north.¹⁴⁹ Jacques Waardenburg (2003) asserted that medieval Muslims 'had a virtually total lack of interest in Western Europe'.¹⁵⁰ Nabil Matar (2009) presented the large spectrum of Maghrebian approaches to early modern Europe in a very nuanced manner but reiterated the cliché of a medieval Arabic-Islamic world ignorant of what was happening beyond the northern shores of the Mediterranean.¹⁵¹ In spite of having taken a slightly new turn, many researchers have continued to nurture the paradigm of ignorance.

1.3.3. Reconstructing Multiperspectivity

Scholarship that makes efforts to reconstruct a typically 'Muslim' or 'Islamic' view of the world generally neglects to reflect upon the methodological intricacies of reconstructing patterns of perception characteristic of human collectives or societies on a macro-historical scale. It accords exaggerated attention to stereotypes and fails to acknowledge that the various texts subject to analysis often contain much more material than only the most blatant statements about 'the Other'.

Texts record perceptions on different levels. On a first level, they record what the authors themselves perceived. The author figures as the 'subject of perception' while the text contains elements that can be labelled as 'objects of perception'. On a second level, authors reproduce and present the views of others. In such cases, it is necessary to consider if the author has concealed his own views behind the (fictitious) utterance ascribed to someone else. On a third level, authors describe the interaction of persons or groups without explicitly defining the perceptions involved. Such descriptions may allow inference as to how different actors viewed each other. Such evidence is implicit and rests on shaky methodological foundations, but often represents the only key to the perceptions of those who did not safeguard their vision of the world in writing.

Approached in this way, source material on Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity gains depth considerably. Serial analysis of a larger corpus of texts and the inherent explicit and implicit evidence allows for the reconstruction of patterns of perception characteristic not only of individuals, but also of groups and even societies. However, selection and categorization can produce unacceptable distortions if they are employed without prior reflection. By selecting passages from Arabic-Islamic works that clearly define a European or Latin-Christian 'Other' and additionally characterize it in a negative way, one reconstructs only one among several existing patterns of perception. By imposing this pattern on all representatives of the Islamic world at all times and in all places, one artificially constructs monolithic, unchanging, static subjects and objects of perception while failing to acknowledge the large variety of much more complex historical situations. The validity of scholarly approaches that reduce a multiplicity of perceptions to a paradigmatic image of 'the Other' was already questioned by Maxime Rodinson in 1980:

¹⁴⁹ Ibrāhīm, *ʿālam* (2001), pp. 13, 241.

¹⁵¹ Matar, *Europe* (2009), p. 6.

¹⁵⁰ Waardenburg, *Muslims* (2003), pp. 152–3.

Il n'y a pas d'Autre en soi et il est plutôt vain de chercher à théoriser sur cette base; le résultat ne peut être que mince et d'une trop grande généralité pour être bien utile. Il y a des situations différentes, multiformes d'ailleurs, où deux sociétés portent l'une sur l'autre un regard. Ce regard est toujours différent lui aussi, toujours multiple, toujours soumis au changement. Sans doute les orientations dominantes de la société qui regarde comportent-elles plus ou moins de réceptivité, de capacité d'attention et de compréhension, d'empathie, virtualités que les relations de force entre elle et celle qu'elle considère mobilisent, freinent ou contredisent. Mais ces lignes générales, abondantes en facettes déjà, sont loin d'épuiser l'inépuisable polychromie du réel.¹⁵²

Several centuries of contact in an area reaching from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Asia inevitably produced a diversity of relations between a multitude of subjects and objects of perception.¹⁵³ Subjects of perception were part of differing political, economic, and social constellations and developments and thus formulated a variety of views at different times and places. Corresponding constellations and developments affected the objects of perceptions and their different manifestations, which consequently failed to produce uniform sensations in the minds of observers. The large array of differing constellations makes an exhaustive enumeration impossible. We must consider, however, that individuals fulfilled various roles when maintaining military, political, economic, intellectual, religious, personal, emotional, and other forms of relations. Soldiers, diplomats, merchants, scholars, believers, siblings, lovers, etc. personify a different spectrum of 'functional' behaviour. It is impossible to determine such behaviour, which is necessarily dependent upon the individual context. Moreover, defining a context with corresponding roles does not automatically determine a specified set of perceptions as would the application of a mathematical formula. However, generating such an artificial typology forces us to consider a broader range of possible relations and perceptions than the selective analysis of a textual corpus containing explicit statements on, or a specific terminology characteristic of 'the Other'.¹⁵⁴ We can question the legitimacy of propagating the notion of a single dominant 'Muslim' perception even further by pointing to the existence of 'third spaces' and 'hybrid' or 'transcultural' phenomena in the areas connecting both cultural spheres.¹⁵⁵

With this in mind, it is possible to approach the extant sources from a different point of view. A method used to master the intricacies of early medieval Latin hagiography,¹⁵⁶ i.e. the comparison of variants, corroborates that the perceptions accessible to us via texts are never uniform. Comparing source material dealing

¹⁵² Rodinson, *Fascination* (1980/2003), pp. 197–8.

¹⁵³ Every manual on the topic, e.g. those issued on occasion of the French governmental exams for future teachers in higher education (CAPES, Agrégation) in 2001, introduces the reader to the diverse character of relations: Tolan and Jossierand, *Relations* (2000); Guichard and Sénac, *Relations* (2000); Jehel and Jehel, *Relations* (2000); Micheau, *Relations* (2000); Jansen et al., *Méditerranée* (2000); Fossier, *Relations* (2000); Balard et al., *Islam* (2000); UMR 5648 (ed.), *Pays* (2000); Aillet et al., *Pays* (2001); Arrignon et al., *Pays* (2001); cf. Abdellatif et al. (eds), *Acteurs* (2012).

¹⁵⁴ König, 'Perception(s)' (2010), pp. 21–30, esp. 21–5.

¹⁵⁵ E.g. Ruggles, 'Mothers' (2004), pp. 65–94; Epstein, *Purity* (2006); Mersch and Ritzerfeld (eds), *Begegnungen* (2009); Burkhardt et al., 'Hybridisierung' (2011), pp. 467–557; Zоргати, *Pluralism* (2011); Dakhliya, 'Métis' (2012), pp. 45–57.

¹⁵⁶ Prinz, 'Aspekte' (1989), p. 183; Lotter, 'Methodisches' (1979), pp. 339–40.

with different subjects of perception, e.g. Muslim believers, authorities, merchants, intellectuals, slaves, etc., shows that these Muslims perceived Latin Christians differently in accordance with their respective 'functional' role within the general context of encounter. Contrasting source material in which subjects and/or objects of perception take on similar or even identical functional roles permits to identify differing contexts, context-dependent relationships, and, in consequence, variants of perception. Analysing how one single subject of perception, e.g. a productive Muslim author or a Muslim traveller through Christian territory, described Latin Christians, shows that many different factors were at play that influenced the respective author's views at a given time and place.¹⁵⁷

What is valid for one single author is also valid for an entire group of authors writing in the period between the seventh and the fifteenth century. Arabic-Islamic scholars, expressing their thoughts in the same language, often had recourse to each other's works and thus drew from and contributed to the same intellectual culture. Notwithstanding, they were of various geographic, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds, lived and worked in differing historical and social contexts, formed part of different variants of a changing intellectual landscape, and were involved differently in relations with the Latin-Christian sphere. The following chapters will show that a single 'Muslim' perception of Latin-Christian Europe did not exist. Rather, different contexts produced different relationships, which, in turn, gave rise to different perceptions. What we can reconstruct are ranges of perception that apply to specific subjects of perception as regards their—by no means consistent—views on a well-defined object of perception in a given period, place, and context.

In the past two decades, scholarship has underscored that the Arabic-Islamic sphere always perceived medieval Western Europe from various angles and has occasionally even made the effort to categorize different kinds of Muslim perceptions. Tarif Khalidi (1995) made the rather unconvincing distinction that 'it was the geography and society of Europe that interested Islam rather than its history or its culture'.¹⁵⁸ Although dedicating much attention to the influence of normative religious frameworks on the perception of 'the Other', Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn Afāya (2000) pointed to the multiplicity of perception patterns and their dependence on the historical context in his analysis of a few Arabic-Islamic authors.¹⁵⁹ Shams al-Dīn al-Kilānī (2004) distinguished between 'religious' (*dīnī*), 'civilizational' (*ḥaḍārī*), and 'geographical' (*jūghrāfī*) Arabic-Islamic perspectives in a monograph that remains rather descriptive and too sterile in its categorization.¹⁶⁰ In a study with a clear penchant for the modern period, Christopher Nouryeh (2005) defined Arabic-Islamic authors writing on 'the West' as 'neglected bridge-builders'.¹⁶¹ Nizar Hermes (2012) advanced an analysis of 'the [European] Other' that firmly criticizes the traditional approach outlined above. Centred on the ninth

¹⁵⁷ König, 'Perception(s)' (2010), pp. 25–30, with examples.

¹⁵⁸ Khalidi, 'Views' (1995), p. 42.

¹⁵⁹ Afāya, *al-gharb* (2000), p. 311. His argument is based on al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn Qutayba, Ibn Ḥazm, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Jubayr, Usāma b. Munqidh, Ibn Rushd, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, and Ibn Khaldūn.

¹⁶⁰ al-Kilānī, *Urubbā* (2004).

¹⁶¹ Nouryeh, *Views* (2005).

to twelfth centuries and focusing on fewer sources, his study provides valuable support to the present study and its alternative methodological approach.¹⁶²

Only recently, Brian Catlos (2014) has provided a nuanced categorization of Christian-Muslim perceptions in a study dedicated to Muslims under Christian rule. Catlos distinguishes between a macro- or 'ecumenian', a micro- or local, and a meso- or corporate mode of perception. The macro- or 'ecumenian' mode relates to dogmatic-informed religious identity that, because it claims a monopoly on truth, is rigidly defined and mutually exclusive. The micro- or local mode applies to an ill-defined, 'because very flexible, range of perceptions that reflects the large variety of individual and collective relations, including personal bonds, cross-communal friendship and solidarity, intermarriage, syncretism, but also instances of inter-communal violence. The meso- or corporate mode of perception applies to the sphere of formal collectives. These adhere to the 'ecumenian' mode in theory but do not necessarily put it into practice. In an effort to cope with complex realities, e.g. in the legal and economic spheres, they tend to pursue a pragmatic approach that ensures their own survival.¹⁶³

Catlos' distinction is enormously helpful in that it systematizes different levels of perception that co-existed in social relations between Christians and Muslims. The present study, however, does not focus on these social relations, but tries to understand how a highly diversified Arabic-Islamic scholarly elite acquired and processed information on Latin-Christian societies over the centuries. The following chapters will show that Arabic-Islamic scholars were not necessarily involved in direct relations with Latin-Christian societies. This had an effect on their depictions of the Latin-Christian sphere in that the meso- or corporate mode of perception was generally irrelevant whereas the micro- or local mode of perception mostly entered their works as the result of long and complex processes of transmission. Notwithstanding, their portrayal of the Latin-Christian sphere or some of its aspects does not automatically fit into Catlos' category of 'ecumenian' perceptions. Given that the scholarly works used here endeavour to make sense of the world in historical, geographical, and ethnographical terms, the dogmatic-informed religious identity of their authors was often of secondary importance. Although not devoid of ideological overtones, this 'scholarly mode' of perception primarily is characterized by the wish to understand particular historical, geographical, or social phenomena.

One aspect, which so far has been neglected in the efforts to define appropriate categories or modes of perception, is the factor time. Although Lewis used the term 'discovery' in the titles of two texts on the subject, conceding that images evolved and that the medieval period already witnessed a 'gradual extension of knowledge',¹⁶⁴ he regarded the 'feeling of timelessness, that nothing really changes', as a 'characteristic feature of Muslim writing about Europe'.¹⁶⁵ To underscore the connection between geopolitical developments in the medieval Mediterranean on the one hand and the parallel evolution of an Arabic-Islamic literary culture that

¹⁶² Hermes, *Other* (2012).

¹⁶³ Catlos, *Muslims* (2014), pp. 525–7.

¹⁶⁴ Lewis, 'Discovery' (1957), p. 410.

¹⁶⁵ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 297.

produced the extant records on medieval Europe on the other, the present study puts emphasis on the chronological order in which different generations of medieval Arabic-Islamic scholars acquired, processed, and wrote down information about certain aspects of the Latin-Christian sphere.

Chapters 2 and 3 approach the main topic from a general point of view. Chapter 2 describes the ever-changing 'information landscape', i.e. the shifting channels of transmission that facilitated the flow of information from the Latin-Christian to the Arabic-Islamic sphere. It concludes that Arabic-Islamic scholars only constituted a relatively small group among those involved in relations with medieval Western Europe and generally occupied a place at the end of rather long chains of transmission. Since most publications on 'Muslim' perceptions of Western Europe seem to take for granted that the writings of Arabic-Islamic scholars contain the entire knowledge available on Latin-Christian Europe in the Islamic world, it seems particularly important to make this point. Chapter 3 will discuss problems of reception and interpretation encountered by Arabic-Islamic scholars conducting research in an age devoid of modern-day communication facilities. It responds to the belief that a kind of 'mental barrier', a frame of mind dominated by Islam and common to the majority of Muslims, was the main factor that hampered the flow of information. Chapters 4 to 8 comprise a collection of case studies dedicated to the question of how Arabic-Islamic scholars recorded a certain facet of the Latin-Christian sphere over the centuries. Each case study features a chronological analysis of the extant records on the respective phenomenon. Arabic-Islamic records on the Western Roman Empire, two peoples of early medieval Europe (Visigoths and Franks), the rise of the papacy, and a selection of Western European societies backing Latin-Christian expansionism stand at the centre of the respective chapter. Pursuing the aim of exposing textual filiations as well as the evolution of networks of transmission and reception, the case studies are often rather descriptive. For the reader's convenience, the most important results are summarized at the end of the respective chapter. By providing a detailed and differentiated impression of how Arabic-Islamic scholars acquired, processed, and presented knowledge about certain facets of Western European history over the centuries, this approach shows that a wide spectrum of perceptions and emotions was involved in the description of the non-Muslim world. It also makes allowance for the diversity of Latin-Christian Europe, a cluster of societies that was subject to constant change in the period from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Age. As a matter of course, this diversity was reflected in Arabic-Islamic records, as is discussed in the concluding re-evaluation in Chapter 9.

2

An Evolving Information Landscape (7th–15th Centuries)

Arabic-Islamic scholars who produced records on Latin-Christian Europe relied on data that had been acquired during manifold forms of interaction and had traversed various channels of transmission. The aim of the present chapter is to list (potential) channels and to provide an understanding of how they shifted over the centuries. Such an overview inevitably remains sketchy and cannot do justice to the many fields of research touched upon in the following pages. Notwithstanding, it seemed necessary for two reasons. On the one hand, the following overview conveys an impression of how much information on Latin-Christian Europe could have actually been available in an Arabic-Islamic sphere that emerged in the seventh century, established intensive relations with various parts of Latin-Christian Europe in the wake of its expansion to the west, and then continued to maintain an ever-changing network of intensive relations in the shifting geopolitical landscape of the following centuries. On the other hand, it illustrates that there existed a world beyond Arabic-Islamic scholarship, an overriding framework of transmission and reception in which the authors of Arabic-Islamic records on Latin-Christian Europe occupied a specific, but not necessarily prominent place. Their writings fed on the flow of information from the Latin-Christian to the Arabic-Islamic sphere, but were hardly able to document it in its entirety.

2.1. WORLDS APART BECOME ACQUAINTED (5TH–8TH CENTURIES)

The pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabs of the fifth to the early seventh centuries were active in a variety of environments, including western Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, the Arabian Peninsula, as well as the regions bordering on Egypt and Ethiopia. Ethnic, religious, political, military, and commercial ties linked them with surrounding societies, resulting in a variety of ways of life, cultural orientations, and identities.¹

¹ Trimingham, *Christianity* (1979), p. 1; Bowersock, *Arabia* (1994), p. 1; Hainthaler, *Araber* (2007), p. 12; Hoyland, *Arabia* (2003), pp. 13–84; Fisher, *Empires* (2011).

Before the sixth century, it is difficult to detect a homogeneous ethnic, social, religious, cultural, or political entity that can be clearly defined as Arab.² Instead of imposing this ethnonym on ancient groups that may have regarded themselves otherwise³ or seeking for the origins of Arab ethnicity in an ancient warrior elite,⁴ most specialists point to a shared linguistic and cultural heritage as the common basis of different Arab groups. Compared by some to ethnic processes in the Germanic sphere of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages,⁵ the transformation of political constellations and tribal affiliations led to the explicit formulation of an overriding Arab identity in the three centuries leading up to the rise of Islam.⁶ At the eve of Islam, Arab groups of the Arabian Peninsula were neither stable nor, strictly speaking, 'ethnic', but subject to constant reconfiguration, processes in which the construction of genealogies and accounts of origin played an important role.⁷ Islam's prophet Muḥammad managed to unite the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula for the first time, becoming, in the words of Patricia Crone, 'the creator of a people'.⁸ With great difficulties, Muḥammad's successor Abū Bakr managed to retain control over these groups during his caliphate (10–12/632–34).⁹ Thanks to the Muslim seizure of the Middle East in the following decades, Arab groups beyond the peninsula were integrated into the folds of the emerging Arabic-Islamic world.¹⁰

Because of the rise of Islam, the Arab world emerged as a comparatively cohesive force capable not only of radically remodelling, but also of systematically describing its environment in writing. When the fusion of Arab groups under the guiding force of Islam was consolidated in the century following Muḥammad's death,¹¹ this process of ethno-cultural condensation led to the formulation of a specifically Arabic-Islamic identity with a corresponding cultural memory. Deeply rooted in Arab history, the written record left behind by Arabic-Islamic scholars preserves much that had been characteristic of the pre-Islamic age. Nonetheless, Arabic-Islamic records on the pre-expansionist Arab world tend to obscure that Arab groups had long been an integral part of a late antique Middle Eastern landscape well connected to the western Mediterranean. In consequence, it is necessary to discuss to what extent the 'Islamization' of the pre-Islamic Arabs' cultural memory modified existing pre-Islamic Arab knowledge about the Mediterranean's northwestern shores or even entailed its loss.¹²

² Millar, *East* (1993), pp. 10–11, 221, 227, 306, 331, 333, 402, 512, constantly refers to the difficulties of identifying 'Arabs', of distinguishing between 'Arabs' and others. See scholarly definitions of 'Arab' in Retsö, *Arabs* (2003), pp. 105–18.

³ Shahid, *Rome* (1984), p. ix.

⁴ Retsö, *Arabs* (2003), pp. 623–5.

⁵ Guidetti, *Vivere* (2007), pp. 23–7, 57–61, 215–20, 230, 287–94; Fisher, *Empires* (2011), pp. 5, 23–4, 80–3, 170. On ethnic processes in the late antique and early medieval 'Germanic' world, see Pohl, *Völkerwanderung* (2002).

⁶ Hoyland, *Arabia* (2003), pp. 229–47, esp. 230–1; Hoyland, 'Epigraphy' (2007), pp. 219–42; Robin, 'Antiquité' (2010), pp. 81–99, esp. 85–92; Hoyland, 'Kings' (2009), pp. 374–400.

⁷ Donner, *Conquests* (1981), pp. 20–6.

⁸ Crone, *Trade* (1987/2004), p. 237; Donner, *Conquests* (1981), p. 49.

⁹ Donner, *Conquests* (1981), pp. 51–90; 'Abd Allāh Karīr, *ḥarakāt* (2006).

¹⁰ Kaegi, *Byzantium* (1995), pp. 269–72; Shahid, 'Ghassān' (1965), p. 1020.

¹¹ Cf. Dūrī, *Formation* (1987), p. 29.

¹² Lewis et al., 'al-Djāhiliyya' (1965), p. 383.

2.1.1. The 'Arab Factor' in the History of the Roman Empire

Roman entanglement in the Middle East began in the first century BCE with the successive creation of the provinces of Syria and Egypt in that century, Judaea around the beginning of the Christian era, and Arabia Petraea and Mesopotamia at the beginning of the second century CE.¹³ Roman sources reporting on the first and early second centuries CE locate Arabs (*Arabes*) in various places of the Middle East and mention their participation in Roman activities, including diplomatic exchange with the Parthians and the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus.¹⁴ An integral part of the empire's eastern domains by the second century CE, Arab groups must have been aware of the wider Roman sphere. Nabatean inscriptions from the early imperial period found in Rome and Puteoli show that some were active in the west.¹⁵ A Latin inscription dedicated to the emperor Marcus Aurelius between 175 and 177 CE by the representative of the Nabatean 'civitas Hegrenorum' (today Madā'in Šālīḥ, Saudi Arabia) implies that the settlement's inhabitants had at least a vague notion of a Roman emperor residing far off.¹⁶

Caracalla's decision to extend Roman citizenship to all inhabitants of Roman provinces in 212 may have reinforced the attachment to Hellenistic culture on the part of Roman citizens of 'Arab' ethnicity.¹⁷ But to claim that 'the Arabs' even provided the empire with an imperial elite during the reign of Marcus Iulius Philippus (ruled 244–49), commonly known as 'Philippus Arabs', may go too far.¹⁸ Philippus' origins in the Syrian Ḥawrān¹⁹ as well as the neutral or derogatory epithet 'Arabs' assigned to this emperor in various Latin and Greek sources of the fourth to sixth centuries²⁰ have led some scholars to identify Philippus with the 'son of an Arab sheikh'.²¹ However, later Arabic-Islamic historiographers do not acknowledge the rather noteworthy issue of having contributed an emperor to the largest and most powerful polity of Antiquity.²² It seems rather improbable that such

¹³ Bowersock, *Arabia* (1994).

¹⁴ Millar, *East* (1993), pp. 10, 66, 75, 274, 294; Retsö, *Arabs* (2003), pp. 364–504.

¹⁵ Knauf, 'Arabo-Aramaic' (2010), p. 230 n. 104. Cf. Retsö, *Arabs* (2003), pp. 364–91, on the question whether Nabateans were Arabs.

¹⁶ al-Talhi and al-Daire, 'Presence' (2005), pp. 205–17. For other Latin inscriptions on the Arabian Peninsula, see Costa, 'Inscription' (1977), pp. 69–72; Villeneuve et al., 'Inscription' (2004); Marek, 'Inscripfenstein' (1995), pp. 178–89.

¹⁷ Shahīd, *Rome* (1984), p. 153; Hainthaler, *Araber* (2007), pp. 49–59.

¹⁸ Shahīd, *Rome* (1984), pp. 149–53; Wansbrough, *Lingua* (1996), p. 37.

¹⁹ Körner, *Philippus* (2001), p. 31.

²⁰ Aurelius Victor, *Historiae abbreviatae*, ed. Pichlmayr, cap. 28,1, p. 106; *Historia Augusta*, ed. Hohl, cap. 29,1 (Iulius Capitolinus), vol. 2, p. 51; Zosimus, *Historia nova*, ed./trans. Paschoud, lib. I, cap. 18,3, p. 22.

²¹ Kloft, 'Philippus' (2001), p. 210: 'Sohn eines Araberscheichs'. Cf. the Roman identification in Prickartz, 'Philippe' (1995), pp. 136–40.

²² al-Yā'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 1, p. 188; and al-Ṭabarī, *tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 607, only mention his name and the duration of his reign; al-Mas'ūdī, *muriḥ*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 729, pp. 39–40 (AR), p. 274 (FR), does not mention Philip; al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, p. 94 (AR), p. 104 (EN), only mentions his name; al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 493–94, p. 310, refers to his alleged conversion to Christianity and to the thousandth anniversary of Rome during his reign; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 1, p. 229 (Leiden), p. 322 (Beirut), mentions his reign; *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 233 (Leiden), p. 328 (Beirut), claims that his conversion provoked his murder at the hands of the pagan Decius; Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al.,

knowledge was filtered or lost during the creation of an Arabic-Islamic collective memory. Apparently, Arab groups of later centuries did not regard Philippus as 'one of them' and consequently failed to integrate him into their collective memory.

Notwithstanding, Arab groups of the fourth and the early fifth centuries, now often called 'Saracens',²³ were involved in imperial affairs, not only as foes,²⁴ but also as auxiliary forces, *foederati* and regular ethnically defined units of the Roman army.²⁵ These Arabs were all stationed in the Middle East, with the possible exception of troops from Egypt active in the Cyrenaica.²⁶ This implies that they were essentially of local and regional importance. However, being part of the Roman military machinery may have acquainted Arab groups of the fourth century with troops and administrators from North Africa, Spain, Italy, Gaul, or Britain who had been stationed in the Middle East.²⁷

Possible acquaintances with Western troops and administrators were probably limited to the period in which the Roman Empire still functioned as a whole.²⁸ They must have become increasingly rare, as soon as the western and the eastern half of the empire began drifting apart from the late fourth century onwards. Arab groups involved in Roman-Byzantine campaigns of the sixth century do not seem

vol. 1, p. 86, ignores his name but mentions his conversion and his death at the hands of the pagan Decius; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 2, p. 236, mentions his genealogy, the duration of his reign, his conversion, and his murder at the hands of Decius. On Philip's sympathy for Christianity, see Prickartz, 'Philippe' (1995), pp. 146–50.

²³ See the medieval definition by Isidorus Hispalensis (d. 636), *Etymologiarum libri*, ed. Lindsay, lib. IX, cap. 2,6–7, cap. 2,57. On the possible origins of this term, see Graf, 'Defense' (1997), pp. 14–15; Hoyland, *Arabia* (2003), p. 235.

²⁴ According to Sozomenos, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Schaff and Hartranft, lib. VI, cap. 38, pp. 374–5, the fate of one Roman commander who rescued his superior during the revolt of the 'Saracen' queen Mavia 'is still held in remembrance among the people of the country, and is celebrated in songs by the Saracens'. Cf. Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Schaff and Zenos, lib. IV, cap. 36, p. 116.

²⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, ed./trans. Seyfarth, lib. XXIII, cap. 3,8, p. 74; *ibid.*, lib. XXIII, cap. 5,1, p. 78; *ibid.*, lib. XXIV, cap. 1,10, p. 116, on Arab participation in the Persian campaign of Julian. On the defence of Constantinople by Saracen *foederati* against the Goths in 378, see Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Schaff and Zenos, lib. V, cap. 1, p. 118; Sozomenos, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Schaff and Hartranft, lib. VII, cap. 1,1, p. 377; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, ed./trans. Seyfarth, lib. XXXI, cap. 16,5–7, pp. 300–2; Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, ed./trans. Paschoud, lib. IV, cap. 22,2–3, p. 283; cf. Shahīd, *Byzantium [Fourth Cent.]* (1984), pp. 175–7; Woods, 'Defenders' (1996), pp. 259–88. On ethnically defined units, see Shahīd, *Rome* (1984), pp. 52–63; Shahīd, *Byzantium [Fifth Cent.]* (1989/2006), pp. 459–77, with reference to *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. von Seeck. Cf. Kulikowski, 'Notitia' (2000), pp. 358–77, p. 360.

²⁶ Shahīd, *Byzantium [Fifth Cent.]* (1989/2006), pp. 9–12.

²⁷ Rather dubious is the claim of the fifth-century *Historia Augusta*, ed. Hohl, lib. 28, cap. 4,1–2 (Flavius Uopiscus Syracusius), vol. 2, p. 204, that the emperor Valerianus (ruled 253–60) endowed his son Gallienus (ruled 253–68) with six 'Saracen cohorts' and Gallic auxiliary troops. Cf. Kreucher, *Kaiser* (2003), p. 93. But see Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, ed./trans. Seyfarth, lib. XXXI, cap. 3,5, p. 252, on the Goth Munderichus stationed on the Arabian frontier. Cf. Woods, 'Marus' (1998), pp. 325–36. The *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. von Seeck, § XXVIII, p. 59, lists 'equites Saraceni Thamudeni' and an 'ala tertia Arabum' at the side of an 'ala ueterana Gallorum' in the section dedicated to the 'Comes limitis Aegypti'. On the composition of the Roman army in the East, see Isaac, *Limits* (1990); Daprowa, *Army* (1992); Kennedy, *Army* (1996); Lewin and Pellegrini, *Army* (2007).

²⁸ Short-lived secessions already took place in the third century, whereas tetrarchial rule and the policies of Constantine and his fourth-century successors encouraged the emergence of new centres of power. Cf. Drinkwater, *Empire* (1987); Christ, *Geschichte* (2002), pp. 696, 704–5, 751–62; Demandt, *Geschichte* (2008), pp. 56–8, 86, 112–13, 500; Martin, *Spätantike* (2001), pp. 35–50.

to have ventured into the western parts of the Mediterranean.²⁹ Critics of the famous Pirenne-thesis underscore that the sixth century displayed a very low degree of connectivity between the Mediterranean's northwestern and southeastern hinterlands, manifest, among other things, in the blocking of land routes from the West to Constantinople, a decreasing number of transport ships, the fading away of western harbours, the demise of the Roman *annona* system, and the reduction of papyrus imports from Egypt to Gaul.³⁰ From the perspective of the Arabian Peninsula, it is possible to draw an equally sombre picture. The profitable continental transit trade of spices from India and Ethiopia to the Mediterranean basin of Antiquity had given way to a more restricted land-based network of merchants trading in perfume, leather, clothing, camels, donkeys, and primitive foodstuffs. This network connected Mecca with the Yemen, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Syria, in particular the cities of Gaza (*Ghazza*), Abila (*Ayla*), and Bostra (*Busrā*).³¹ In view of the unstable political situation on the Arabian peninsula of the second half of the sixth century, the cradle of Islam was probably not stable enough to reach far beyond its geographical confines.³²

Notwithstanding, political, economic, and ecclesiastical relations between the northwestern and the southeastern shores of the Mediterranean continued to exist in the sixth century. Justinian's efforts at restoring the former unity of the empire by (re)-establishing Roman-Byzantine hegemony not only created a buffer between the emerging powers in the post-Roman West and the Arab sphere.³³ Taking on the role of an intermediary, Constantinople maintained direct and regular relations with elites from the pre-Islamic Arab world³⁴ and the Latin West.³⁵ In this context, the Ghassanids play an important role, given that their rulers maintained political and ecclesiastical relations with the Byzantine Empire, including its emperors.³⁶ Constantinople could serve as a place of encounter between Ghassan-

²⁹ Procopius refers to 'Saracens' in his description of Justinian's Persian wars, but mentions no equivalent ethnonym in his works on Justinian's campaigns against the Ostrogoths and Vandals. Shahid, *Byzantium [Sixth Cent.]*, vol. 1, 1 (1995), pp. 180–2, believes in Arab participation in the Vandal war and points to the presence of soldiers from the Egyptian *ala tertia Arabum* in the Cyrenaica. Cf. Shahid, *Byzantium [Fifth Cent.]* (1989/2006), pp. 9–12.

³⁰ McCormick, *Origins* (2001), pp. 29–30, 41, 65–9, 104–13. Compare Pirenne, *Mahomet* (1937/1992), with (among others) Claude, *Handel* (1980), pp. 170–86; Hodges and Whitehouse, *Mohammed* (1983); Frank, 'Pirenne' (1993), pp. 371–83; Horden and Purcell, *Sea* (2000), pp. 26–49; Wickham, *Framing* (2005), pp. 693–824.

³¹ Crone, *Trade* (1987/2004), pp. 3–11, 87–132, 139–40, 153, 246; cf. Caskel, 'Bedouinization' (1954), pp. 38–9; Crone, 'Quraysh' (2007), pp. 63–88.

³² Robin, 'Antiquité' (2010), pp. 90–2.

³³ Cameron, *Mediterranean* (1993), pp. 104–27. For a local perspective of the western regions affected by Justinian's reconquest, see Thompson, *Goths* (1969), pp. 320–34; Burns, *History* (1991), pp. 202–15; Cameron, 'Reconquest' (1993), pp. 153–66.

³⁴ See Procopius, *Persian Wars*, trans. Dewing, lib. I, cap. XVII, 1; cap. XVII, 45; cap. XVII, 47; cap. XVIII, 30; cap. XVIII, 46; cap. XVIII, 7, 26, 35, 36; cap. XIX, 10; cap. XIX, 15; cap. XIX, 7–8; lib. II, cap. I, 5–6; cap. V, 5; cap. X, 23; cap. XVI, 5; cap. XVI, 18; cap. XVII, 30; cap. XIX, 12; cap. XXVIII, 12–14, on contacts between 'Saracens' and Byzantines. Cf. Shahid, *Byzantium [Fifth Cent.]* (1989/2006); Shahid, *Byzantium [Sixth Cent.]*, 4 vols (1995, 1995, 2002, 2009); Fisher, 'Development' (2008), pp. 311–34.

³⁵ Chrysos and Schwarcz, *Reich* (1989); Herrin, 'Constantinople' (1992), pp. 91–107; Mastykova, 'Byzance' (2002), pp. 159–94.

³⁶ Fisher, *Empires* (2011), pp. 56–7, 121–4, 176–9, 182–4.

ids and people from the west.³⁷ Western policy-makers such as pope Gregory I (sed. 590–604) even seem to have been involved in Ghassanid affairs.³⁸

Commercial networks continued to connect both parts of the Mediterranean.³⁹ Whereas Mecca and the Hijāz seem to have been comparatively isolated, the contacts maintained by Arab groups from Syria, Palestine, and Egypt may have reached farther afield.⁴⁰ Latin texts from the sixth century contain many references to Orientals and Oriental traders from Syria, Palestine, and Egypt in the Latin West.⁴¹

The spread of Christianity implicated some Arab groups in Middle Eastern ecclesiastical networks⁴² that occasionally maintained sporadic contact with the west. Since the fourth century, pilgrims from the Latin West spent time in Egypt, Northern Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and even Mesopotamia.⁴³ Both Latin-Christian visitors and Arabs or 'Saracens' are attested in various locations, including the column of Symeon the Stylite the Elder,⁴⁴ the tomb of Saint Sergius in Ruṣāfa,⁴⁵ and the port cities of Gaza and Abila/Ayla, both destinations of Meccan traders.⁴⁶ Although the majority of these encounters seem to have been superficial, the 'Saracens' involved must have learnt something about the origins of these Western visitors. The sources also mention ecclesiastics from the eastern Mediterranean in the Latin West, including a presbyter from the province of Arabia in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula in 435,⁴⁷ an abbot sent by the bishop Marianus of Arabia

³⁷ The Visigothic chronicler Iohannes Biclarensis (d. after 621), *Chronica*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), a. 575/3, pp. 214, 19–21, seems to have witnessed the visit of the Ghassanid leader al-Mundhir to the court of Tiberios II. Cf. Rotter, *Abendland* (1986), pp. 135–7; Ferreiro, 'Johannes' (2005). Fisher, *Empires* (2011), pp. 45, 118, 121, 124, dates al-Mundhir's visit to Constantinople to the year 580.

³⁸ Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum*, ed. Norberg (CCL 140A), cap. X, 16 (a. 600), p. 845, intercedes on the behalf of a certain Anamundarus, i.e. the Ghassanid ruler, al-Mundhir, exiled to Sicily by the emperor Maurice in the early 580s. See Shahid, *Byzantium [Sixth Cent.]*, vol. 1, 1 (1995), pp. 602–5; vol. 1, 2 (1995), p. 861; Rotter, *Abendland* (1986), p. 136; Fisher, *Empires* (2011), pp. 123, 173, 176–8, 181–4.

³⁹ See McCormick, *Origins* (2001), pp. 101–2, on local and temporary refractions.

⁴⁰ Hoyland, *Arabia* (2003), p. 237.

⁴¹ Claude, *Handel* (1980), pp. 170–86, 196–7; McCormick, *Origins* (2001), pp. 104, 106–7, 112; Devroey, 'Juifs' (1995), pp. 51–72; Ewig, 'Verehrung' (1979), pp. 393–410.

⁴² Trimmingham, *Christianity* (1979); Hainthaler, *Araber* (2007); Wood, *King* (2010), pp. 230–56.

⁴³ On these encounters, see Aetheria/Egeria (end of the fourth cent.), *Itinerarium*, ed. Franceschini and Weber (CCL 175), lib. III, cap. 8, 62, p. 41; lib. VII, cap. 6, 48, p. 48; lib. VIII, cap. 4, 15, p. 48; Hieronymus, *ep. 126* (c. 410–13), ed. Hilberg (CSEL 56), cap. 2, p. 144; *ep. 129* (around 414), ed. Hilberg (CSEL 56), cap. 4, pp. 169–70; Antoninus Placentinus (end of the sixth cent.), *Itinerarium*, ed. Geyer (CCL 175), cap. 36, p. 147; cap. 38, pp. 148–9; cap. 39–40, pp. 149–50; cap. 47, p. 153; *ibid.*, *recensio altera*, cap. 40, pp. 171–2; Rotter, *Abendland* (1986), pp. 10, 12–31; Hainthaler, *Araber* (2007), p. 63.

⁴⁴ Theodoret von Cyrus, *Mönchsgeschichte (historia religiosa)*, trans. Gutberlet (BKV 1/50), cap. XXVI, 13, cap. XXVI, 11; *Vita Genovefae*, ed. Krusch (MGH SS rer. Merov. 3), cap. 27, p. 226; Cf. McCormick, *Origins* (2001), pp. 106–7, 112; Hainthaler, *Araber* (2007), pp. 62–3.

⁴⁵ Antoninus Placentinus, *Itinerarium*, ed. Geyer (CCL 175), cap. 47, p. 153; cf. Shahid, 'Ghassān' (1965), p. 1020.

⁴⁶ Antoninus Placentinus, *Itinerarium*, ed. Geyer (CCL 175), cap. 39–40, p. 149; *ibid.*, *recensio altera*, cap. 40, pp. 171–2; cf. Crone, *Trade* (1987/2004), pp. 40–1. Gregorius Turonensis, *Libri decem*, ed. Krusch and Levison (MGH SS rer. Merov. 1, 1), lib. VII, cap. 29, p. 347; Gregorius Turonensis, *In gloria confessorum*, ed. Krusch (MGH SS rer. Merov. 1, 2), cap. 64, p. 336; Pirenne, *Mahomet* (1937/1992), p. 59; McCormick, *Origins* (2001), pp. 35–6; Sivan, *Palestine* (2008), p. 343.

⁴⁷ Hydatius, *Chronicon*, ed./trans. Iranoy, § 106 (a. 435), p. 132.

who requested relics from the pope in 601,⁴⁸ as well as a Syrian heretic in Seville in 619.⁴⁹

In view of this evidence, encounters seem to have taken place occasionally at certain focal points of exchange, i.e. the Byzantine court at Constantinople, the ports connecting the western with the eastern Mediterranean as well as the stop-overs used by Western pilgrims travelling in the Middle East. It seems impossible to rule out that Arab groups occasionally received information about the Latin West directly or indirectly, even in the two centuries preceding the rise of Islam.

2.1.2. An Arab World-View Limited to the Middle Eastern Sphere?

Although the pre-Islamic Arab world must have had some knowledge about western regions, contemporary sources in Latin, Greek, and Arabic suggest that pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arab groups were not really aware of what lay beyond the Middle Eastern sphere.

In 621, one year before Muḥammad left Mecca for the oasis of Yathrib, Isidore of Seville (d. 636) finished the first version of his *Etymologiae*.⁵⁰ Based on Roman ethnography and the Old Testament, the passages on the Arab world reproduce the ethnographic cliché of a people living at the fringes of civilization.⁵¹ Isidore located Arab groups in a region flanked by Egypt in the west, Mesopotamia in the east, the Lebanon in the north, and the shores of the Arabian Peninsula in the south.⁵² Later Latin historiography of the seventh and early eighth centuries reformulated this image of an Arab population confined to the Middle Eastern sphere by portraying the Arabic-Islamic expansion as a string of events during which masses of 'Saracens' poured forth into the Mediterranean centres of civilization.⁵³

In Byzantine sources of the sixth century, 'Saracens', 'Arabs', or 'Ishmaelites' engage in the Byzantines' Middle Eastern campaigns and interact with Constantinople, but never leave the Middle Eastern context.⁵⁴ According to sources written in the seventh century, Arab groups only left the desert in the course of

⁴⁸ Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum*, ed. Norberg (CCL 140a), cap. XI,20 (a. 601), p. 889.

⁴⁹ *Synodus in civitate Spalis* [Seville] II (619), ed./trans. Vives et al., can. 12, p. 171.

⁵⁰ On the work and the time of its achievement, see Fontaine, *Isidore* (2000), pp. 173, 436.

⁵¹ References to Plinius in Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum libri*, ed. Lindsay, lib. XII, cap. 2,9, 2,11, 2,20, 2,28, 4,43, 6,45, 6,63; references to the Old Testament in lib. IX, cap. 2,57; lib. XIX, cap. 25,6; cf. Tolán, *Saracens* (2002), pp. 10–12; Philipp, *Quellen* (1913).

⁵² Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum libri*, ed. Lindsay, lib. VIII, cap. 5,59; lib. IX, cap. 2,14; 2,18; 4,9; lib. XII, cap. 1,35, 4,29, 7,22–3; lib. XIV, cap. 3,13–26; lib. XV, cap. 1,35; lib. XVI, cap. 2,3, 7,9, 7,11, 8,3–5, 13,6; lib. XVII, cap. 7,1, 8,1–2, 8,4–6, 8,9, 8,12, 9,4, 9,11; lib. XIX, cap. 23,7, 25,6, 26,10.

⁵³ *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii libri quatuor*, ed. Krusch (MGH SS rer. Merov. 2), cap. 66, pp. 153–4; cap. 81, p. 162; *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 9, p. 337; cf. Rotter, *Abendland* (1986), pp. 67–181. See Tolán, *Saracens* (2002), pp. 10–12, 40–55, 72–83, on Isidore, Bede, and the Hispanic chronicles of the eighth century.

⁵⁴ Cf. Procopius (d. c.562), *Persian Wars*, *Vandalic War*, *Gothic Wars*, trans. Dewing; *Secret History*, trans. Atwater; cf. Kavar, 'Procopius' (1957), pp. 79–87. See the lemmata 'Alamundaros', 'Arethas', and 'Sarazenen' in Johannes Malalas (d. 577), *Weltchronik*, trans. Thurn and Meier, index. See Fisher, 'Perspective' (2004), pp. 56–7, on Sozomen, Procopius, and John Malalas.

the Arabic-Islamic expansion to wreak havoc in the urban centres of the Mediterranean.⁵⁵

This depiction of Arab groups as uncivilized 'barbarians' at the periphery of civilization, who suddenly surged forth to challenge the established order, reproduces well-known topoi. Notwithstanding, the fact that Latin and Byzantine sources fail to record Arabs outside the Middle Eastern sphere before the beginning of the expansion while emphasizing their lack of integration into urban society cannot be simply brushed aside, if only for the reason that pre-Islamic and early Arabic-Islamic sources convey the same impression.

Pre-Islamic Arabic poetry ascribed to the sixth century, for example, completely lacks references to western regions. These texts of questioned authenticity were recorded in writing during the Abbasid era.⁵⁶ They mainly treat the fate of Arab individuals as well as important events of tribal history and thus do not intend to provide geo- or ethnographical information about the outside world.⁵⁷ They only serve as prime witnesses because pre-Islamic forms of Arabic prose are even less prone to reveal contemporary geographical horizons.⁵⁸ The world as represented in this poetry is confined to the area between Egypt in the west, the Syrian domains of the Byzantine Empire in the north, Persia and India in the east, and Abyssinia in the south. The extant texts do not address explicitly what poets and their respective communities knew about the non-Arab world but rather allude to the latter's geo-cultural horizon. Passages compare a woman's build to a Byzantine bridge,⁵⁹ her cheek to writing material from Syria, and her lips to dyed leather from Yemen.⁶⁰ Others refer to Indian swords, a foreign (probably Abyssinian) herdsman responsible for Yemeni camels,⁶¹ Persian

⁵⁵ Cf. Maximus Confessor (d. 662), *ep. 14*, ed. Migne (PG 91), p. 540, trans. Kaegi, 'Reactions' (1969), p. 142; Anastasius Sinaita (d. after 700), *Sermo 3*, ed. Migne (PG 89), p. 1156, trans. Kaegi, 'Reactions', p. 142. See Kaegi, 'Reactions' (1969), pp. 139–49, and Hoyland, *Islam* (2001), on Eastern Christian sources of the seventh and eighth centuries.

⁵⁶ As confirmed by Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī (d. 231–32/845–46), *ṭabaqāt*, ed. Shākīr, vol. 1, § 32, p. 25; cf. McDonald, 'Poetry' (1978), pp. 14–15. On their authenticity, see Ahlwardt, *Aechtheit* (1872); Muir, 'Poetry' (1879), pp. 72–92; Ḥusayn, *fi l-adab al-jāhili* (1927); Lecomte, 'al-Mu'allakāt' (1993), p. 254; Montgomery, 'Tarafa' (2000), p. 218; Blachère, 'Antara' (1960), p. 521; Gabrieli, 'Abid b. al-Abras' (1960), p. 99; Hoyland, *Arabia* (2003), p. 212. Bauer, 'Relevance' (2010), pp. 701–2, pleads for their authenticity.

⁵⁷ See the overviews provided by Huart, *History* (1903), pp. 10–33; Nicholson, *History* (1907), pp. 1–140; Hoyland, *Arabia* (2003), pp. 211–19.

⁵⁸ Cf. Serjeant, 'Prose' (1983), pp. 114–28; Hoyland, 'Epigraphy' (2007), pp. 219–42.

⁵⁹ Tarafa b. al-'Abd al-Bakrī, *al-mu'allāqa al-thāniya*, in: Abel, *Sammlung* (1891), v. 23, p. 7; *diwān shi'r Tarafa al-Bakrī*, ed. Ahlwardt, cap. 4, v. 22, p. 55: 'lahā marfīqāni aṭṭalāni ka'annamā umirrā bi-salmā dālījin mutashaddidi ka-qanṭarati al-rūmiyi'; *Moallakāt: Poem of Tarafa*, trans. Jones, in: Clouston, *Arabic Poetry* (1881), v. 22, p. 19: 'Her joints are well knit, and her bones are solid, like a bridge of Grecian architecture'.

⁶⁰ Tarafa b. al-'Abd al-Bakrī, *al-mu'allāqa al-thāniya*, in: Abel, *Sammlung* (1891), v. 31, p. 7; *diwān shi'r Tarafa al-Bakrī*, ed. Ahlwardt, cap. 4, v. 32, p. 56: 'wa-khaddun ka-qirṭās al-shāmī wa-mishfarun ka-sibī al-yamāni...'; *Moallakāt: Poem of Tarafa*, trans. Jones, in: Clouston, *Arabic Poetry* (1881), v. 30, p. 20: 'Her cheek is smooth and white as paper of Syria; and her lips, as soft as dyed leather of Yemen...'.
⁶¹ Antara, in: Abel, *Sammlung* (1891), v. 25, p. 28; *diwān shi'r Antara al-'Absi*, ed. Ahlwardt, cap. 21, v. 30, p. 46: 'kamā awat ḥīzaqun yamāniyyatun li-ajāma ṭimṭimi'; *Moallakāt: Poem of Antara*, trans. Jones, in: Clouston, *Arabic Poetry* (1881), v. 25, p. 57: 'as a multitude of black Yemenian

troops,⁶² and the Byzantine emperor.⁶³ Since passages in this vein mainly betray knowledge about adjacent regions, pre-Islamic Arab poetry conveys the impression of constituting an inner-Arab discourse that felt little need to deal with the non-Arab world. One of the earliest biographical dictionaries on Arab poets by the Abbasid scholar Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī (d. 231–32/845–46) reinforces this verdict. Judging from this work, pre-Islamic Arab poets moved in a context almost untouched by contact with the non-Arab world. Even Byzantium is only referred to thrice.⁶⁴

Early Islamic texts also suggest that the world-view of the pre-expansionist Arabs was confined to the Middle East. All toponyms used in the Qurʾān are located in the region.⁶⁵ Ibn Hishām's (d. 213/828 or 218/833) biography of Muḥammad places the prophet at the centre of a network reaching as far as Byzantium, Sassanid Persia, Ethiopia, and Egypt,⁶⁶ but only mentions 'the West' (*al-Maghrib*) in connection with a prophecy of conquest.⁶⁷ Arent Jan Wensinck's concordance of early Muslim traditions on the prophet (*ḥadīth*, pl. *aḥādīth*), all of them compiled in the early Abbasid era,⁶⁸ contains only two western toponyms, i.e. the city of Rome and the Maghreb. Rome appears in connection with a prophecy of conquest⁶⁹ and as the

camels assemble round their Abyssinian herdman, who is unable to express himself in the language of Arabia'.

⁶² Hārith b. Ḥilliza al-Yashkurī, in: Abel, *Sammlung* (1891), v. 56, p. 34: 'thumma Ḥujran a'nī ibn umm Qaṭṭāmin wa-lahu fārisiyya khadrā'; *Moallakāt: Poem of Hareth*, trans. Jones, in: Clouston, *Arabic Poetry* (1881), v. 76, p. 90: 'Next advances Hojar, son of Ommi Kathaam, with an army of Persians, clad in discoloured brass'.

⁶³ *Diwān of 'Abid Ibn al-Abras of Asad*, carmen IV, v. 19, in: *Dīwāns*, ed./trans. Lyall, p. 22 (AR): 'az'amta annaka sawfa ta'tī qayṣaran fa-latahlikanna idhan wa-anta shāmi', p. 25 (EN): 'Didst thou say that thou wouldst seek to Caesar for help? – then shalt thou surely die a Syrian (subject to Rome)!'.

⁶⁴ Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī, *tabaqāt*, ed. Shākir, vol. 1, § 254, p. 193, with one reference to 'foreigners' (*ajam*); vol. 1, § 32, p. 25; § 103, p. 88; § 332, p. 241, with references to Byzantium. See Pellat, 'Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī' (1971), p. 927, on the author; Shaykhū, *shu'arā'* (1991), on the Arab character of pre-Islamic poetry.

⁶⁵ Abū Khalil, *aṭlas* (2000). On the debate as to whether the Qurʾān was put down in its definitive form during the reign of 'Uthmān (ruled 23–35/644–55), or later, see Donner, *Narratives* (1998), pp. 5–31, 35–61; Neuwirth, *Studien* (2007), pp. 1*–54*; Schoeler, *Genesis* (2009), pp. 11, 30–7; Neuwirth, *Koran* (2010), pp. 235–75, all against Ohlig, 'Anfänge' (2007), pp. 7–13. The author of the present study treats the Qurʾān as a seventh-century text that has to be distinguished clearly from later *ḥadīth*-literature.

⁶⁶ See Ibn Hishām, *al-sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, part 2, p. 971, on the letters allegedly sent by the prophet to the Byzantine emperor (*qayṣar malik al-Rūm*), the ruler of Persia (*Kisrā malik Fāris*), the Negus of Abyssinia (*al-Najāshī malik al-Ḥabasha*), and the head of the Coptic church in Egypt (*al-Muqawqis malik al-Iskandariyya*). See *ibid.*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 26, 41–2, 217, 222, and *ibid.*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 761, 792, 971, for further references to the persons in question.

⁶⁷ Ibn Hishām, *al-sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, part 2, p. 673: 'fa-inn Allāh fataḥa 'alayya al-Shām wa-l-Maghrib'.

⁶⁸ Wensinck, *Concordance*, vol. 1–7 (1936–69, 1992–93), indices in vol. 8 (1988), pp. 301–42, builds on the collections of *aḥādīth* by Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796), Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), al-Dārimī (d. 255/869), al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), Muslim (d. 261/875), Ibn Māja (d. 273/886), al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), Abū Dāwūd (d. 274/889), and al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915).

⁶⁹ Asked if Rome (*Rūmiyya*) or Constantinople (*al-Qusṭantīniyya*) would be conquered earlier, Muḥammad opts for 'the city of Heraclius' (*madīnat Hiraql*): Ibn Ḥanbal, *musnad*, s. ed., vol. 2, p. 176: 'idh su'ila rasūl Allāh (ṣ'as) ayyat al-madīnatayn tuftaḥ awwalān Quṣṭantīniyya aw Rūmiyya fa-qāla al-nabī (ṣ'as) madīnat Hiraql awwalān ya'nī Quṣṭantīniyya'. Almost identical: al-Dārimī,

destination of a letter sent by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius.⁷⁰ At first sight, references to the western regions (*al-Maghrib*) imply that the prophet and his entourage were in touch with 'Westerners' from North Africa. Closer inspection reveals that they either contain another variation of Muḥammad's vision of future conquests,⁷¹ or deal with issues that only would have become relevant after the conquest of North Africa.⁷²

Later Arabic-Islamic tradition claims that Muḥammad and a certain Ka'b al-Aḥbār (d. 32/654), a Yemenite Jew who converted to Islam around 17/638 and acquired the status of an authority on early Islam in later tradition,⁷³ referred to the Iberian Peninsula (*al-Andalus*). Both are said to have used the term 'al-Andalus', although this toponym only seems to have become part of the Arabic language after the Muslim invasion in 711.⁷⁴ The references ascribed to Muḥammad only address the peninsula's future conquest without intimating any real knowledge. In the *dhikr bilād al-Andalus* (14th–15th cent.), the only text with a version of the *ḥadīth* that mentions a source of information, the prophet claims to have received news about al-Andalus from the archangel Gabriel:

And in another narrative [it is reported] that the prophet, may God bless him and give him peace, said: 'Gabriel, peace be upon him, informed me that there is an island/

sunan, s. ed., muqaddima: bāb man rakkhkaṣa fī kitābat al-'ilm, vol. 1, p. 126; cf. Simone and Mandalà, *L'immagine* (2000), pp. 35–6.

⁷⁰ According to al-Bukhārī, *al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. al-Nawāwī, vol. 1, lib. 1 (kitāb: bud' al-waḥī), cap. 6, p. 7, Heraclius informs a friend in Rome about Muḥammad: 'thumma kataba Hiraql ilā ṣāḥib lahu bi-Rumiyya'. It is not known if al-Bukhārī could have meant the 'New Rome' on the Bosphorus, cf. Simone and Mandalà, *L'immagine*, p. 10.

⁷¹ Ibn Ḥanbal, *musnad*, s. ed., vol. 4, p. 338, mentions this prophecy in connection with a certain Nāfi' b. 'Utba who claimed to have been with the prophet when a 'group of people from the western regions dressed in woollen clothes' (*qawm min qibal al-Maghrib 'alayhim thiyaḥ al-sufūf*) arrived.

⁷² Muslim, *ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. al-Karmī, lib. 3 (kitāb al-ḥayd), cap. 27 (ṭahārat julūd al-mayta bi-l-dibāgh), § 106–07 (366), p. 159: 'qad sa'altu 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās, qultu: innā nakūn bi-l-Maghrib, wa-ma'anā al-Barbar wa-l-Majūs, na'ti bi-l-kabsh qad dhabahūhu, wa-naḥnu lā na'kul dhabā'iḥahum, wa-ya'tūnā bi-l-siqā', yaj'alūna fīhi al-wadak, fa-qāla Ibn 'Abbās: qad sa'alnā rasūl Allāh (ṣas) 'an dhālika fa-qāla: dibāghuhu ṭahūruhu'. ['I asked 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās saying: We are in the western regions, and with us are Berbers and Magians. We bring rams they have slaughtered, but we do not eat what they have slaughtered, and they come with skins which they fill with fat. Upon this Ibn 'Abbās said: We have asked the Messenger of God (peace be upon him) about this and he said: "Its tanning makes it pure."'] One may assume that the issue of accepting hides from non-Muslims in the west only arose as soon as Arabs entered the west in the course of the Arabic-Islamic expansion. Another discussion on purity in Cook, 'Cheese' (1984), pp. 449–64.

⁷³ Schmitz, 'Ka'b al-Aḥbār' (1978), p. 316.

⁷⁴ According to the geographer Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'al-Andulus' (sic!), p. 375, the term 'al-Andalus' only became known after the rise of Islam: 'wa-hiya kalima 'ajamiyya lam tasta'miluhā al-'Arab fī l-qadīm wa-innamā 'arafathā al-'Arab fī l-islām...'. According to Torres Balbas and Colin, 'al-Andalus' (1960), p. 486, the term al-Andalus derives from the ethnonym 'Vandals'. Vallvé Bermejo, 'nombre' (1983), pp. 301–55, and Vallvé Bermejo, *División* (1986), pp. 17–62, believes that the term is related to the Greek concept of Atlantis adopted and imposed on the Iberian Peninsula by the expanding Arabs. Halm, 'Al-Andalus' (1989), pp. 252–63, traces the term back to a non-documented Gothic word designating the distribution of land among Vandals, Sueves, Alans, and Goths. Bossong, 'Name' (2002), pp. 149–64, regards it as the derivative of a Basque toponym made up of the parts 'anda' and 'luz' which applied to the first island conquered by the Muslims and was later extended to the Muslim parts of the Iberian Peninsula. Sabio González, 'al-Andalus' (2004), pp. 223–7, believes it originally applied to a Visigothic administrative province.

peninsula (*jazīra*) in the farthest west called al-Andalus, which my people will conquer after my death...'⁷⁵

Since these texts are recorded by authors from the late medieval Muslim West, two of them from al-Andalus,⁷⁶ they seem to fulfil the purpose of creating a direct link between the prophet and the Iberian Peninsula. The Andalusian geographer al-Zuhri (6th/12th cent.) even questioned the authenticity of one of the versions of this *ḥadīth*, stating:

if this *ḥadīth* is authentic, then al-Andalus has enough reasons to be proud of itself. However, if its authenticity cannot be proved, it is at least in accordance with the book and law of God.⁷⁷

There is no reason why the Yemenite Jew Ka'b al-Aḥbār, who is credited with similar prophecies equally devoid of information,⁷⁸ should have known more about the Iberian Peninsula than other inhabitants of Arabia.⁷⁹ Six volumes of Ibn Sa'd's (d. 230/845) biographies on the prophet's entourage and later traditionists (vols III–VIII) only mention western locations in connection with the Arabic-Islamic conquest of North Africa or traditionists who lived there or in al-Andalus in later periods.⁸⁰

Thus, Arabic sources dealing with the period before the expansion fail to mention Arab activities in the western Mediterranean. These sources imply that neither the pre-Islamic Arabs nor Muḥammad and his entourage had much knowledge of what lay to the west and northwest of Egypt. They rather depict a pre-expansionist Arab world that was immersed in itself and took little notice of what went on beyond its immediate surroundings.

There are reasons to question if this impression is entirely correct. Latin-Christian and Byzantine authors of the pre-expansionist period tended to relegate Arab groups to the uncivilized periphery. Then the Arabic-Islamic onslaught fortified

⁷⁵ *dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed./trans. Molina, p. 16: 'wa-fi riwāya ukhrā 'an al-nabī ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam annahu qāla: fa-akhbaranī Jibril 'alayhi al-salām anna bi-aqṣā al-maghrib jazīra tusammā bi-l-Andalus taftaḥuhā ummatī ba'dī...'; cf. Vallvé Bermejo, *División*, p. 25.

⁷⁶ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 1, p. 7; *dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed./trans. Molina, vol. 1, p. 16; al-Zuhri, *al-ja'rafiya*, ed. Hadj Sadok, § 209, pp. 80–1; cf. Vallvé Bermejo, *División* (1986), pp. 22–5.

⁷⁷ al-Zuhri, *al-ja'rafiya*, ed. Hadj Sadok, § 209, p. 81: 'fa-in kāna hādha al-ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥan fa-kafā bihi fakhran al-Andalus, wa-in kāna lam yathbut fa-huwa muwāfiq li-kitāb Allāh wa-sunnatihi'; cf. Vallvé Bermejo, *División*, p. 25.

⁷⁸ E.g. by al-Ṭabarī, *tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 4, AH 27, p. 255; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-raud al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'al-Andalus', p. 33.

⁷⁹ As claimed by Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), p. 161.

⁸⁰ Ibn Sa'd, *al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Sachau, vol. 3, part 1, p. 90: 'wa-'Urwa al-akbar qutila yawm Ifriqiya... wa-Sālim al-aṣghar qutila yawm fath Ifriqiya... wa-'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān qutila bi-Ifriqiya yawm fūṭiḥat'; *ibid.*, vol. 7, part 2, p. 207: 'wa-kāna bi-Ifriqiya Khālid b. Abi 'Umrān min ahl Tūnis min Ifriqiya wa-kāna thiqa in shā' Allāh wa-lā yudallis wa-kāna bi-l-Andalus Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ wa-kāna qāḍiyan lahum wa-kāna thiqa kathīr li-l-ḥadīth'; *ibid.*, vol. 9, part 2, p. 4 (Index considering vols III–VIII). The only reference to the peninsula is found in connection with Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥaḍramī. He entered the Iberian Peninsula around the middle of the eighth century and was later appointed judge by the first Umayyad *amīr*, see *ibid.*, vol. 7, part 2, p. 207; cf. Fierro, 'Introduction' (1989), p. 68.

topoi that emphasized the Arabs' 'barbarian' nature.⁸¹ With regard to Arabic material, we must consider again that pre-Islamic poetry, Islamic holy scripture, hagiographical literature on the prophet, and later Arabic-Islamic historiography on this period did not intend to convey geographic and ethnographic knowledge. Their thematic focus has to be explained in conjunction with the emergence of an Arab identity in the period between the fourth and the seventh century that culminated in the fusion of Arab groups under the banner of Islam.

The so-called Namāra-inscription from southern Syria is often considered the earliest expression of, or at least the earliest claim to a comprehensive Arab identity. This epitaph of a certain Imru l-Qays who defined himself as 'king of all Arabs' (*mlk 'l'rb*) in 328 CE, is still written in Nabatean script, but in a language that can be accepted as an early form of standardized Arabic.⁸² While the commercial networks maintained by the Nabateans seem to have contributed to the spread of a specific form of Arabic as a supraregional vehicular language,⁸³ the groundwork for a written culture in Arabic language and script was laid in the sixth century in the periphery of Byzantium and Persia at the Ghassanid and Lakhmid courts. Their promotion of a literary culture that expressed shared experiences and ideals in poetry⁸⁴ furthered the standardization of Arabic, the emergence of a broader linguistic community as well as the creation of a collective memory.⁸⁵ With the advent of Islam, the Qur'ān, which repeatedly defines itself as a document in Arabic,⁸⁶ catapulted this community's form of verbal expression to the status of a sacred language.⁸⁷

Thus, pre-Islamic and early Islamic literary culture testifies to the convergence of Arab identities and their merging with Islam in the period leading up to the Arabic-Islamic expansion. Although this convergence was far from absolute and fiercely contested even long after the conquests,⁸⁸ a long-running process of ethnic, linguistic, and religious unification stands at the basis of the early Muslims' achievement of mobilizing a large percentage of Arab groups. This process took place in a period that witnessed a comparatively low degree of connectivity between the northwestern and southeastern shores of the Mediterranean. It drew on internal forces that, in a different historical constellation, could have laboured for a more

⁸¹ See Rotter, *Abendland* (1986); Hoyland, *Islam* (2001).

⁸² Versteegh, *Language* (2001), pp. 31–2; Hoyland, *Arabia* (2003), pp. 79, 240; Shahid, *Byzantium [Fourth Cent.]* (1984/2006), pp. 32–53; Bellamy, 'Reading' (1985), pp. 31–52; Retsö, *Arabs* (2003), pp. 467–73. Earlier examples of Arabic in non-Arabic scripts in Robin, 'Inscriptions' (2001), pp. 546–7.

⁸³ See Knauf, 'Arabo-Aramaic' (2010).

⁸⁴ Hoyland, *Arabia* (2003), pp. 241–2; Kassis, 'We' (2006), pp. 67–70. These courts figure often in poems ascribed to this period, see Nöldeke, *Fürsten* (1887); Rothstein, *Dynastie* (1899). Knauf, 'Arabo-Aramaic' (2010), p. 246, highlights that Arabic was not the only language used at these courts.

⁸⁵ Chejne, *Language* (1969), pp. 6–7; Hoyland, *Arabia* (2003), pp. 241–2; cf. Knauf, *Arabo-Aramaic* (2010), p. 239; Bauer, 'Relevance' (2010), p. 730.

⁸⁶ Cf. sūra 12:2; 13:37, 20:113; 26:195; 42:7; 43:3 etc. On links between early Arabic poetry and the Qur'ān, see Bauer, 'Relevance' (2010), pp. 699–732; Neuwirth, *Koran* (2010), pp. 672–722.

⁸⁷ Cf. Robin, 'Réforme' (2006), pp. 157–202.

⁸⁸ Grunebaum, 'Nature' (1963), pp. 16–19; Donner, *Conquests* (1981), pp. 82–90; 'Abd Allāh Karir, *ḥarakāt* (2006).

complete integration of Arab groups into the Byzantine or Persian orbit and Arab access to the wider world as assimilated subjects of these empires. As the expression of an emerging Arab identity vis-à-vis the great Middle Eastern empires of the sixth and early seventh centuries, pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabic literature obviously fails to mention those parts of the world that were not of immediate concern.

Recently emerged, this Islamicized Arab identity soon faced serious challenges. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) convincingly argues that the expansion confronted the Arabs with the entire range of cultural achievements characteristic of more developed urban societies, thus triggering a large-scale process of cultural reception and assimilation on the part of the newly established Arab elites.⁸⁹ This must have represented a great challenge to recently emerged ethno-religious identity patterns. The speed of the expansion contributed to the rapid diffusion, but also to the dilution of Arab culture now faced with several well-established subject cultures. Ibn Sallām's (d. 231–32/845–46) biographical dictionary clearly addresses the inherent threats to this recently emerged cultural identity by discussing the impact of the expansion on the Arabs' poetical heritage:

Then Islam came, occupying the Arabs' senses, and they became active striving for God (*al-jihād*) and raided the Persians and the Byzantines (*al-Rūm*), neglecting poetry and its recital. When Islam grew and the conquests took place and the Arabs settled in the military garrisons (*al-amṣār*), they began to recite poetry again. However, they neither had an anthology nor a book at their disposal, and when they wrote it down, some of the Arabs had already died by natural death or during fighting, to the effect that they only preserved little while much was lost.⁹⁰

Ibn Sallām describes the efforts to preserve this heritage, thus leading his reader into the history of the earliest remnants of Arabic poetry. This need to preserve in an age of transition that witnessed the rise of the Arabs as a people, as a religious community and as empire-builders also finds expression in the early Arabic-Islamic literature's almost obsessive focus on the life and times of the prophet. From now on, this period began to occupy a central place in every trans-epochal historical narrative written by a Muslim author in Arabic.⁹¹ The need to preserve also stands at the basis of early efforts to retain an overview over tribal genealogy.⁹²

Consequently, neither the geopolitical constellation of the sixth century nor issues of genre can be solely held responsible for the fact that Arabic sources on the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period neglect to deal with the non-Arab world and,

⁸⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 632–3. See Khalek, 'Cult' (2007), pp. 360–6, on Muslims venerating John the Baptist in early Islamic Syria.

⁹⁰ Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī, *ṭabaqāt*, ed. Shākīr, vol. 1, § 32, p. 25: 'fa-jā'a al-islām, fa-tashāghalat 'anhu al-'Arab, wa-tashāghalū bi-l-jihād wa-ghazw Fāris wa-l-Rūm, wa-lahat 'an al-shī'r wa-riwāyatihi. fa-lammā kathura al-islām, wa-jā'at al-futūḥ, wa-tma'annat al-'Arab bi-l-amṣār, rāja'ū riwāyat al-shī'r, fa-lam ya'ūlū ilā diwān mudawwan wa-lā kitāb / maktūb, wa-allafū dhālika wa-qad halaka min al-'Arab man halaka bi-l-mawt wa-l-qatal, fa-ḥafizū aqall dhālika, wa-dhahaba 'alayhim minhu kathīr'. See the critical evaluation in Margoliouth, 'Origins' (1925), pp. 423–4.

⁹¹ Khalidi, *Thought* (1996), pp. 1–48; cf. Khalidi, *Narratives* (2009).

⁹² Khalidi, *Thought* (1996), pp. 49–54, on the genealogical writings of Hishām b. al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821) among others.

specifically, with regions in the west. The formation of an Arabic-Islamic memory in written form eclipsed certain aspects of pre-Islamic Arab history. The latter deemed secondary when compared with the necessity of preserving the Arab cultural heritage and safeguarding the founding narrative of Islamic salvation history vis-à-vis various urbanized societies of differing ethnic, cultural, and religious composition now under the rule of Arab elites. Latin, Greek, and Arabic sources may speak in favour of a limited geographical horizon of Arab groups at the eve of the expansion. However, given the character and orientation of these sources and considering that Arab groups had been part of larger Mediterranean networks up to the fourth century and continued to do so, with lesser intensity, in the fifth and sixth centuries, it seems plausible to credit some of them with a vague knowledge of regions in the west.

2.1.3. Into the Unknown

The subjection of regions ranging from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Asia expanded the Arabs' geographic horizon, not only of those directly involved. For the first time, a significant number of Arabs was active in the western Mediterranean. They created channels that facilitated the transmission of information about these areas to the heartlands of Islam. It is thus in the seventh and early eighth centuries that Western Europe, first and foremost the Iberian Peninsula, fully came into view.

Reconstructing this process of discovery is fraught with difficulties. Contemporary Arabic-Islamic texts are scarce and difficult to interpret. The earliest extant accounts describing the Arabic-Islamic expansion to the west were written in the ninth century. This makes it necessary to countercheck the assertions made by these later sources against Latin-Christian sources from the age of expansion.

These Latin-Christian sources not only portray the 'Saracens' as an active historical force that destroyed the established order of the Mediterranean world, but also allow to trace how the Arabic-Islamic expansion drew nearer and nearer, until it eventually reached the Latin-Christian sphere. The acts of the Lateran council of 649⁹³ as well as Byzantine accusations directed against pope Martin I. (sed. 649–53) of having collaborated with 'Saracens'⁹⁴ show that Italian bishops were

⁹³ At the *Concilium Lateranense Romanum*, ed. Mansi, vol. 10, pp. 894–5, the Middle Eastern bishop Stephanus Doriensis referred to the Arab conquest of Jerusalem in front of 105 Italian bishops; cf. Claude, *Handel*, p. 271. As the son of a bishop from Jerusalem, pope Theodorus I (sed. 642–49) must have known about the city's conquest before the council, cf. *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 1, cap. LXXV, § 125 (§ I), p. 331; Rotter, *Abendland* (1986), p. 189.

⁹⁴ Martinus papa, ep. 14, ed. Migne (PL 87), col. 199A. It is not clear if Martin communicated with 'Saracens' in Sicily as possibly implied by *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 1, cap. LXXVI, § 133 (§ VII), p. 338, since Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 191 only ascribes fear of an Arabic-Islamic attack to the population of Sicily in the year 35/655, two years after Martin's death in exile. Agitating against Byzantine monotheism, Martin seems to have tried to persuade ecclesiastical authorities in the Syrian Levant to follow the lead of the bishop of Philadelphia/Ammān, cf. Martinus papa, ep. 5 *ad Ioannem episcopum Philadelphiae*, ed. Migne (PL 87), cols 153–64; *ibid.*, ep. 6 *ad Theodorum episcopum Esbuntiorum*, ed. Migne (PL 87), cols 164–5; *ibid.*, ep. 8 *ad Georgium archimandritam monasterii sancti Theodosii*, ed. Migne (PL 87), col. 167; *ibid.*, ep. 11 *ad ecclesiam Jerosolymitanam et Antiochenam*, ed. Migne (PL 87), cols 175–80. Winkelmänn et al., *Prosopographie* (2000), 1. Abt., § 4851 (Martinus I.), pp. 184–5, question the authenticity of these letters. Differing interpretations of Martin's engagement with the expanding Arabs in Hartmann, *Untersuchungen*

well aware of the Arabs as a new geopolitical force. The earliest version of the so-called *Chronicle of Fredegar*, finished in 658,⁹⁵ refers to the Muslim conquest of Alexandria, Egypt, and parts of North Africa under the year 641.⁹⁶ A possible reference to the Muslim presence in the western Mediterranean can be found in the acts of the seventeenth council of Toledo (694) that accused the Jews of the Visigothic kingdom of having conspired with their brethren from overseas to fight against the Christians.⁹⁷ In a chapter dedicated to the papacy of Gregory II (sed. 715–31), the *Liber pontificalis* mentions the ‘Saracen’ invasion of Spain and profers details on the earliest Muslim attacks on the Frankish kingdom.⁹⁸ How the expansion intruded on the minds of Latin Christians can be traced in the works of the Northumbrian monk Beda Venerabilis (d. 735).⁹⁹ His earlier works, written in 702–03, do not mention the expansion.¹⁰⁰ The works written two to three decades later then clearly refer to the ‘Saracen’ danger,¹⁰¹ mention their destruction of Carthage,¹⁰² the rescue of Augustine’s relics from their attacks on Sardinia,¹⁰³ and

(1889/1965), pp. 15–17; Ullmann, *Geschichte* (1978), p. 56; Rotter, *Abendland* (1986), pp. 182–94; Brandes, ‘Krisenbewältigung’ (1998), pp. 159–77.

⁹⁵ Collins, *Fredegar-Chroniken* (1927), pp. 25–38.

⁹⁶ *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii libri quatuor*, ed. Krusch (MGH SS rer. Merov. 2), cap. 66, pp. 153–4, esp. cap. 81, p. 162.

⁹⁷ *Concilium Toletanum XVII (a. 694)*, ed./trans. Vives, p. 524, and can. 8, pp. 534–6. Declared ‘a figment or an invention’ by Thompson, *Goths* (1969), p. 247, these accusations fit in well with the Visigothic kingdom’s anti-Jewish policies in the seventh century, cf. König, *Bekehrungsmotive* (2008), pp. 406–13. Some scholars believe in a Jewish conspiracy, cf. Voigt, *Staat* (1936/1965), p. 151; Ziegler, *Church* (1930), pp. 195–6; Katz, *Jews* (1937/1970), p. 21; Blumenkranz, *Juifs* (1960), pp. 132–3; Dumézil, *Racines* (2006), pp. 301–2, but see Roth, ‘Jews’ (1976), pp. 145–58. It remains unclear if the council actually referred to the expanding Muslims. The later chronicle *akhbār majmū’a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, pp. 12, 16 (AR), pp. 25, 29 (ES), claims that the Muslim conquerors handed the provisional stewardship of the conquered cities of Elvira, Granada, and Seville over to the Jews. This could corroborate such an interpretation, especially considering that the Muslims controlled great parts of North Africa by 694, cf. Talbi, ‘al-Kayrawān’ (1978), p. 824. The later Hispano-Latin *Chronique d’Alphonse III*, ed. Bonnaz, cap. 1,3, p. 33, claims that Arab raids against the peninsula had already taken place during the reign of Wamba (ruled 672–80), cf. Bonnaz, *Chroniques asturiennes* (1987), pp. 114–16; Claude, ‘Untersuchungen’ (1988), p. 336; Eickhoff, *Seekrieg* (1966), pp. 14–30; Picard, ‘Arsenaux’ (2004), pp. 691–710. Considering the ties linking the Iberian Peninsula to North Africa, it would be surprising if Visigothic elites had ignored the Muslim expansion, cf. Claude, *Handel* (1980), p. 274; Collins, *Conquest* (1989), pp. 19–22; Martínez Carrasco, ‘Patricio’ (2014).

⁹⁸ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 1, cap. XCI, § 182 (§ XI), p. 401; cf. Rouche, ‘Pape’ (1996), pp. 206–7.

⁹⁹ See Tolan, *Saracens* (2002), pp. 72–6.

¹⁰⁰ Beda Venerabilis, *De locis sanctis*, ed. Fraipoint (CCL 175), praefatio, p. 247. References to Umayyad Syria in cap. IV,2, p. 260, are based on the report of the Frankish bishop Arculf who visited Palestine in 679–82 and whose travel account was recorded around 688 by Adamnanus, *De locis sanctis*, ed. Bieler (CCL 175), lib. I, cap. I,14, p. 186; cap. IX,11–16, pp. 193–4, cf. Rotter, *Abendland* (1986), pp. 11–12. Beda Venerabilis, *Chronica minora*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 13), § 279–91, pp. 310–17, likewise fails to mention the expansion. The phrase ‘Africa restaurata est imperio Romano’ in § 288, p. 315, is inflated to ‘sed et provincia Africa subiugata est Romano imperio, quae fuerat tenta a Sarracenis, ipsa quoque Carthagine ab eis capta et destructa’ in the later *Chronica maiora*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 13), § 586, p. 315. This suggests that Beda knew about events in the western Mediterranean fairly early but did not ascribe importance to them before the European continent became a focus of the expansion.

¹⁰¹ Beda Venerabilis, *In principium Genesis usque ad natiuitatem Isaac*, ed. Jones (CCL 118A), cap. IV,16, p. 201, is an adaptation of Hieronymus, *Liber quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim*, ed. de Lagarde (CCL 72), cap. 16, p. 26.

¹⁰² Beda Venerabilis, *Chronica maiora*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 13), § 563, p. 315.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, § 592, pp. 320–1.

their threat to Gaul, portraying them as 'a most terrible plague'.¹⁰⁴ Letters from the 730s and 740s show that news about the Saracen threat had spread among the clergy active in central Europe.¹⁰⁵ Thus, Latin sources written in different parts of Western Europe up to the first half of the eighth century show how an initially inconspicuous people from the Mediterranean periphery began to impinge on the minds and affairs of Western Europe's inhabitants. It is against this background that we must evaluate passages in later Arabic-Islamic sources that depict the expansion to the West as a process of discovery.

As shown, Arabic-Islamic tradition dealing with the pre-expansionist era features predictions of conquest that do not intimate any real knowledge about regions in the western Mediterranean. The same tradition credits the Muslim elites of the age of expansion with a gr̄owing amount of knowledge about the Iberian Peninsula and adjacent regions. In connection with the North African campaign of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, the military commander and conqueror of Egypt active around Tripoli in the year 22/642, the second caliph 'Umar (ruled 13–23/634–44) allegedly received notice of treaties between the 'master of al-Andalus' (*ṣāhib al-Andalus*) and the 'people of North Africa' (*ahl Ifriqiya*).¹⁰⁶ The Iberian Peninsula seems to have drawn nearer in the reign of his successor 'Uthmān (ruled 23–35/644–56) when 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ allegedly came across a giant knight made of copper that blocked the passage to al-Andalus and to what lay behind it.¹⁰⁷ According to a letter quoted by Sayf b. 'Umar al-Tamīmī (d. c.180/802), 'Uthmān promised two of his commanders great spiritual and worldly rewards if they found a way to conquer Constantinople by land via al-Andalus.¹⁰⁸ If this letter is to be taken at face value, 'Uthmān knew that the Iberian Peninsula and the Byzantine Empire were joined by land, but underestimated the connecting landmass.

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) implies that the forces conquering North Africa did not always know where they were going. He relates that the Muslim commander 'Uqba b. Nāfi' asked representatives of a Berber tribe, recently subdued by Muslim forces around 46/666, what lay behind the territory inhabited by them. They informed him about the existence of several cities on the North African coast.¹⁰⁹ Al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) recounts that the conquerors sought to acquire historical information about the origins of Carthage.¹¹⁰

Diplomatic efforts seem to have been necessary to convince those back home about the feasibility of certain actions in newly conquered territory. Occasionally

¹⁰⁴ Beda Venerabilis, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. Crēpin et al. (SC 491), cap. V,23, p. 172: 'grauissima Saracenorum lues'.

¹⁰⁵ Bonifatius, *ep.* 27 (a. 738) and *ep.* 73 (a. 746–47), ed. Tangl (MGH Epp. selectae 1: S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae), pp. 48, 151.

¹⁰⁶ al-Balādhuri (d. 278/892), *futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, § 264, p. 226, trans. Hitti, p. 355.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Khurdādhbah (d. c.300/911), *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 115–16. On the legend, see Makki, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 162–3; Hernández Juberías, *Península* (1996), pp. 68–108.

¹⁰⁸ Sayf b. 'Umar, *al-riḍḍa*, ed. al-Sāmarrā'i, § 103, p. 114.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, pp. 194–5.

¹¹⁰ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1176, p. 700, on the basis of the *maghāzī Ifriqiya* by Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Muttaṭābīb al-Qayruwānī; a similar anecdote in al-Maṣ'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 787–803, pp. 73–83 (AR), pp. 299–304 (FR).

drawing on contemporary testimonies,¹¹¹ the later chronicle *akhbār majmū'a* reports that the Muslim commander Mūsā b. Nuṣayr wrote to the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd (ruled 86–96/705–15) before setting out across the Straits of Gibraltar. Convinced that crossing the straits involved a lengthy sea voyage, al-Walīd accused Mūsā of exposing the Muslims to the dangers of the sea in his response. Mūsā informed the caliph that the Iberian coastline could be seen from North Africa, a fact, of which the caliph seems to have been unaware.¹¹²

The chronicle *akhbār majmū'a* also mentions guides who directed Muslim forces through the Iberian Peninsula and collaborators who provided information on weak points in the Visigothic defence, possible lines of approach as well as the peninsula's topography.¹¹³ Geographical knowledge seems to have been acquired systematically when the initial phase of conquest was over. The chronicle reports that the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (ruled 99–101/717–20) ordered the Andalusian governor al-Samḥ (ruled 100–02/719–21) to produce a topographical description of the Iberian Peninsula—an order doubtlessly preparing measures to extract fiscal revenues from the peninsula's population.¹¹⁴ Having gathered information about the status of the different territorial acquisitions,¹¹⁵ the latter sent a description of Córdoba to the caliph.¹¹⁶

The peninsula's conquest entailed acquaintance with the Frankish orbit. Known as 'lands of the Franks' (*bilād al-Ifranja*, *bilād al-Faranj*) in Arabic-Islamic sources up to the late Middle Ages, this region was named after the people first encountered there by the Muslims at the beginning of the eighth century.¹¹⁷ It took Arabic-Islamic scholars around two centuries to lay hands on an alternative regional toponym. The term 'Gaul' (*Ghālliya*, *Ghālīsh*) is not attested until the first Arabic version of Western Roman history, a restructured translation of Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, was produced at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.¹¹⁸ This suggests that the region ruled by the Franks only received an Arabic name in the course of expansion.¹¹⁹

¹¹¹ The date of writing is fixed by Pedro Chalmeta to the ninth to tenth century, by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz to the eleventh, and by Luis Molina to the twelfth century or even later; cf. Molina, 'Ajbār' (1989), p. 541; Molina, 'relato' (1998), pp. 44–6. Alejandro García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), pp. 199–200, assigns it to the eighth to tenth century.

¹¹² *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 5 (AR), p. 20 (ES).

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 5, 7, 9–12, 15–16 (AR), pp. 20–1, 23–5, 28 (ES).

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 23 (AR): 'wa-an yaktub ilayhi bi-ṣifāt al-Andalus wa-anhārihā', p. 34 (ES). On these fiscal measures, see *Continuatio Hispania*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 80–81, 86, 90, 109, pp. 356, 358–9, 362; Chalmeta, *Invasión* (2003), pp. 237–41, 255–6, 260–5.

¹¹⁵ *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, pp. 23–4 (AR): 'fa-waḍā'a yadan fi l-suwāl [sic] 'an al-'anwa li-yumayyizahu min al-ṣulḥ', p. 35 (ES).

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 24 (AR): 'katāba ilā 'Umar yastashīruhu wa-yu'allimuhu an madīnat Qurṭuba tahaddamat min nāhiyat gharbihā wa-kāna lahā jīr yu'bar 'alayhi nahruhā wa-waṣāfahu bi-ḥimlihi wa-imtina'ihī min al-khawḍ al-shitā' 'ammatan...', p. 35 (ES).

¹¹⁷ On the use of new terms for France and Germany from the eleventh and, increasingly, from the thirteenth century onwards, see Chapters 6.5. and 8.2.2.

¹¹⁸ On the disputed date of translation see Levi della Vida, 'Traduzione' (1954), pp. 260–2; Badawī, *Urūsiyūs* (1982), pp. 10–14; Molina, 'Orosio' (1984), pp. 66–71; Penelas, 'Author' (2001), pp. 113–35; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 27–42 (introducción); Penelas, 'Traducciones' (2009), pp. 223–51; Branco, *Storie* (2009), pp. 143–58.

¹¹⁹ *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, p. 438. Further references to Gaul (*Ghālīsh*) in al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 354, p. 240; § 503, p. 313; § 1488, p. 891; § 1498, p. 895; § 1526, p. 910.

According to later Arabic-Islamic tradition, the conquerors regarded the land-mass opening to the northeast with respect. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr is said to have encountered a statue in the border zone to the Frankish territory which held a sign warning the 'sons of Ishmael' to not go any farther. For this reason, Mūsā abandoned his plan of finding a way connecting al-Andalus with the Orient by exploring what one text defines as the 'outermost regions' (*al-ghāya*).¹²⁰ From the 720s onwards, Andalusian governors such as al-Samḥ ventured to raid and occupy parts of the Frankish realm.¹²¹

Regions lying farther north or east such as the British Isles, the Slavic world, and Scandinavia do not appear in the earliest ninth-century accounts of the expansion to the West,¹²² even though they are mentioned in contemporary Arabic-Islamic works based on Ptolemaic geography.¹²³ By reproducing whatever information had become available to them on the subject, later authors specializing on the era of expansion faithfully reflected the limited but expanding world-view of a bygone period.¹²⁴

It is difficult to render judgement on the authenticity of anecdotal material taken from sources written down generations after actual events. Notwithstanding, many details seem plausible. Later Arabic-Islamic records confirm what Latin records from the period of expansion suggest—that the expansion to the West entailed a discovery of Western Europe which took place step by step and transformed a vague notion of regions in the far west into tangible images of new neighbours.

2.2. NEIGHBOURS (8TH–15TH CENTURIES)

The expansion created two forms of neighbourship between the Latin-Christian and the Arabic-Islamic sphere—on the one hand by subjecting several dominantly Christian societies to Muslim rule, on the other hand by creating direct relations between societies ruled respectively by Latin-Christian and Arabic-Islamic elites.

2.2.1. Under Muslim Rule

Aside from interacting with various non-Muslim populations, the expanding Muslims came across all kinds of material remains from the pre-Islamic past, not only in the Middle East, but also in the Latin West. Arabic-Islamic historiography and geography contains anecdotes about early Muslim elites investigating the origins of architectural artefacts¹²⁵ and features numerous passages on pre-Islamic

¹²⁰ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1532, p. 915; cf. Sénac, 'Remarques' (2012), p. 107 n. 10, for further variants.

¹²¹ See *Chronicon Moissiacense*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 1), a. 715, p. 290.

¹²² Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey; al-Balādhurī, *futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje.

¹²³ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 231.

¹²⁴ König, 'Perception(s)' (2010), p. 31.

¹²⁵ al-Mas'ūdī, *muriḥ*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 787–803, pp. 73–83 (AR), pp. 299–304 (FR), on the pharaonic monuments of Egypt; al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1176, p. 700, on the origins of Carthage; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955) as reconstructed in Lévi-Provençal, 'Description' (1953), pp. 84–6, on the Roman monuments of Mérida.

architecture.¹²⁶ Some Muslims seem to have regarded such material remains as sources of historical information, long before Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) proposed that monuments merit historical study as expressions of dynastic power.¹²⁷

More important, the successful integration of new groups and peoples into the folds of Arabic-Islamic civilization facilitated the flow of information from the old to the new. Jews and Christians cooperated with the conquering Muslims and converted to Islam in rising numbers. They became an integral part of Arabic-Islamic societies, functioning as repositories of information about the past and present of Western Europe.

During the translation movement from Greek and Syriac to Arabic in early Abbasid society of the eighth to tenth centuries, Middle-Eastern Christian communities of various denominations provided Arabic-Islamic elites with access to information hitherto unattainable.¹²⁸ Scholarship has maintained that the translation of works of history and *belles lettres* played a rather insignificant role as opposed to works of science, philosophy,¹²⁹ and, highly relevant in this context, geography.¹³⁰ We must consider, however, that the Christian communities of Egypt, Greater Syria, and Mesopotamia had come into being in a Roman Empire reaching from the British Isles to the frontiers of Persia. They preserved a memory of imperial unity and the process of Christianization¹³¹ and occasionally kept a record of relations with the Latin West from the pre-Islamic into the Islamic period, e.g. with the bishop of Rome.¹³² Several Arabic-Islamic authors from the

¹²⁶ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1176, p. 700 (Carthage), § 1514, pp. 903–4 (Seville); § 1528–29, p. 912 (Braga); § 1522, p. 908 (Elvira); *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 24 (AR), p. 35 (ES) (Córdoba); *ibid.*, pp. 16–18 (AR), pp. 29–30 (ES); Lévi-Provençal, 'Description', pp. 84–6 (Mérida). Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 1, p. 481, claims that Roman-Byzantine remains incited treasure hunts in the fourteenth-century Maghreb.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 221, with the heading: 'fi an āthār al-dawla kulluhā 'alā nisbat quwwatihā fi aṣlihā', p. 431, with the heading: 'fi an al-hayākil al-'azīma jiddan lā yastaqill bi-binā'ihā al-dawla al-wāhida'.

¹²⁸ Klinge, 'Bedeutung' (1939), pp. 346–86, Spuler, 'Denken' (1980), pp. 13–26; Troupeau, 'Rôle' (1991), pp. 1–10; Teixidor, 'Antioche' (2001), pp. 249–62. Cf. Gutas, *Thought* (1998).

¹²⁹ Cf. Rosenthal, *Heritage* (1975), p. 10; Gutas, *Thought* (1998), pp. 193–6. But see Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 1 (1944), pp. xi–xxi, on translations of the scriptures and apocryphal material, of patristic literature by Greek, Syriac, and Coptic authors, as well as hagiographical, liturgical, legal, and canonical literature into Arabic.

¹³⁰ Maqbul and Taeschner, 'Djughrafiyā' (1965), pp. 575–89; Nallino, 'Al-Huwarizimi' (1894), pp. 3–53.

¹³¹ See the Arabic-Christian histories by Eutychius/Sa'īd b. al-Baṭrīq, bishop of Alexandria (d. 940), Agapius/Maḥbūb b. Qustanṭīn, bishop of Manbij (d. after 941), Qays al-Mārūnī (early 10th cent.). On the authors and their works, see Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 2 (1947), pp. 32–3, 39, 94. All authors are cited by al-Maṣ'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 154–5, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 212, as sources on Roman history.

¹³² Theodore Abū Qurra (d. c.820) refers to pope Leo I in one of his writings, while the memory of pope Martin I seems to have been cherished among the Melkites because of the pope's support against Monothelism. Cf. Griffith, 'Melchites' (2001), pp. 43, 47. At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Arabic-Christian chronicler Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, *Histoire*, ed./trans. Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev (*Parologia Orientalis* 18/5), pp. 706–8, summarizes what the chronicler Sa'īd b. al-Baṭrīq knew about the papacy and complains about the difficulties of acquiring up-to-date information about the Roman patriarchate. He is aware that, during his lifetime, the Roman See was occupied by John XVIII (sed. 1003–09).

Middle East specify that they acquired historical data on the Roman Empire from indigenous Christians.¹³³

Heirs to a flourishing Latin intellectual culture, Christian communities in the emerging Muslim West were destined to play an even more important role in the transmission of information about Western Europe. This applies in particular to the Christians of al-Andalus, who converted to Islam in large numbers in the centuries following the invasion.¹³⁴ In comparison, the Christian communities under Muslim rule in North Africa, southwestern France, and the region framed by the Rhone valley and the Alps, on the Italian mainland and Mediterranean islands such as Sicily, played a minor role. At the eve of the Muslim conquest, North Africa had long ceased to be an epicentre of Latin-Christian intellectual culture. The Vandal invasion in the fifth century, the Byzantine 'reconquest' in the sixth, and several Muslim attacks in the seventh century had weakened the region's cultural fabric.¹³⁵ In the century and a half preceding the establishment of a short-lived Muslim polity in Bari and other 'Saracen' raider bases in southern Italy of the ninth century,¹³⁶ strife involving the pope, the Byzantines, the Langobards, and the Carolingians divided the Italian mainland.¹³⁷ Byzantine Sicily suffered Muslim raids for more than one and a half centuries before the full-scale invasion began around 827.¹³⁸ In contrast, the Iberian Peninsula under Visigothic rule had witnessed a rather long period of peace, stability, and intensive cultural productivity before the Muslim conquest, in spite of internal problems that contributed to the kingdom's downfall in 711.¹³⁹

The duration and quality of the Muslim presence affected the possibilities for intellectual exchange. Only long-term Muslim rule, as established on the Iberian Peninsula and to a lesser extent in Sicily, facilitated the development of intensive relations with the subject population as well as the emergence of a Muslim intellectual elite interested in the region's cultural heritage. The Muslim presence in southwestern France, lost a few decades after its conquest in the 720s,¹⁴⁰ or in the emirate of Bari, not to survive twenty-five years,¹⁴¹ was too short for the conquerors' culture to take root. Even if they existed for almost a century such as the

¹³³ al-Ṭabarī, *tārikh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, pp. 540, 606; al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 719, 726, 733, pp. 34, 38, 40 (AR), pp. 270–4 (FR); al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 154–5, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 212; al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, p. 97 (AR), p. 106 (EN).

¹³⁴ Arnold, *Preaching* (1913), pp. 131–44; Bulliet, *Conversion* (1979), ch. 10; Chalmeta Gendrón, 'Passage' (1986), pp. 161–83; Coope, 'Conversion' (1993), pp. 47–68; Epalza, 'Falta' (1994), pp. 385–400; Coope, *Martyrs* (1995); Fernández Félix and Fierro, 'Cristianos' (2000), pp. 415–27; Penelas, 'Remarks' (2002), pp. 193–200; Fernández Félix, 'Children' (2001), pp. 61–72.

¹³⁵ See Kaegi, *Expansion* (2010); Merrills, *Vandals* (2004); Brett and Fentress, *Berbers* (1997), pp. 76–80.

¹³⁶ Musca, *L'Emirato* (1967); Metcalfe, *Muslims* (2009), pp. 16–22.

¹³⁷ Kreutz, *Normans* (1996); Musca, *L'Emirato* (1967), p. 19, speaks of 'un Mezzogiorno indebolito ed in preda all'anarchia'.

¹³⁸ Metcalfe, *Muslims* (2009), pp. 6–9; Brown, 'Italy' (2002), p. 345–7.

¹³⁹ On these problems, see Thompson, *Goths* (1969), pp. 218–51, esp. 317–19; Claude, 'Untersuchungen' (1988), pp. 329–58; Collins, *Conquest* (1989), pp. 6–22.

¹⁴⁰ Sénac, *Musulmans* (1980), pp. 15–32; Reinaud, *Invasions* (1964), pp. 1–84; Lacam, *Sarrazins* (1965), pp. 21–86.

¹⁴¹ Musca, *L'Emirato* (1967).

raider base of Fraxinetum,¹⁴² temporary outposts never became centres of profound cultural interaction. Based on a raiding economy, their main *raison d'être* was the acquisition of booty, not the development of an infrastructure capable of supporting intellectual activity. In comparison with other western regions, al-Andalus provided by far the best conditions for intellectual exchange between Muslim elites and a local Christian subject population.

Contemporary Latin and later Arabic-Islamic sources on the Muslim invasion and settlement of the Iberian Peninsula show that acts of collaboration on the part of Christians¹⁴³ and Jews¹⁴⁴ from various social strata stood at the beginning of transmission.¹⁴⁵ Coins with bilingual Arabic and Latin inscriptions produced in the second decade of the eighth century suggest that the staff of local mints rapidly began to cater to the needs of the new ruling elite.¹⁴⁶ Collaboration also played a role during the Muslim incursions into the Frankish realm in the 720s and 730s, involving the ambivalent figure of Eudo, *dux* of Aquitaine,¹⁴⁷ as well as the local elites of Avignon.¹⁴⁸ Although we may be dealing with *topoi* in the sources,¹⁴⁹ it seems plausible that collaboration actually took place and provided the Muslims with strategically relevant information and a preliminary insight into the workings of the other society.

¹⁴² Reinaud, *Invasions* (1964), pp. 157–225; Lacam, *Sarrazins* (1965), pp. 99–205; Sénac, *Musulmans* (1980), pp. 41–62; Sénac, 'Contribution' (1981), pp. 7–8; Wenner, 'Presence' (1980), pp. 59–79; Versteegh, 'Presence' (1990), pp. 359–88; Ballan, 'Fraxinetum' (2010), pp. 23–76.

¹⁴³ On a certain Urbanus, see *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 77, p. 355; cf. Thompson, *Goths* (1969), pp. 250–1; Collins, *Conquest* (1989), p. 36. On the figure of Julian, see Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 206; *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 5 (AR), pp. 19–20 (ES); Hernández Juberías, *Península* (1996), pp. 163–94; Martínez Carrasco, 'Patricio' (2014). Other Christian collaborators, in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 208, trans. Jones, pp. 22–3; *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 7 (AR): 'jamā'a min ahl al-balad yadulluhum 'alā l-'awrāt wa-yatajassas lahum al-akhbār', p. 21 (ES); *ibid.*, pp. 10–11 (AR), pp. 23–4 (ES); 'adillā'; *ibid.*, p. 15 (AR): 'al-'ulūj al-adillā', p. 28 (ES); *ibid.*, p. 16 (AR): 'ulūjan mimman qad ammanahu wa-ista'mana ilayhi mithla Yulyān', p. 28 (ES).

¹⁴⁴ The chronicle *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, pp. 12, 16 (AR), pp. 25, 29 (ES), describes the practice of entrusting the stewardship of recently conquered cities to the Jewish population. Cf. Roth, 'Jews' (1976), pp. 145–58; García Iglesias, *Judíos* (1978), pp. 199–201; García Moreno, *Judíos* (2005), p. 148.

¹⁴⁵ Sénac, *Carolingiens* (2002), p. 23.

¹⁴⁶ Halm, 'Al-Andalus' (1989), p. 254 ns 9–10; García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), pp. 159–68.

¹⁴⁷ *Continuatio byzantia-arabical Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 40/§ 86, 102–4, pp. 358, 361; *Chronicon Moissiacense*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 1), a. 715, a. 732, pp. 290–1; *Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium*, ed. Waitz (MGH SS in folio 13), p. 394; *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 1, cap. XCI (Gregorius II, sed. 715–31), § 182 (§ XI), p. 401; *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici continuationes*, ed. Krusch (MGH SS rer. Merov. 2), cap. 13, p. 175; *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. Pertz and Kurze (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 7), a. 725, p. 2; *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium*, ed. Loewenfeld (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 28), cap. 9, p. 29; *Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. de Simson (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 10), a. 732, p. 27; Paulus diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. Waitz (MGH SS rer. Germ. 48), lib. VI, cap. 46, p. 233. Cf. Wolf, *Conquerors* (1990), p. 144 n. 154.

¹⁴⁸ *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium*, ed. Loewenfeld (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 28), cap. 10, p. 32; *Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. de Simson (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 10), cap. 10, a. 737, p. 29.

¹⁴⁹ See Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), pp. 102–17.

By applying administrative measures, the Muslim elites soon created durable links with the subject population. Peace treaties included stipulations that required a previous assessment of the local community's socio-economic potential.¹⁵⁰ The early governors established a judicial system and systematically assessed the fiscal capacities of their Christian subjects.¹⁵¹ Under 'Abd al-Raḥmān I (ruled 138–72/756–88) the task of extracting fiscal revenues was handed over to a Christian representative holding the title 'qūmis' (Lat. *comes*).¹⁵² All this provided Muslim elites with practical information about the subject population.

Relations between conquerors and conquered soon became more intimate. The earliest cases of intermarriage are attested between local and Muslim elites,¹⁵³ but were soon contracted on other social levels as well.¹⁵⁴ Occasionally, they seem to have entailed the collision of cultural traditions and discussions about values,¹⁵⁵ dissent about the religious education of the next generation,¹⁵⁶ but also compromises.¹⁵⁷ Thus, intermarriage produced bilingual and bicultural generations whose potential to contribute to thorough intellectual exchange is evident.

¹⁵⁰ On the so-called pact of Tudmīr, mentioned in *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 74–75, p. 354; *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, pp. 12–13 (AR), p. 26 (ES), and later sources, see Wolf, *Conquerors* (1990), p. 151 n. 180; Molina, 'Tudmīr' (2000), pp. 584–5. Other treaties of submission contain harsher stipulations, see *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 18 (AR), p. 30 (ES). According to *ibid.*, pp. 23–4 (AR), p. 35 (ES), the governor al-Samḥ (ruled 100–02/719–21) distinguished between territory acquired by force or by capitulation. In view of the limited number of Muslim forces, the circumstances of submission must have varied, cf. Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores* (2006), p. 46, 48.

¹⁵¹ *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 80–81, 86, 90, 109, pp. 356, 358–9, 362. According to the chronicle *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 23 (AR), p. 34 (ES), the Umayyad caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (ruled 99–101/717–20) ordered the Andalusian governor al-Samḥ (100–02/719–21) to prepare a topographic description of the Iberian Peninsula. See the orders concerning the exercise of judicial authority in Córdoba given by the Andalusian governor 'Uqba b. al-Hajjāj al-Salūlī (116–23/734–41) to Maḥdī b. Muslim as related by al-Khushanī (d. c.371/981), *kitāb al-quḍāh*, ed./trans. Ribera, pp. 18–24 (AR), pp. 23–30 (ES).

¹⁵² Chalmeta, 'Kūmis' (1986), p. 376.

¹⁵³ Muslim governor 'Abd al-'Azīz and the daughter/wife of the Visigothic king Roderic: *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 80, p. 356; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *fuṭūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, pp. 211–13; *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 20 (AR), p. 31 (ES). The Berber Munnuz and the daughter of the Frankish dux Eudo: *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 102, p. 361; cf. *Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium*, ed. Waitz (MGH SS in folio 13), p. 394. Sāra, grandchild of the penultimate Visigothic king, and the Umayyad client 'Isā b. Muzāḥim: Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Ibyārī, pp. 29–32, trans. James, pp. 49–51; König, 'Rückbindung' (2011), pp. 127–37.

¹⁵⁴ *Codex Carolinus* (ep. 95: Hadrianus papa ad episcopos Hispaniae), ed. Gundlach (MGH Epp. 3, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi I), p. 643 (written between 785 and 791); *Concilium Cordubense* (836), ed. Gil (CSM 1), § 7, p. 140; Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores* (2006), p. 48.

¹⁵⁵ *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 79, p. 356; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *fuṭūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, pp. 211–13; *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 20 (AR), pp. 31–2 (ES). Cf. Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores* (2006), pp. 47–8; Chalmeta, *Invasión* (2003), pp. 246–67.

¹⁵⁶ See Eulogius, *Memoriale sanctorum*, ed. Gil (CSM 2), lib. 2, cap. VIII,3, p. 409; lib. 2, cap. X,1, p. 416, and Albarus, *Vita Eulogi*, ed. Gil (CSM 1), § 13,1, p. 337, on Christian relatives undermining the Muslim religious education of Muslim-Christian progeny.

¹⁵⁷ Criticism of couples finding such compromises in tenth-century Sicily by Ibn Ḥawqal, *ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, p. 129.

The merging of distinct cultural heritages did not automatically result in successful transmission. The phenomenon of the so-called 'martyrs of Córdoba', a group of Christians sentenced to death in the middle of the ninth century on the grounds of apostasy from Islam or of blasphemy against its prophet, shows that the intermingling of immigrated Muslim elites and the indigenous Christian population could produce considerable tensions. In many cases, the future 'martyrs' were young people who had grown up bilingually as the children of bi-religious or crypto-Christian couples and had then opted for Christianity in a Muslim-dominated society that regarded their decision as apostasy from Islam.¹⁵⁸ In ninth-century Córdoba, both Christians and Muslims pressured this mixed generation to take a public stand on their religious allegiance.¹⁵⁹ This strain proved too hard for many, with the result that these young people often voluntarily sought execution by confronting the Muslim authorities with their true religious convictions or their criticism of Islam.¹⁶⁰ Apparently, bilingual and bicultural generations were not able to function as cultural transmitters if questions of religious identity were at stake.¹⁶¹

This was not the rule. Two Hispano-Latin chronicles prove that local Christians made great efforts to acquire systematic knowledge about the peninsula's new masters soon after the invasion.¹⁶² In the following two centuries, Christians increasingly acquired Arabic skills. Various documents testify to their high linguistic level as well as to their potential capacity for acting as transmitters of knowledge about the Latin-Christian world.¹⁶³

Christians who adapted to dominant Arabic-Islamic culture could also suffer a loss of Latin-Christian heritage and a diminution of ties with the surrounding Latin-Christian world.¹⁶⁴ Lamentations on failing Latin skills¹⁶⁵ as well as the Arabization of Christian liturgy indicate that the Latin-Christian tradition of the

¹⁵⁸ For an overview, see Wolf, *Martyrs* (1998), pp. 23–35.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 107–19. ¹⁶⁰ Christys, *Christians* (2002), p. 52.

¹⁶¹ König, 'Caught' (2012), pp. 65–8.

¹⁶² See the large quantity of information on Muḥammad, the Arabic-Islamic expansion, Umayyad Syria, and early Islamic Spain in two Hispano-Latin chronicles. The *Chronicle of 741*, also called *Chronica Byzantia-Arabica* or *Continuatio Byzantia-Arabica*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 13–17, 23–26, pp. 337–8, 341–5, seems to rely on a Greek intermediate text; cf. Nöldeke, 'Epimetrum' (1894), pp. 368–9; Dubler, 'Crónica' (1946), pp. 283–350. Given his extensive knowledge on inner-Muslim affairs, the annalist of the *Chronicle of 754*, also called *Chronica muzarabica* or *Continuatio Hispana* must have been in touch with the Muslim conquerors. He refers to an even more detailed book about the invasion in *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 120, p. 364; cf. Wolf, *Conquerors* (2000), pp. 25–7; Cardelle de Hartmann, 'Transmission' (1999), pp. 15–19.

¹⁶³ Koningsveld, *Glossary* (1977); Millet-Gérard, *Chrétien* (1984), pp. 49–62; Kassis, 'Arabization' (1997), pp. 136–55; Burman, *Polemic* (1994), pp. 78, 157, 175, 194–5; Koningsveld, 'Literature' (1994), pp. 201–24; Aillet, *Mozarabes* (2010), pp. 133–212.

¹⁶⁴ Before undertaking a diplomatic mission to the Ottonian court, the bilingual Latin/Romance-Arabic Recemund, a Christian in the service of 'Abd al-Rahmān III, felt obliged to inform himself about the 'customs and norms' (*mores et instituta*) of the Ottonian realm. See Iohannis abbas, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 4), § 129, p. 374; cf. Walthers, 'Dialog' (1985), pp. 21, 36.

¹⁶⁵ Albarus Cordubensis, *Indiculus*, ed. Gil (CSM 1), cap. 35, 24–64, pp. 314–15; Millet-Gérard, *Chrétien* (1984), pp. 49–53.

Visigothic era slowly receded into the background.¹⁶⁶ A family's conversion and assimilation could entail an almost complete loss of Latin-Christian heritage. In the case of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya (d. 367/977), for example, the latter's claim to Visigothic ancestry stands in stark contrast to his limited knowledge about the Visigothic period as recorded in his chronicle. According to the latter, Ibn al-Qūṭīyya's ancestor Sāra had initiated the religious and cultural integration of her descendants into the folds of Muslim society six generations earlier. It does not seem surprising that this renowned Arabic-Islamic jurist, poet, lexicographer, and grammarian had lost touch with his family's Latin-Christian past.¹⁶⁷

Successful transmission not only depended on people capable of and willing to transmit information but also required an interested public at the receiving end. Inner-Christian affairs, e.g. theological sophistries and infighting, were of little relevance to a Muslim public, provided that they did not impinge on Christian-Muslim relations or deemed necessary in order to refute Christianity. The reception of the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, a restructured Arabic version of Orosius' (d. 417) world history, enlarged with excerpts taken from the cosmography of Julius Honorius as well as various works by Isidore of Seville and his continuators,¹⁶⁸ proves that Arabic-Islamic intellectuals were interested in acquiring an understanding of Roman and Iberian history. Produced between the late ninth and the tenth century,¹⁶⁹ the work was regarded as an 'outstanding historical account' (*tārikh 'ajib*) of 'great merits' (*fawā'id 'azīma*) by the Andalusian scholar Ibn Juljul (d. after 284/994)¹⁷⁰ and used by several Arabic-Islamic scholars from this period onwards.¹⁷¹

Aside from the fact that Arabic-Islamic scholars probably preferred certain fields of knowledge to others, larger factors also played a role in shaping scholarly interest in the subject society's history and culture. Early Andalusian scholars such as Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/853) seem to have considered it more important to maintain scholarly links with Islam's cultural epicentres in the Middle East than to delve into the pre-Islamic history of their region of origin.¹⁷² Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955) is the first Muslim Andalusian historiographer credited with having

¹⁶⁶ Psautier *mozarabe*, ed./trans. Urvoy; Dunlop, 'Ḥafṣ b. albar' (1954); Wasserstein, 'Situation' (1991), p. 6; Koningsveld, 'Literature' (1994), p. 209; Aillet, *Mozarabes* (2010), pp. 181–9.

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter 5.2.1. for details.

¹⁶⁸ *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 47–66, 99–119 (introducción); Penelas, 'Islamization' (2006), p. 106 n. 17. Daiber, 'Orosius' (1986), pp. 202–49, lists the passages not contained in the Latin original.

¹⁶⁹ Levi della Vida, 'Traduzione' (1954), pp. 260–2; Badawī, *Ūrūsyūs* (1982), pp. 10–14; Molina, 'Orosio' (1984), pp. 66–71; Penelas, 'Author' (2001), pp. 113–35; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 27–42 (introducción); Penelas, 'Traducciones' (2009), pp. 223–51; Branco, *Storie* (2009), pp. 143–58.

¹⁷⁰ As cited in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *ṭabaqāt al-aʿiyyā*, ed. Riḍā, p. 494.

¹⁷¹ On its reception, see Badawī, *Ūrūsyūs* (1982), pp. 21–47; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 67–81 (introducción).

¹⁷² Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, contains no information on the Latin-Christian world apart from a chapter on the invasion itself. Cf. Makki, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 157–8; Dhū'n-Nūn Ṭāha, 'Importance' (1985), pp. 40–1; Dhū'n-Nūn Ṭāha, *nash'a* (1988), pp. 7–10; García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), pp. 225–6. On Andalusian scholars looking for knowledge in the Middle East, see Marín, 'Ulemas' (1990), pp. 257–306; Ávila, 'Search' (2002), pp. 125–39; Peña Martín, *Iraq* (2009).

displayed interest in the peninsula's pre-Islamic history. He stands at the beginning of a specifically Andalusian tradition of Muslim scholarship in which the Iberian Peninsula features as the sole subject of historical and geographical writing.¹⁷³ Considering that the tenth century constituted a turning point as regards the Andalusian Muslims' interest in the Iberian Peninsula's pre-Islamic heritage, it is not surprising that Middle Eastern scholars of the ninth and early tenth centuries, e.g. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, al-Balādhurī, al-Ya'qūbī, Ibn Khurdādhbah, and al-Ṭabarī, were not able to provide much material on the subject.¹⁷⁴ Around twenty years after al-Ṭabarī's death (d. 310/923), the Middle Eastern scholar al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) pointed to the fact that 'the people of al-Andalus' (*ahl al-Andalus*) had their own theories on the peninsula's history that differed from traditional Middle Eastern interpretations.¹⁷⁵ More than two centuries later, Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) drew on a substantial corpus of Andalusian literature and explained that scholars from al-Andalus were obviously 'better informed about their homeland' than their Middle Eastern peers.¹⁷⁶ This was certainly true: Arabic-Islamic works on Andalusian history produced between the eleventh and the seventeenth century testify to the rise and, after 1492, the fall of an Andalusian-Muslim regional identity.¹⁷⁷

Thus, successful transmission does not represent the 'natural' by-product of the merging of a conquering elite's cultural heritage with that of the subject population. Comparison with similar processes of transmission, in particular the assimilation of Greek science in the Abbasid Middle East¹⁷⁸ as well as the later transfer of Arabic science to the Latin West,¹⁷⁹ suggests that a large number of factors determine in which period, area, and social milieu fruitful exchange can take place. In al-Andalus, processes of transmission and reception, to be distinguished from the later diffusion of acquired data, were particularly intensive between the late ninth and the late tenth century.¹⁸⁰ Continuous interaction since the invasion in 711 forged the preconditions for successful cultural exchange. The Christians of

¹⁷³ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'al-Andalus', p. 33; cf. Vallvé Bermejo, 'Fuentes' (1967), p. 243. Matesanz Gascón, *Omeyas* (2004), pp. 18–20, compares Ibn Ḥabīb's and al-Rāzī's approach to history; Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), p. 41; García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), pp. 214–15.

¹⁷⁴ See Chapter 5, Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 439–40 (Leiden), p. 556 (Beirut), criticized al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) for having failed to use sources from al-Andalus.

¹⁷⁵ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 398, p. 191 (AR), p. 145–6 (FR). See Chapter 5.2.1.

¹⁷⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 439–40 (Leiden), p. 556 (Beirut): 'hum a'lām bi-bilādihim'. Cf. García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), p. 194.

¹⁷⁷ Works range from Ibn Ḥayyān's (d. 469/1076) monumental history of Umayyad Spain via al-Dabbī's (d. 599/1203) biographical dictionary of Andalusian scholars, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's (d. 776/1375) overview on the history of al-Andalus as seen from the last Muslim stronghold Granada, to al-Maqqarī's (d. 1041/1632) retrospect history of a region lost to Islam. Cf. Pons Boigues, *Historiadores* (1898/1972).

¹⁷⁸ Gutas, *Thought* (1998).

¹⁷⁹ Hasse, 'Conditions' (2006), pp. 68–84, with further literature.

¹⁸⁰ Explanations that credit the atmosphere at the court of the studious al-Ḥakam II (ruled 350–66/961–76) with having provided the stimulants for corresponding intellectual activities fall short of being satisfactory. Cf. Levi della Vida, 'Traduzione' (1954), pp. 262–3. On al-Ḥakam's promotion of intellectual activity, see Wasserstein, 'Library' (1990–91), pp. 99–105, esp. 99; Hillenbrand, 'Ornament' (1992), pp. 120–2.

al-Andalus established relations with various strata of Muslim society, slowly but surely mastered the language of the conquerors and thus gained access to dominant Arabic-Islamic culture. Muslim scholars from al-Andalus, in turn, increasingly detached themselves from Oriental role models and developed forms of local and regional scholarship. Their works testify to the rise of a regional identity that entailed curiosity for the peninsula's pre-Islamic history. In the ninth and tenth centuries, Iberian Christians who cultivated their past under Muslim rule were still numerous. The forces of conversion and assimilation had not yet tipped the scales in favour of the dominant elites' culture¹⁸¹ while the so-called Reconquista had not yet gained enough momentum to reshuffle the conditions for the flow of information.

2.2.2. Diplomacy and Political Interaction

The Arabic-Islamic expansion also facilitated direct exchange between societies dominated by Latin-Christian and Arabic-Islamic elites respectively, e.g. via official envoys.

Between the eighth and the eleventh century, diplomatic exchange was most intensive between societies situated in the border zones of the western Mediterranean.¹⁸² Still small and insignificant, the emerging Christian polities of northern Spain maintained relations with the Umayyad emirate and caliphate, but did not yet reach out to the rest of the Islamic world.¹⁸³ Muslim incursions into the Frankish realm at the beginning, the Carolingian intervention in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the eighth century resulted in diplomatic exchange between the Umayyads on the one hand, the Carolingian sphere and its eastern Frankish successor on the other hand.¹⁸⁴ Because of the close links between the Frankish sphere, the Iberian Peninsula, and the Maghreb, exchange also involved North African actors.¹⁸⁵ Being the main centre of political activity in Western Europe up to the early tenth century, the Carolingian sphere also established irregular contact with the Abbasid sphere.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ Cf. Bulliet, *Conversion* (1979), ch. 10.

¹⁸² On the characteristics of Iberian border zones, see Lindgren, 'Mark' (1971), pp. 151–200; Miquel, 'Perception' (1988), pp. 22–5; Sénac, *Frontière* (2000); Sénac, *Marche* (1991); Manzano Moreno, 'Frontier' (1994), pp. 83–99; Buresi, *Frontière* (2004); Sénac, 'Remarques' (2012), pp. 104–19.

¹⁸³ Codera, 'Embajadas' (1917), pp. 207–22; Lindgren, 'Mark' (1971), pp. 163–9; Collins, *Spain* (1983), pp. 225–68; Carriedo Tejedo, 'Embajadas' (1984), pp. 187–214; Münzel, *Feinde* (1994), pp. 286–314; Collins, *Conquest* (1989), pp. 141–67; Martínez Enamorado, 'Relaciones' (2001), pp. 310–19.

¹⁸⁴ El-Hajji, 'Relations' (1968), pp. 56–70; El-Hajji, *Relations* (1970); al-Shaykh, *dawla* (1981); Sénac, 'Contribution' (1985), pp. 45–55; Walther, 'Dialog' (1985), pp. 20–44; Sénac, *Carolingiens* (2002); al-Hajji, *al-'alâqâr* (2004); Guichard, 'Relations' (2008), pp. 229–47.

¹⁸⁵ Sénac, 'Maghreb' (2004), pp. 29–48.

¹⁸⁶ Levi della Vida, 'Corrispondenza' (1954), pp. 21–38; Borgolte, *Gesandtenaustausch* (1976); Sénac, 'Carolingiens' (2002), pp. 37–56; McCormick, 'Pippin III' (2004), pp. 221–41; Hamidullah, 'Embassy' (1953), pp. 272–300; Renzi Rizzo, 'Riflessioni' (2001), pp. 3–47; Gandino, 'Aspirare' (2007), pp. 249–68; Christys, 'Queen' (2010), pp. 149–70.

Despite initial contact in the middle of the seventh century, direct diplomatic relations between the papacy and Muslim rulers were scarce until the eleventh century.¹⁸⁷ Italian maritime cities, in turn, interacted with the Islamic world from an early period onwards.¹⁸⁸ Direct commercial relations between Venice and Muslim North Africa are attested for the first half of the eighth century,¹⁸⁹ whereas Amalfi maintained commercial relations with Umayyad al-Andalus, North Africa, and Fatimid Egypt in the tenth century.¹⁹⁰ Contemporary Latin sources such as the *Chronicon Salernitanum* provide insight into conflictual and peaceful relations between Naples, Benevent, Salerno, and Amalfi on the one side, Muslim groups in southern Italy as well as in North Africa on the other side.¹⁹¹ Byzantine dominions provided a setting for occasional encounters.¹⁹²

Although Western European regions farther north do not seem to have maintained diplomatic relations, they were not completely isolated from contact with the Islamic world. Anglo-Saxon pilgrims from the British Isles are attested in the Holy Land at the beginning of the eighth century.¹⁹³ Nonetheless, data on the British Isles in the works of Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic historiographers before al-Idrīsī (d. c.560/1165) is either based on late antique Ptolemaic geography or highly distorted. Exchange with the Middle Eastern sphere seems to have been so scarce that it escaped the notice of Arabic-Islamic scholars.¹⁹⁴ Direct relations between the British Isles and al-Andalus remain a matter of speculation.¹⁹⁵ Numismatic evidence attesting to the flow of Middle Eastern and Andalusian Islamic coins to the North before 1000 CE does not prove that the Arabic-Islamic sphere maintained direct relations with northern Europe.¹⁹⁶ However, Arabic-Islamic

¹⁸⁷ König, 'Ausstrahlung' (2010), pp. 43–5, lists the relevant sources. According to Rouche, 'Pape' (1996), pp. 205–16, the papacy was fairly active in the background.

¹⁸⁸ Note papal efforts to disrupt coalitions between Muslim invaders and local powers on the Apennine Peninsula of the ninth century. Cf. Engreen, 'Pope' (1945), pp. 318–30; Daniel, *Arabs* (1975/2004), pp. 76–9; Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), pp. 57–60; Arnold, *Johannes VIII* (2005), pp. 207–20; Gantner, 'Visions' (2012), pp. 403–21.

¹⁸⁹ Hoffmann, 'Adriaküste' (1968), pp. 165–81.

¹⁹⁰ Heyd, *Geschichte* (1879), pp. 104–38; Cahen, 'Texte' (1955), pp. 61–7; Citarella, 'Relations' (1967), pp. 299–312; Citarella, 'Patterns' (1968), pp. 531–55; Schwarz, *Amalfi* (1978), pp. 15–45; Kreutz, 'Ecology' (1988), pp. 103–13; Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), pp. 75–93; Constable, *Trade* (1996), pp. 41–2.

¹⁹¹ *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. Westerbergh.

¹⁹² Cf. Leo III. papa, ep. 7, ed. Hampe (MGH Epp. in Quart 5), p. 98, on papal envoys and Saracen ambassadors in the presence of the Byzantine patricius of Sicily, in 813; cf. Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), p. 49; Eickhoff, *Seekrieg* (1966), p. 60. Liudprandus, *Antapodosis*, ed. Becker (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 41), lib. VI, cap. 6, pp. 155–6, on his encounter with 'Hispanic envoys' in Constantinople.

¹⁹³ Claude, 'Orientfahrten' (2000), pp. 247–8.

¹⁹⁴ Dunlop, 'Isles' (1957), pp. 11–28. See Chapter 8.2.1.

¹⁹⁵ Dunlop, 'Isles' (1957), pp. 11–12. See Picard, 'Récits' (1995), pp. 77–9, 85, as well as Picard, *L'Océan* (1997), pp. 33–4, 76, on possible Muslim navigation of the Atlantic north of the Iberian Peninsula. The tenth-century travel account of the Andalusian Jew Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī may have contained a description of Viking Ireland and a passage on whale hunting, which seems to be based on hearsay gathered by the traveller during his sojourns on the Atlantic coast, see: Miquel, 'L'Europe' (1966), pp. 1050–1, 1057–8.

¹⁹⁶ Musset, 'Scandinavie' (1979), pp. 60–2; Barcelo, 'Why' (1983), pp. 5–18; McCormick, *Origins* (2001), pp. 349–51. Rather curious is a coin minted by the Anglo-Saxon king Offa of Mercia (ruled

sources written before this date devote considerable attention to groups known as 'al-Majūs', 'al-Arman', 'al-Warank', and 'al-Rūs'.¹⁹⁷ Whereas only a few Scandinavians who travelled southeast via the eastern route (*austurvegr*) reached the Muslim Middle East,¹⁹⁸ negotiations in the aftermath of Viking raids on the coastlines of al-Andalus and North Africa resulted in direct contact.¹⁹⁹ These raids may have provoked a Spanish Umayyad embassy to a northern Viking court in the ninth century.²⁰⁰

Diplomatic relations intensified from the eleventh century onwards. Encroaching upon the Mediterranean, Latin Christians transformed existing networks of communication. Having established rule in southern Italy and Sicily, Norman elites began to play a leading role in North African and Middle Eastern affairs for about two centuries.²⁰¹ The crusader principalities of the so-called 'Latin East' soon interacted intensively with their Muslim neighbours.²⁰² Crusading activity attracted manpower from the British Isles²⁰³ and Scandinavia.²⁰⁴ Already an active force in early medieval Italy,²⁰⁵ the Germano-Roman Empire established diplomatic contact with the Ayyubid dynasty in the period leading up to the third crusade. When Sicily had become part of the empire, Frederick II significantly intensified diplomatic relations.²⁰⁶ The expanding Christian polities of the Iberian Peninsula cultivated political relations with Muslim al-Andalus and North Africa.²⁰⁷ Assurgent polities such as the Crown of Aragon reached out to the

757–96) with a deficient Arabic inscription and the lettering 'OFFA REX' that imitates a dinār issued by the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr (ruled 136–58/754–75), cf. Schwendler, 'Angesicht' (2008), pp. 112–13.

¹⁹⁷ Seippel (ed.), *Rerum Normannicarum fontes*, pp. 1–5, 42, 49–78 (trans. Sammara'i, *Sources*), cites texts by Ibn Khurdādhbah, al-Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rustah, al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, al-Mutanabbī, al-Iṣṭakhrī, and al-Bīrūnī.

¹⁹⁸ Musset, 'Scandinavie' (1979), p. 64, on Scandinavians in 'Serkland'. On this term and its disputed location, see Melnikova, 'Inscriptions' (1998), p. 655; Simek, *Kosmographie* (1990), pp. 208–9; Jesch, *Ships* (2008), pp. 104–7.

¹⁹⁹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makki, trans. Makki and Corriente, fol. 186r, p. 454 (AR), p. 315 (ES), on the Norman attack on Seville in 230/844. The aggressors stayed on a nearby island for some days to permit the ransom of prisoners. On the raids, see Collins, *Spain* (1983), pp. 194–6.

²⁰⁰ Allen, *Poet* (1960); El-Hajji, 'Relations' (1967), pp. 67–105; Tibi, 'Vikings' (1996), pp. 211–17; Dietrich, 'al-Ghazāl' (1998), pp. 64–6. Hermes, *Other* (2012), p. 198 n. 32, counters doubts in Pons-Sanz, 'Whom' (2004), pp. 5–28, and Christys, 'Vikings' (2012), pp. 447–57.

²⁰¹ Abulafia, 'Kingdom' (1985), pp. 26–49; Metcalfe, *Muslims* (2009), pp. 160–80; Catlos, *Muslims* (2014), pp. 90–127. See Aubé, *Empire* (1999), on Norman involvement in the crusades.

²⁰² Holt, 'Treaties' (1980), pp. 67–76; Holt, 'Relations' (1988), pp. 180–95; Köhler, *Allianzen* (1991); Dajani-Shakeel, 'Relations' (1993), pp. 190–215; Holt, *Diplomacy* (1995); Catlos, *Muslims* (2014), pp. 128–62.

²⁰³ Tyerman, *England* (1988); Lloyd, *Society* (1988).

²⁰⁴ Riant, *Expéditions* (1865); Orrman, 'Church' (2003), pp. 457–8; Hamre, 'Church' (2003), p. 659; Møller Jensen, *Denmark* (2007), pp. 35–208; Kolditz, 'Herrscher' (2008), p. 90.

²⁰⁵ Pauler, *Regnum* (1982); Wolf, 'Otto II' (1991), pp. 155–61; Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), pp. 5–17, 27–35, 37–47, 102–6, 119–25.

²⁰⁶ Möhring, *Saladin* (1980), pp. 125–9, 134–5; Hamza Shihāta, *al-'alāqāt* (1989); Horst, *Sultan* (1997).

²⁰⁷ Burns and Chevedden, *Cultures* (1999), pp. XIII–XIV, for a valuable bibliographical overview; UMR 5648, *Pays* (2000), pp. 24–5, 143–5, 204–7, 226–9, 242–4, 262–7, for source material in French translation. Cf. Guichard, 'Relations' (2008), pp. 229–47; El-Aallaoui, 'Échanges' (2008), pp. 249–69; Jadla, 'Ifriqiyyah' (2008), pp. 311–21; Viguera Molins, 'À propos' (2008), pp. 469–81; Valérian, 'Agents' (2008), pp. 893–5.

eastern Mediterranean.²⁰⁸ Only the maritime republics of Italy, whose correspondence and treaties with Muslim rulers attest to intensive communication,²⁰⁹ rivalled it in its effort to establish enclaves of commercial and diplomatic activity in Muslim territory.²¹⁰

Consular activity in the Maghreb and the Orient laid a basis for the institutionalization of diplomatic relations. Serving as an intermediary between Latin-Christian powers and Muslim authorities, the consul represented the interests of foreign powers on Muslim soil.²¹¹ Claims were formulated in several bilingual treaties.²¹² Juridical interaction involved cases of varying complexity with regards to the status of Latin-Christian subjects in territory under Muslim rule. The issue of how to classify juridically Muslim 'citizens' subject to Iberian Christian powers but active in Muslim sovereign territory serves to illustrate the degree of communication necessary to find compromises that suited all parties involved.²¹³

Engaged in mobilizing and coordinating crusader forces,²¹⁴ several popes of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries corresponded with Muslim rulers from North Africa and the Middle East in their efforts to protect Christian communities under Muslim rule and to enlarge the community of believers in Christ under papal hegemony.²¹⁵ Although the papacy exerted influence on the Spanish church of the Reconquista period,²¹⁶ letters to or from Muslim rulers in al-Andalus still have to be found. Notwithstanding, direct contact is attested for the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries.²¹⁷ In its diplomacy, the papacy was aided by several monastic orders, e.g. Templars, Hospitallers, Franciscans, and Dominicans,²¹⁸ whose members

²⁰⁸ Schadek, 'Tunis' (1975), pp. 335–49; López Pérez, *Corona* (1995); Coulon, *Barcelone* (2004), pp. 43–132; Jaspert, 'Diplomatie' (2008), pp. 151–90.

²⁰⁹ Amari, *Diplomi* (1863), 2 vols; Mas Latrie, *Traité*s, 2 vols (1866/1872); Wansbrough, *Documents* (1961); Wansbrough, 'Treaty' (1965), pp. 39–79; Wansbrough, 'Venice' (1965), pp. 483–523; Allmendinger, *Beziehungen* (1967); Jehel, *L'Italie* (2001), pp. 103–42; Valérian, 'Gênes' (2004), pp. 827–38; Valérian, 'Agents' (2008), pp. 885–900; Buresi, 'Traduttore' (2008), pp. 297–309.

²¹⁰ Constable, *Housing* (2009), pp. 107–57, 266–305.

²¹¹ Mansouri, 'Consuls' (2000), pp. 151–62; Jehel, *L'Italie* (2001), pp. 116–24; Abulafia, 'Redes' (2004), pp. 338–51. Cf. the case study by Christ, *Conflicts* (2012).

²¹² Mas Latrie, *Traité*s, vol. 1 (1866).

²¹³ Valérian, 'Conflits' (2003), pp. 547–49.

²¹⁴ See France, *Crusades* (2005), pp. 23–63; cf. Housley, *Papacy* (1986); König, 'Ausstrahlung' (2010), pp. 15–16.

²¹⁵ Courtois, 'Grégoire VII' (1945), pp. 97–122, 193–226; Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981); Heringer, *Beziehungen* (1993); Richard, 'Réponses' (2008), pp. 323–32. Papal letters demanding the protection of Christians in Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981), pp. 109, 116, 118–19, 181, 204–5, 280–3; letters exhorting Muslim rulers to convert to Christianity, *ibid.*, pp. 120–5, 128–9, 131, 171; a letter addressing papal efforts to create a union of the Greek church of Antioch with Rome, *ibid.*, pp. 166–7. Cf. Richard, 'Papauté' (1941), pp. 253–61; Setton, *Papacy* (1976, 1978, 1984), 3 vols.

²¹⁶ Linehan, *Church* (1971); Vones, *Historia* (1980); Herbers, 'Papsttum' (2002), pp. 25–60; Engels, 'Südwesten' (2001), pp. 82, 84, 86–7; Linehan, 'Legation' (2001), pp. 236–56; Fleisch, 'Rom' (2008), pp. 135–89; Vones, 'Papsttum' (2009), pp. 157–71; Vones, 'Einflussnahme' (2011), pp. 389–401.

²¹⁷ König, 'Ausstrahlung' (2010), pp. 14–15.

²¹⁸ Müller, *Bettelmonche* (2002), pp. 158–76; lacking a focus on Christian–Muslim relations: Bulst-Thiele, 'Templer' (1964), pp. 289–308; Luttrell, 'Hospitallers' (1998), pp. 595–622; Hiestand, 'Reflections' (2001), pp. 3–20.

served as papal envoys²¹⁹ but also pursued semi-independent agendas, e.g. of redeeming Christian captives²²⁰ and, especially in the case of Franciscans and Dominicans, of preaching the Christian faith to Muslims.²²¹ The rising numbers of treaties, as well as the diplomatic formulae used in letters and contractual agreements attest to the professionalization of diplomacy²²² and an increased aptitude for bridging cultural and religious divides on both sides.²²³

How did all this diplomatic activity contribute to the flow of information from the Latin-Christian to the Arabic-Islamic sphere? Envoys of Christian rulers provided their Muslim hosts with various kinds of information, including propaganda,²²⁴ reports about the situation of their country,²²⁵ potential dangers,²²⁶ details of their mission including political objectives,²²⁷ their opinions about other Latin-Christian actors,²²⁸ and even historical narratives.²²⁹ Muslim envoys in Latin-Christian territories, in turn, had many opportunities to collect impressions of the respective society. Carolingian and Ottonian rulers reportedly kept them waiting for months.²³⁰ Although tendentious and not necessarily authentic,

²¹⁹ Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981), p. 114 (Templars), p. 117 (Hospitallers), pp. 125, 129, 140, 177 (Franciscans), pp. 131, 157, 162–3, 168 (Dominicans).

²²⁰ Ibid., p. 107. For orders active in the western Mediterranean, see Brodman, *Captives* (1986); in the eastern Mediterranean: Friedman, *Encounter* (2002), pp. 187–212, 239–52. Brodman, 'Communism' (2006), pp. 241–52, for a comparison between east and west.

²²¹ Altaner, *Dominikanermmissionen* (1924); Kedar, *Crusade* (1988), pp. 97–158; Tolan, *Saracens* (2002), pp. 214–55; Müller, *Bettelmonche* (2002); Tolan, 'Porter' (2008), pp. 533–48.

²²² Cf. Amari, *Diplomi* (1863), 2 vols; Mas Latrie, *Traité*s, 2 vols (1866/1872); Wansbrough, *Documents* (1961). Compare Pequignot, 'Instructions' (2008), p. 39, and Pequignot, *Nom* (2009), with Björkman, *Beiträge* (1928), on Aragonese and Mamluk administration.

²²³ Kedar, 'Religion' (2008), p. 421.

²²⁴ According to Iohannis abbas, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 4), § 135, p. 376, the Ottonian envoy John of Gorze spoke to the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III of Córdoba about the following issues in 956: 'De nostri imperatoris potentia atque prudentia, de robore et copia militum vel exercitus, de gloria et divitiis, de bellorum industria et successibus, multaque id generis.' Cf. Walther, 'Dialog' (1985), pp. 20–44; Kedar, 'Religion', pp. 407–8; König, 'Auseinandersetzung'en' (2011), pp. 26–8.

²²⁵ When al-Ḥakam II received various delegations from northern Spain in 360/971, 'each party reported on the situation of his country'. Cf. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis VII*, ed. al-Ḥajjī, Annex, p. 242, 'fa-dhakara kull fariq minhum aḥwāl baladihi'.

²²⁶ A messenger from one of the Christian counties of lower Galicia (*adāni Jilliḡiya*) informed the caliph that Norman groups had entered the Duero Valley, cf. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis VII*, ed. al-Ḥajjī, AH 360, p. 27, and the commentary, pp. 254–5.

²²⁷ Dominican envoys, sent by pope Innocence IV to the Ayyubid governor al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm of Homs in 1245, disclosed their objective of establishing diplomatic contacts with the Mongols and unfolded the pope's plans of affiliating the church of Antioch to Rome. Cf. Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981), pp. 163, 167.

²²⁸ Ibn Waṣīl, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Āshūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 251, claims to cite what Frederick II said about the pope to the *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn al-Shaykh in Acre in 626/1228.

²²⁹ A list of Frankish kings presented to the future caliph al-Ḥakam II in Córdoba by the bishop Godemar of Girona in 328/939–40 became available to al-Maṣ'ūdi (d. 345/956), *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 912, p. 146 (AR), p. 344 (FR). Cf. Zuccato, 'Gerbert' (2005), pp. 742–63. Yūsuf b. Waḡār al-Isrā'īli, Jewish physician to the House of Castile, provided Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375), *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 322–38, with a history of the Christian kings of al-Andalus; cf. Antuña, 'Versión' (1933), pp. 105–54; León Tello, *Judios* (1979), vol. 1, pp. 146–7; Stearns, 'Passages' (2004), pp. 157–82.

²³⁰ Notker Balbulus (d. 912), *Gesta*, ed. Haefele (MGH SS rer. Germ NS 12), lib. II, cap. 8, p. 59: 'Nuntiatique imperatori dilati sunt ab eius conspectu usque in vigiliam pasche'; *Annales Bertiniani*,

detailed descriptions of a delegation's activities provide a vivid impression of how envoys acquired information about the workings of a foreign realm and society.²³¹ Such texts enable us to flesh out more secure evidence on 'official' travel companions premonishing their masters of an envoy's mission,²³² on spies entrusted with the task of acquiring intelligence on the ruling elite of a neighbouring realm,²³³ on envoys travelling around and attending official ceremonies,²³⁴ or suffering rejection.²³⁵ Some reports of diplomatic missions are still extant.²³⁶ Previous scholarship explained that Muslim rulers lacked information on the Latin-Christian world because they tended to employ religious minorities in their communication with the latter.²³⁷ However, apart from the fact that many envoys in the sources cited above adhered to Islam, there is no reason why ambassadors had to be Muslims to serve as carriers of information. Muslim rulers will have expected a detailed report on the return of their envoys, regardless of the latter's religious attachment.²³⁸

Political actors in subordinate or non-official roles, e.g. missionaries, hostages, and dissidents, also acted as information carriers. Although resulting in the occasional conversion,²³⁹ missionary activity failed to contribute much to transmission, probably because it was either ignored²⁴⁰ or aroused indignation rather than

ed. G. Waitz (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 5), pars III auctore Hincmaro, a. 863, p. 66: 'quem cum honore et debito salvamento ac subsidio necessario in Silvanectis civitate oportuno tempus, quo remitti honorifice ad regem suum posset, opperiri disposuit'; Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici*, ed. Tremp (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 64), cap. 27, p. 368: 'ferme tribus detenti sunt mensibus'; Iohannis abbas, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 4), § 115, p. 370: 'Legati, quibus episcopus quidam praeerat, dignitate solemnī pro tanta magestate excepti, diuque retenti...'.
²³¹ Notker Balbulus (d. 912), *Gesta*, ed. Haefele (MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 12), lib. II, cap. 8–9, pp. 59–62, on the envoys of Hārūn al-Rashīd to Charlemagne around 800; cf. Nelsen, 'Sichr' (2003), pp. 100–7. Ibn Dihya, *al-muṭrib*, ed. Seippel (*Rerum Normannicarum fontes*), p. 20; Ibn Dihya, *al-muṭrib*, ed. al-Ibyārī et al., p. 146, on an Andalusian embassy to a Viking king in the late ninth century; cf. Jacob, *Berichte* (1927), p. 42; Dunlop, 'Ibn 'Alkama' (1971), p. 701. *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. Westerberg, § 99, p. 100, on Muslim envoys to Salerno; cf. Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), p. 40.
²³² Iohannis abbas, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 4), § 119–20, p. 371.
²³³ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muṭṭabī VII*, ed. al-Ḥajjī, AH 361, p. 76: 'li-l-sifāra baynahu wa-bayna mulūk Jilliḳiyya wa-liḳā' qawāmisihā wa-l-taraddud ilayhim kull waqt li-ta'arruf akhbārihim wa-l-tajassus li-anbā'ihim wa-ḥamal al-kutub ilayhim kull waqt'. Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, p. 426: 'wa-awfada al-sulṭān rusulahu ilā l-Faransī li-khtibār riḥālīhi wa-mushārīatihi 'alā mā yakuff 'azmahu'.
²³⁴ *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. Waitz (MGH SS in us. schol. 18), cap. 23, a. 1173, p. 124: 'Imperator vero eosdem legatos honorifice secum per dimidium fere annum detinuit et singulas civitates et ritus diligenter notare et inspicere concessit'; cf. *Annales Aquenses*, ed. Waitz (MGH SS in folio 24), a. 1174, p. 38: 'Imperator in pascha Aquis coronatus est, et filius eius et imperatrix, sub presentia nuntiorum Salahdin'; cf. Möhring, *Saladin* (1980), pp. 125–9.
²³⁵ Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica maiora*, ed. Luards, vol. 3, pp. 488–9; Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Madden, vol. 2, p. 409, trans. Giles, vol. 1, p. 131.
²³⁶ Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, pp. 248–50. Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 7, p. 551; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, trans. de Slane, vol. 1, p. xlv.
²³⁷ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), pp. 91–2. Further counter-examples in Catlos, *Muslims* (2014), pp. 249–51.
²³⁸ Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981), pp. 132–4, on the non-Muslim envoy Iohannes Gabras, who delivered secret messages from sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubādh of Konya to pope Gregory IX around 1234. Cf. Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), p. 288 with n. 110.
²³⁹ E.g. Kedar, *Crusade* (1988), pp. 8 n. 15, 14 n. 26; Tolan, *Saracens* (2002), p. 138.
²⁴⁰ Petrus Venerabilis, *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, ed. Kritzek, fol. D. 180vs, pp. 230–1, on his intention to write to the 'Saracens', cf. FranceMed, 'Introduction' (2012), pp. 32–3. Papal letters of

interest among Muslims.²⁴¹ However, ecclesiastical activities in Muslim territories may have served the transmission of information in the cases of clerics negotiating the redemption of captives,²⁴² priests, and monks responsible for the pastoral care of local Christians under Muslim rule,²⁴³ or friars who engaged in conversations with Muslim theologians.²⁴⁴ In border zones, we find much evidence for the exchange of hostages, e.g. on the Iberian Peninsula,²⁴⁵ or between crusaders and their Muslim adversaries.²⁴⁶ Moreover, the Muslim world offered many opportunities for defection. Latin-Christian dissidents occasionally won the attention of Muslim elites on the Iberian Peninsula,²⁴⁷ in Italy,²⁴⁸ the Middle East of the crusading period,²⁴⁹ or the late medieval western Mediterranean.²⁵⁰ Most cases of Muslims seeking refuge with Latin-Christian elites before the eleventh century involved dissidents from Muslim Spain who defected to the Frankish realm or the Christian realms in the north.²⁵¹ In later times, one finds Muslim dissidents, political refugees,

pious exhortation to Muslim rulers procured no results; cf. Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981), pp. 120–5, 128–9, 131, 171.

²⁴¹ Kedar, *Crusade* (1988), pp. 136–58, esp. 154–8, on the frustration produced by the failure of missionary activity in Muslim societies; Cénival, 'L'Église' (1927), pp. 69–83, and Tolan, 'Porter' (2008), p. 537 n. 15, on Franciscans in thirteenth-century Marrakesh.

²⁴² Lagardère, *Histoire* (1995), fatwā no. 291, p. 72.

²⁴³ Raimundus de Pennaforte, *Responsiones ad dubitalia*, ed. Ochoa Sanz and Diez, cap. 1–5, pp. 1024–6.

²⁴⁴ Mérigoux, 'L'ouvrage' (1986), p. 62; Burman, 'Friar' (2007), pp. 93–109.

²⁴⁵ The Muslim governor 'Anbasa receives Frankish hostages in Nîmes: *Chronicon Moissiacense*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 1), a. 715, p. 290; Charlemagne receives Saracen hostages from Zaragoza: *Annales Mettenses posteriores*, ed. de Simson (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 10), a. 778, p. 99; *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, ed. Pertz and Kurze (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 6) a. 778, p. 51; *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. Pertz and Kurze (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 6), a. 778, p. 50; Basque hostages taken by the Umayyads: Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makki, pp. 307–9; *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 114 (AR), p. 105 (ES). Cf. Fierro, 'Hostages' (2012), pp. 73–83; Burns, 'Crusade' (1971), p. 143, 147.

²⁴⁶ Frankish hostages taken after the fall of Damiette in 618/1221: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 12, AH 614, p. 216 (Leiden), p. 330 (Beirut). Cf. Hazard, 'Caesarea' (1975), p. 88; Friedman, *Encounter* (2002), pp. 27–8, 68, 77, 117–18, 243; Kosto, 'Hostages' (2003), pp. 3–31; Madden, *History* (2005), p. 175.

²⁴⁷ *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. Pertz and Kurze (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 6), a. 827, p. 172; cf. Sénac, *Carolingiens* (2002), pp. 91–4; *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. Waitz (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol., 5), pars II auctore Prudentio, a. 846, p. 34; cf. Riess, 'Aachen' (2005), pp. 131–57.

²⁴⁸ *Chronica S. Benedicti Casinensis*, ed. Waitz (MGH Script. rer. Lang.), cap. 13, p. 475; cf. Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), p. 39; Liudprandus, *Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis*, ed. Becker (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 41), cap. 4, pp. 160–1; cf. Althoff, *Ottonen* (2005), p. 116.

²⁴⁹ Albertus Aqueensis, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed./trans. Edgington, lib. 2, cap. 37, pp. 126–9; Odo de Diogilo, *De projectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. Waquet, p. 79; *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. Stubbs, vol. 2, p. 307; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. Stubbs, vol. 2, pp. 11–12; Abū Shāma, *al-raudatayn*, ed./trans. Barbier de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 4), AH 586/1191, p. 490; cf. Arnold, *Preaching* (1913), pp. 88–93.

²⁵⁰ Hugo Falcandus, *Historia*, ed. Siragusa, p. 99, trans. Loud and Wiedemann, pp. 147–8; cf. Metcalfe, *Muslims* (2009), p. 202; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, pp. 417–18; vol. 7, p. 89; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, trans. de Slane, vol. 2, p. 347; vol. 3, p. 316; cf. Akasoy, 'Vorlagen' (2008), pp. 153–4; Bresc et al., *Circulation* (2002), p. 69; also see Miret i Sans, 'Vida' (1911), pp. 261–96; Calvet, *Anselmo* (1913); Epalza, 'Aportaciones' (1965), pp. 87–158; Epalza, *Anselm* (1994); Alvarez, 'Anselm' (2002), p. 174.

²⁵¹ *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. Pertz and Kurze (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 7), a. 797, p. 13; *Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. de Simson (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 10), a. 797, p. 82; cf. Sénac, *Carolingiens* (2002), pp. 60–2. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makki, trans. Makki and Corriente,

or their supporters, in the crusader camp²⁵² and at Christian courts of the Iberian Peninsula.²⁵³

It is inconceivable that the close political relations characteristic of these border zones failed to impart a fair impression of the other's society and ruling elite. Neighbourship certainly entailed rumours and gossip crossing political boundaries.²⁵⁴

2.2.3. Military Confrontation and Forced Migration

Military confrontation helped to diffuse rather crude and negative images of the other.²⁵⁵ On the Iberian Peninsula, it seems to have contributed to shaping an image of military prowess that is repeatedly ascribed to 'Franks' and 'Galicians' in Arabic-Islamic historiography.²⁵⁶ It was later extended to the crusaders²⁵⁷ and even propagated by Saladin to incite religious zeal, dedication, and fighting spirit among his troops.²⁵⁸

In situations of conflict, procuring intelligence, i.e. political, strategic, and technical information on the enemy was of utmost importance, as is attested by several sources from the early medieval Iberian Peninsula²⁵⁹ and the crusader Middle East.²⁶⁰ Respect for the other's fighting skills may have led to the use of Muslim

fol. 90a, p. 97 (AR), p. 20 (ES); fol. 104v, p. 146 (AR), pp. 59–60 (ES); fol. 181v–184r, pp. 442–8 (AR), pp. 298–307 (ES); Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makki, pp. 334, 345, 350, 366, 376–9, 382–3, 395–7; al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 917–19, pp. 148–50 (AR), pp. 345–6 (FR); cf. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, AH 327, p. 431; al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 569–70, pp. 341–2.

²⁵² Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 10, AH 505, pp. 243–4 (Leiden), p. 489 (Beirut); Willelmus Tyrensis, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens (CCCM 63A), vol. 2, lib. 18, cap. 9, p. 823.

²⁵³ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāhāda, vol. 6, p. 451; vol. 7, pp. 388, 470, 496–7; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, trans. de Slane, vol. 2, p. 403; vol. 4, pp. 305–6, 440, 479–80.

²⁵⁴ An example provided by al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1527, pp. 910–11; cf. Aurell, *Noces* (1995), pp. 261–78.

²⁵⁵ See Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 206, trans. Jones, pp. 19–20, on Muslim invaders of the Iberian Peninsula pretending to be cannibals. On the relevance of such images for ensuing relations, see Sénac, *Carolingiens* (2002), p. 23.

²⁵⁶ Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārīkh*, ed. Aguadé, § 430, p. 148, 'hunāka al-'adad wa-l-'udda wa-l-jalad wa-l-shidda wa-l-ba's wa-l-najda'; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 216: 'wa-hum aqāṣī 'adūw al-Andalus'; al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 910, p. 145 (AR): 'fa-l-Ifranja ashadd ha'ulā' al-ajnas ba'san wa-amna'uhum janban wa-aktharuhum 'iddatan wa-awsa'uhum mulkan wa-aktharuhum mudunan wa-aḥsanuhum nizāman wa-inqiyādan li-mulūkihim wa-aktharuhum tā'atan, illā anna l-Jalāliqa ashadd min al-Ifranja ba'san wa-a'zam minhum nikāyatan wa-l-rajul min al-Jalāliqa yuqāwim 'iddatan min al-Ifranja', p. 343 (FR); al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 568, p. 341, on the Franks: 'illā anna l-Jalāliqa ashadd minhum ba'san wa-hum ashadd 'alā l-Andalus min jamī' al-umam'; § 1530, p. 913, on the Galicians: 'wa-lahum ba's wa-shidda lā yarūna al-firār 'inda l-liqā' (fi l-ḥarb) wa-yarūna al-mawt dūnahu'; Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 1, p. 120: 'al-Jalāliqa, wa-hum ashadd min al-Faranj...'.
²⁵⁷ Usāma b. Munqidh, *al-i'tibār*, ed./trans. Hitti, p. 132 (AR), p. 161 (EN).

²⁵⁸ Abū Shāma, *al-rauḍatayn*, ed./trans. Barbier de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 4), pp. 429–30.

²⁵⁹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, AH 307, p. 156; AH 308, p. 159: 'mustazhiran 'ala 'ilm khabar al-tāghiya...'; AH 325, p. 402: Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis VII*, ed. al-Ḥajjī, AH 361, p. 92: 'li-tatabbu' akhbār al-Majūs al-Urdumāniyyin—ahlakahum Allāh—al-mutawaqqā'in bi-l-nāhiya, fa-tawāṣṣalā ilā amir al-mu'minin wa-anba'ahu bi-mā qaḍiyā fi wajhihim...'; p. 93: 'al-jawāsis alladhina ursilū li-imtiḥān akhbārihim 'ādū ilayhā ba'da bulūghihim Shant Yāqub min qāṣiyat balad al-'adūw...'.
²⁶⁰ On the crusaders' weapons, tactics, as well as the use of spies, see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 10, AH 504, p. 336 (Leiden), pp. 479–80 (Beirut); Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed.

archers in the Angevin armies of southern Italy,²⁶¹ and explain the employment of Latin-Christian mercenaries in the late medieval Maghreb.²⁶² Long-lasting military interaction also involved cooperation and exchange between both sides. On the Iberian Peninsula as well as in the Latin East it engendered social relations between the members of different warrior elites sharing similar values.²⁶³

Leading to the enslavement of many, military confrontation also catered to the needs of a commercial sphere represented by merchants eager for profit and economies hungry for human labour in various functions.²⁶⁴ Muslim males and females deported to Christian territory constituted an integral element of medieval Latin-Christian societies bordering directly on the Arabic-Islamic world.²⁶⁵ Historiographical sources mention Muslim captives and slaves who were able to return to Muslim society, where they 'reported what had happened to them'.²⁶⁶ Juridical

al-Shayyāl, pp. 211, 213–14, trans. Wilson, pp. 210–11, 214. Cf. Zouache, *Armées* (2008), p. 134, and ch. VII.1.

²⁶¹ Taylor, *Muslims* (2005), pp. 86, 102–10.

²⁶² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 338–9; cf. Alemany, *Milicias* (1904), pp. 133–69; Barton, 'Traitors' (2002), pp. 23–62.

²⁶³ On the Iberian Peninsula, the figure of 'el Cid' stands for this shared culture of chivalry. Cf. Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. 'Abbās, vol. 4, pp. 31–40, 147–51; cf. Hitchcock, 'al-Sid' (1997), pp. 533–4; Fletcher, *Quest* (1990). In the Latin East, this shared culture also existed, cf. Usāma b. Munqidh, *al-i'tibār*, ed. Hitti, pp. 132, 134–5, 140–1; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus*, ed. Strange, cap. IV, 15, p. 187. It is also reflected in positive depictions of Saladin in Christian sources, cf. Möhring, 'Islam' (1993), pp. 131–55; Möhring, 'Saladin' (2005), pp. 160–75; Tolan, 'Mirror' (2008), pp. 79–100.

²⁶⁴ See the motives ascribed to slave traders from Verdun: Liudprandus, *Antapodosis*, ed. Becker (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 41), lib. VI, cap. 6, pp. 155–6; cf. Constable, *Trade* (1996), pp. 96–7, 205; Sénac, 'Maghreb' (2004), p. 34. Verlinden, *Esclavage*, 2 vols (1955/1977), remains the most comprehensive study on medieval slavery.

²⁶⁵ For an overview, see Heers, *Esclaves* (1981), pp. 24–39, 135–64, 199–204, 214–24; Koningsveld, 'Slaves' (1995), pp. 5–23. On the situation in the Carolingian realm: McCormick, 'Light' (2002), pp. 17–54; in Christian Spain: Ibn Hayyān, *al-muqtaba II-1*, ed. Makki, trans. Makki and Corriente, fol. 184r, p. 445 (AR), p. 307 (ES); Delgado, *Esclaus* (2003); Echevarría Arsuaga, 'Esclavos' (2007), pp. 465–88; in France: Ademar of Cabannensis, *Chronicon*, ed. Bourgain et al. (CCCM 129), beta et gamma, cap. III, 52, p. 171; Davin, 'Esclaves' (1843), pp. 27–37, 100–15; Bernardi, 'Esclaves' (2000), pp. 79, 81, 83–4, 89; Clément, 'Esclaves' (2006), pp. 48–53; in Norman Sicily: Bresc, 'Esclaves' (1996), pp. 97–114; in Italy: *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 2, cap. CV (Leo III, sed. 847–55), § 525 (§ LV), p. 119; cf. Herbers, *Leo IV* (1996), p. 117; Eickhoff, *Seekrieg* (1966), p. 187; Jehel, 'Jews' (1996), pp. 123–5; in the Crusader principalities: Vauchez, 'Note' (1996), pp. 91–6.

²⁶⁶ Badr al-Dīn al-Aynī (d. 855/1453), *iqd al-jumʿan*, ed./trans. Barbier de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 2, 1), AH 627, p. 196, reports that 'the Franks' sent the captives taken during the Aragonese conquest of Mallorca in 627/1229 'to the [Syrian] coast, where the Muslims redeemed them'. They set forth to Damascus and reported what had happened to them' (fa-qaddamū bihim ilā l-sāhil fa-saḡal-lahum al-muslimīn wa-qaddamū ilā Dimashq wa-akhbarū bi-mā jarā 'alayhim). Other cases involve the former Byzantine captive Hārūn b. Yahyā who provided Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-nafisa*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 119–21, 128–32, with information on Rome, cf. Izzedin, 'Hārūn b. Yahyā' (1971), p. 232; Lewis and Hopkins, 'Ifrandj' (1971), p. 1044. Doubts formulated by Möhring, 'Konstantinopel' (1989), p. 71 n. 66, are not convincing, considering that Ibn Rustah provides the earliest Arabic-Islamic description of the medieval as opposed to the late antique papacy. The Aghlabid eunuch 'Alī, taken captive by Bertha of Tuscany, allegedly transmitted a letter to the Abbasid caliph in 293/905–06, cf. al-Rashid b. al-Zubayr, *al-dhakḥā'ir*, ed. Ḥamidullāh, pp. 9–17 (Introduction), pp. 48–54 (AR), trans. al-Hijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, pp. 11–13 (Introduction), § 69, pp. 91–8 (EN). Doubts formulated by Christys, 'Queen' (2010), pp. 149–70, are not convincing, considering that Bertha's letter is also mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 20; Levi della Vida, 'Corrispondenza' (1954), pp. 21–38; König, 'Caught' (2012), pp. 58–9. 'Alī b. Mujāhid, son of the lord of the *tā'ifa*-principality

documents deal with the ransom of Muslim prisoners as well as with fugitive slaves, but fail to provide details about their captivity and the news they brought home.²⁶⁷

Latin-Christian captives and slaves in Muslim territory probably played a more important role as transmitters. Even if they were redeemed thanks to increasingly institutionalized activities in the high and late Middle Ages,²⁶⁸ they interacted with a Muslim environment. We can trace their way onto the slave market²⁶⁹ and find evidence for their employment in different functions²⁷⁰ or their integration into existing family structures.²⁷¹ The occasional source proves that such forced immigrants furnished information about their place of origin.²⁷²

In the course of Latin-Christian expansionism, several Muslim communities came under Latin-Christian rule, notably in Sicily, on the Iberian Peninsula, and in the crusader principalities who, in this situation, maintained links to Muslim societies.²⁷³ Muslim refugees from regions conquered by Latin Christians are also attested,²⁷⁴ including the occasional reference to how they perceived their former home and its new Christian rulers.²⁷⁵

of Denia, was abducted by the Pisans in 405/1014, but returned home after seventeen years of captivity, cf. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 219–22; trans. Hoenerbach, *Geschichte* (1970), pp. 404–8; cf. König, 'Caught' (2012), pp. 65–6.

²⁶⁷ Lagardère, *Histoire* (1995), fatwā no. 199, p. 54, on a Muslim captive who left his son as a guarantee when seeking the necessary ransom back home. Other examples, e.g. fugitive Muslim slaves from the late medieval Spanish Levant or Venice, in Heers, *Esclaves* (1981), pp. 233–40.

²⁶⁸ Christian orders specialized in the ransom of captives were founded from the twelfth century onwards, cf. Brodman, *Captives* (1986); Brodman, 'Community' (2006), pp. 241–2; Friedman, *Encounter* (2002); Richard, 'Prisonniers' (2003), pp. 63–73; Buresi, 'Captifs' (2007), pp. 113–30; Valérien, 'Rachat' (2006), pp. 343–58.

²⁶⁹ See the standard sale contract in Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 399/1009), *al-wathāʾiq*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, pp. 33–6.

²⁷⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, pp. 578–9; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, trans. de Slane, vol. 3, pp. 117–18; Lev, 'Prisoners' (2001), p. 17; Friedman, *Encounter* (2002), pp. 113–16.

²⁷¹ Lagardère, *Histoire* (1995), fatwā no. 141, from tenth-century Córdoba, p. 406; fatwā no. 36, pp. 24–5, from eleventh-century Kairouan; Goitein, 'Slaves' (1962), pp. 7, 9, on eleventh-century Cairo; Ruggles, 'Mothers' (2004), pp. 69–76, and Fernández Félix, 'Children' (2001), pp. 61–72, on early medieval al-Andalus. On rearing slave elites in the Islamic Middle East, see Lev, 'Army' (1987), pp. 338–9.

²⁷² al-ʿUmārī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, p. 1 (AR), based much of what he knew about the Latin-Christian world on the report of a Genoese client in the service of the Mamluk *amīr* Bahādūr al-Muʿizzī. According to Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 68–9; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, trans. Rosenthal, vol. 1, pp. 116–17, Europeans sold inhabitants of the Canaries along the Moroccan coast who then learned Arabic and provided information about conditions on their island.

²⁷³ Catlos, *Muslims* (2014); Powell (ed.), *Muslims* (1990); Lagardère, *Histoire* (1995), fatwā no. 121, p. 38; fatwā no. 284, p. 70; fatwā no. 290, p. 71; fatwā no. 68, pp. 128–9; cf. Abou el Fadl, 'Law' (1994), pp. 141–87; Lopes de Barros, *Tempos* (2007), pp. 158–80; Ferrer i Mallol, 'Mudejars' (1992), p. 185 n. 54.

²⁷⁴ For the crusader context, see Talmon-Heller and Kedar, 'Survivors' (2005), pp. 166–8. On refugees from the Muslim 'colony' of Lucera, see al-Himyarī, *al-rawd al-miʿtār*, ed. ʿAbbās, lemma 'Lūjāra', p. 514; cf. Heers, *Esclaves* (1981), pp. 29–30; Taylor, *Muslims* (2005), pp. 173–202; Abulafia, 'Muslims' (2007), pp. 271–87. On the impact of refugees from Spain in North Africa, see Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 528–9.

²⁷⁵ al-Wansharī, *asnā al-matājir*, ed. Muʿnis, p. 149: 'sarrahū bi-dhamm dār al-islām wa-sha'nihi, wa-shatm alladhī kāna al-sabab lahum fi hādhihi al-hijra wa-sabbihi, wa-bi-madh dār al-kufr wa-ahl-ihi, wa-l-nadam 'alā mufāraqatihi...'; cf. Lagardère, *Histoire* (1995), fatwā no. 182, p. 48.

2.2.4. Commercial Traffic

Closely linked to the mobility of humans, manifold objects were moved from the Latin-Christian to the Arabic-Islamic world via commercial and other networks, carrying information about the natural resources, productive capacities as well as the technical and intellectual achievements of Latin-Christian societies.

Raw materials seem to have played an important role among the objects imported from Western Europe from the early Middle Ages onwards, including hides, furs, resin, corals, wood, linen, metals, as well as slaves.²⁷⁶ Oil, wheat, grain, wine, sugar, amber, cloves, cotton, and gyrfalcons only seem to have been exported from the high Middle Ages onwards.²⁷⁷ The most detailed Arabic-Islamic descriptions of the natural resources of Western Europe can be found in the works of al-Bakrī and al-Qazwīnī, both of whom drew on the tenth-century travel account of the Andalusian Jew Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī.²⁷⁸ They mention the location of salines,²⁷⁹ classify regions according to their productivity and fertility,²⁸⁰ and give climatic reasons for famines.²⁸¹ The fact that references to mines can also be found in other works of geography, shows, however, that this travel account was not the only source of information.²⁸² In view of the increasing Western European engagement in the Mediterranean economy,²⁸³ it seems plausible that rough data on Europe's natural resources was available to Muslims engaged in commercial enterprises with the Latin West.

²⁷⁶ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 92; *Decretum Venetorum*, a. 971, ed. Tagel and Thomas, p. 26; Hoffmann, 'Adriaküste' (1968), pp. 177–8; Lombard, 'Arsenaux' (1958), pp. 53–106; Lombard, 'Problème' (1959), pp. 234–54; Sénac, *Musulmans* (1980), p. 103; McCormick, *Origins* (2001), pp. 729–78.

²⁷⁷ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 545–46, p. 332; *Concilium Lateranense IV* (1215), ed./trans. Alberigo and Wohlmuth, § 71, p. 270; Ibn Sa'id, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, pp. 169, 181, 200; copied by Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, pp. 188, 266–7; Guillelmus Adae, *De modo Sarracenos extirpandi*, ed. Kohler (RHC doc. arm. 2), p. 523; Lagardère, *Histoire* (1995), fatwā no. 68, pp. 128–9; Mansouri, 'Produits' (1997), pp. 134–8.

²⁷⁸ Cf. Jacob, *Berichte* (1927); Miquel, 'L'Europe' (1966), pp. 1048–64.

²⁷⁹ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 547, p. 333, on the 'saline of the Jews' on the river Saale in modern-day Saxony; al-Qazwīnī, *āthār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 413, on the production of salt in the city of Soest (*Shūshī*).

²⁸⁰ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 354, p. 240, on the abundance of fruit in the Frankish lands; § 543, p. 331, on the abundance and export of horses in the Slavic land 'Nāqūn'; § 544, p. 331, on the difficulty of moving troops in the mud, thickets, and meadows of the same region; § 545–46, p. 332, on the low prices for grain, poultry, etc. on the markets of Prague; § 559, p. 337, on the growing of apples, pears, and prunes in Slavic territory; § 1530, p. 913, on sorghum grown in the sandy soil of Galicia; al-Qazwīnī, *āthār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 334, on the abundance of goods, fruit, grain, arable land, rivers, stock breeding, honey, and game in the Frankish lands; p. 388, on the salty soil and infertility of the region around Utrecht, the lack of firewood and the use of peat as fuel; pp. 389, 409, on the fertile regions around Bordeaux and Mainz; p. 396, on the lack of vineyards and trees in Rouen and the abundance of wheat and spelt; p. 415, on the abundance of food, meat, honey, and arable land in tenth-century Poland.

²⁸¹ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 557, p. 336.

²⁸² al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1503, p. 898, on minerals in the Frankish lands; al-Qazwīnī, *āthār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 334, on silver mines in the Frankish lands; Ibn Sa'id, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, p. 181, on mines in Ireland and on the British Isles; cf. Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 188.

²⁸³ Cf. Heyd, *Geschichte* (1879), pp. 145–604; Abulafia, 'Role' (1994), pp. 1–24; McCormick, *Origins* (2001), pp. 729–77.

Early medieval Western Europe is often presented as an impoverished barbarian hinterland that was only capable of furnishing unfinished materials to a more advanced Islamic economy.²⁸⁴ Such judgement seems premature, for objects of higher artisanal value and quality reached the Arabic-Islamic sphere as well. Large amounts of booty from Western Europe, including many precious objects, must have reached the Arabic-Islamic sphere as a result of the Muslim expansion.²⁸⁵ The latter was followed by raids to the same effect, e.g. on the Apennine Peninsula.²⁸⁶ Diplomatic envoys brought further precious objects to the Arabic-Islamic sphere.²⁸⁷ Western European products revealing craftsmanship also reached the Islamic sphere via commercial channels, already in the early medieval period, increasingly from the high Middle Ages onwards.²⁸⁸ Ironically, weapons played a leading role, including swords²⁸⁹ and other kinds of military apparatus.²⁹⁰ Textiles from the Latin West also feature in the sources,²⁹¹ exports rising from the twelfth century onwards,²⁹² flooding the Egyptian market by the fifteenth century.²⁹³ By

²⁸⁴ Lombard, 'Bases' (1947), pp. 143–4; Lombard, *Espaces* (1972), p. 97; Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), pp. 91, 299–300, 411, 415; Daniel, *Arabs* (1975/2004), p. 18; Lieber, 'Practices' (1968), pp. 230–7.

²⁸⁵ *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 73, p. 354; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, pp. 208–9; al-Balādhurī, *futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, § 275, p. 235, on the booty acquired on the Iberian Peninsula, in Sardinia and Sicily. On Muslim raids in these early centuries, see Guichard, 'Débuts' (1983), pp. 55–76.

²⁸⁶ See e.g. *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 2, cap. CIV (Sergius II, sed. 844–7), § 493 (§ XLIII–XLVII), pp. 99–101; Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), pp. 26–7; Liudprandus, *Antapodosis*, ed. Becker (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 41), lib. II, cap. 43–4, pp. 56–7.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Notker Balbulus, *Gesta*, ed. Haefele (MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 12), lib. II, cap. 9, p. 63; al-Rashid b. al-Zubayr, *al-dhakhā'ir*, ed. Hamidullāh, pp. 48–54; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 320, AH 330, p. 475; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makki, pp. 130–1; Iohannis abbas, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 4), § 122, 130, 134, pp. 372, 375, 376; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāḥāda, vol. 7, p. 551; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomenes*, trans. de Slane, vol. 1, p. xlv; al-Maqrizī, *al-sulūk*, ed. 'Aṭā, vol. 4, AH 767, p. 294; vol. 5, AH 791, p. 215; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *inbā' al-ghumr*, ed. Ḥabashī, vol. 1, AH 791, p. 364.

²⁸⁸ For an overview, see Heyd, *Geschichte* (1879), pp. 145–604; Abulafia, 'Role' (1994), pp. 1–24; McCormick, *Origins* (2001), pp. 729–77.

²⁸⁹ Hoyland and Gilmour, *Swords* (2006), pp. 22–3, 42–3. Hoyland and Gilmour, *ibid.*, pp. 57, 77, suggest that the 'Frankish' swords mentioned in al-Kindī's ninth-century treaty on swordmaking were produced by the *Rūs*, the Slavs, and the Vikings. Zeki Validi, 'Schwerter' (1936), pp. 22–6, proffers arguments for a real Frankish origin. For swords that undoubtedly stem from the Latin West, see Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 153; copied by Ibn al-Faqīh, *mukhtaṣar*, ed. de Goeje, p. 84; Ibn Ḥawqal, *ṣūrat al-aṣḥ*, ed. Kramers, p. 110; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 20, trans. Dodge, p. 38; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 179, p. 268; al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1532, p. 914; Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, pp. 181, 194.

²⁹⁰ *Decretum Venetorum*, a. 971, ed. Tagel and Thomas, p. 26; cf. Hoffmann, 'Adriaküste' (1968), pp. 177–8; Lombard, *Espaces* (1972), pp. 102–4; *Concilium Lateranense IV* (1215), ed./trans. Alberigo and Wohlmuth, vol. 2, § 71, p. 270; Raimundus de Pennaforte, *Responsiones ad dubitalia*, ed. Ochoa and Diez, cap. 3, p. 1025; Guillelmus Adae, *De modo Sarracenos extirpandi*, ed. Kohler (RHC doc. arm. 2), p. 523.

²⁹¹ Ibn Hawqal, *ṣūrat al-aṣḥ*, ed. Kramers, pp. 202–3; Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, p. 200; copied by Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, pp. 187–8.

²⁹² Mansouri, 'Produits' (1997), pp. 136–8.

²⁹³ Coulon, 'L'expansion' (2003), pp. 159–75.

this time, parchment and even paper, originally adopted from the Islamic world,²⁹⁴ were imported from Christian lands as well.²⁹⁵

Were Muslim consumers aware of the origin of imported objects? Raiders had seen the places they had looted, the donor of a diplomatic present was known to the ruler receiving envoys, and Muslim merchants in contact with their Western European colleagues or their intermediaries will have been aware of the regional origin of the products they purchased. This knowledge was probably lost as objects passed from one consumer to the next. However, since the above-mentioned Arabic-Islamic texts occasionally link objects and products with specific regions of origin, production techniques, and trade routes, the influx of objects probably contributed to spreading some information about the economic resources of Western Europe.²⁹⁶

2.2.5. Infrastructures of Travel and Communication

Infrastructures of transport, travel, and exchange facilitated this traffic from the Latin-Christian to the Arabic-Islamic sphere. Early medieval sources feature travellers accused of being spies, and mention prices, exchange rates, problems of obtaining valid travel documents, and uncooperative local authorities as well as the lodgings of merchants.²⁹⁷ High and late medieval sources comment on various aspects of transport logistics, dealings with port authorities, decrees of safe-conduct for foreigners, instances of financial compensation, multi-ethnic ship crews, the sale of ships between Christians and Muslims, and passengers of different religious affiliation sharing commercial vessels.²⁹⁸ Sustained by professionals, controlled by authorities, and used by pilgrims, envoys, merchants, and other travellers, this infrastructure of travel carried people of various origins and religious convictions, revealing a cosmopolitan group of actors well described by the socionym 'people of the sea' (*ahl al-baḥr*), employed by Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286).²⁹⁹

²⁹⁴ Kennedy, *Conquests* (2007), p. 16; Bloom, *Paper* (2001). On the Christian appropriation of paper mills on the Iberian Peninsula, see Burns, 'Revolution' (1981), pp. 1–30.

²⁹⁵ al-Wansharīṣī as summarized by Lagardère, *Histoire* (1995), fatwā no. 150, p. 42; as well as al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 123, both mention paper imported from Christian lands, using terms such as 'al-kāghid al-rūmī' or 'waraq faranjī'.

²⁹⁶ Muslim merchants must have been aware of the products in demand, cf. Georgopoulou, 'Commodities' (2009), p. 77; Ritzerfeld, 'Metallkunst' (2011), pp. 524–31.

²⁹⁷ E.g. Hugeburc, *Vita Willibaldi*, ed. Holder-Egger (MGH SS in folio 15), cap. 4, pp. 94–5, 100; Notker Balbulus, *Gesta*, ed. Haeferle (MGH SS rer. Germ NS 12), lib. II, cap. 8, pp. 59, 62; Bernardus, *Itinerarium*, ed. Migne (PL 121), cap. 2, 5–7, cols 569–71; Yahyā b. Saʿīd, *Histoire*, ed./trans. Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev (*Patrologia Orientalis* 23/2), pp. 447–8. Cf. McCormick, *Origins* (2001), pp. 123–73, 237–80.

²⁹⁸ E.g. Mas Latrie, *Traité*s, vol. 1 (1866), pp. 121, 205, 365–6; cf. Jehel, 'Jews' (1996), p. 123; Jehel, *Génois* (1993), p. 371; Stern, 'Petitions' (1964), pp. 1–7; *Concilium Lateranense IV* (1215), ed./trans. Alberigo and Wohlmuth, § 71, p. 270; Raimundus de Pennafort, *Responsiones ad dubitalia*, ed. Ochoa and Diez, cap. 3, p. 1025; Ibn Jubayr, *riḥla*, s. ed., pp. 276–99; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *riḥla*, ed./trans. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, vol. 2, pp. 254–5, 357; Lagardère, *Histoire* (1995), fatwā no. 86, p. 33; fatwā no. 122, p. 38.

²⁹⁹ Ibn Saʿīd, *al-jughnāfiyā*, ed. al-ʿArabī, p. 183. See *Medieval Encounters* 13/1 (2007) on multicultural crews and navies of the medieval Mediterranean.

Specialists were also needed to surmount linguistic barriers. In early medieval sources, foreigners or members of ethnic and religious minorities generally fulfil the function of interpreters.³⁰⁰ This has led some scholars to explain all kinds of successful linguistic exchange between Latin-Christian and Islamic societies with reference to minority intervention.³⁰¹ In the Latin West, the wish to receive access to Graeco-Arabic science³⁰² and the problems encountered by Mendicant missionaries³⁰³ seem to have given a decisive impulse to the earliest initiatives to institutionalize the teaching of Arabic in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.³⁰⁴ Since there is no tangible evidence for a comparable process of institutionalizing foreign-language teaching in the Arabic-Islamic world of the same period, scholars have maintained that, in the Islamic world, knowledge of foreign languages remained 'a specialized craft belonging to the non-Muslim communities' that was 'marked with a stigma of social inferiority'.³⁰⁵ These explanations fall short in that they fail to acknowledge the many varieties of linguistic interaction as well as the increasing degree of professionalization of intersocietal communication between the Arabic-Islamic and the Latin-Christian sphere.

In the wake of the Arabic-Islamic expansion to the west, native speakers of Romance languages on the one side, different variants of Berber and Arabic on the other side, began to intermingle. On an intrasocietal level, constant interaction between different linguistic groups quickly led to the development of linguistic coping mechanisms,³⁰⁶ which, in the most studied case of al-Andalus, led to a large-scale process of Arabization among the Christian communities under Muslim rule.³⁰⁷ However, linguistic interaction did not leave Arabic unaffected. Ibn Khaldūn's (d. 808/1406) statement that Andalusian Arabic was subjected to 'corruption' (*fasād*) by the languages of 'Galicians' and 'Franks' is corroborated by linguistic research.³⁰⁸ Since the Muslim elites of al-Andalus initially constituted a demographic minority vis-à-vis the Romance-speaking Christian and Jewish population and mainly grew numerically thanks to the conversion of this Romance-speaking population to Islam, it is highly probable that Romance idioms were widely used by Christians, Jews, converts to Islam, Berbers, and even Arab Muslims

³⁰⁰ E.g. Hugelburc, *Vita Willibaldi*, ed. Holder-Egger (MGH SS in folio, 15), cap. 4, p. 95; *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. Pertz and Kurze (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 6), a. 801, p. 116; Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 153–4; Iohannis abbas, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 4), § 121, 128, pp. 371–2, 374; Ibn Hayyān, *al-muqtabis III*, ed. al-'Arabi, AH 288, p. 158; Ibn Hayyān, *al-muqtabis VII*, ed. al-Hajjī, AH 360, pp. 22, 32, 64; AH 363, p. 147; al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *al-dhakhā'ir*, ed. Hamīdullāh, pp. 48–50, trans. Hījāwī, § 69, pp. 91–3.

³⁰¹ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 81; Schneider, *Dolmetschen* (2012), p. 116.

³⁰² Cf. Hasse, 'Conditions' (2006), pp. 68–84; Burnett, 'Translation' (2007), pp. 1220–31; Burnett, *Arabic* (2009).

³⁰³ E.g. Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981), ep. 24, pp. 162–3, on these problems.

³⁰⁴ Altaner, 'Sprachstudien' (1931), pp. 113–35; Altaner, 'Ausbildung' (1933), pp. 233–41; Altaner, 'Sprachkenntnisse' (1936), pp. 83–126; Altaner, 'Kenntnis' (1936), pp. 437–52; Fück, *Studien* (1955), pp. 1–72; Tolan, 'Porter' (2008), pp. 533–48.

³⁰⁵ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 81.

³⁰⁶ Versteegh, 'Origin' (1986), pp. 337–52; Agius, *Siculo Arabic* (1996), pp. 359–98.

³⁰⁷ Miller-Gérard, *Chrétiens* (1984), pp. 49–62; Fierro, *Al-Andalus* (2001), pp. 13–24, esp. 16–21; Vicente, *Proceso* (2007). See Chapter 2.2.1.

³⁰⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 770–1; cf. Corriente, *Árabe* (1992).

during the first centuries of Muslim rule. This is corroborated by sources that feature members of the Muslim elite capable of speaking or at least understanding Romance.³⁰⁹ The thrust of Romance-speaking populations to the south in the course of the so-called Reconquista probably enhanced the role of Romance skills among the various Muslim populations now under Christian rule.³¹⁰ Similar linguistic shifts of Arabization and successive Romanization accompanied by widely diffused bi- or multilingualism can also be traced for Sicily.³¹¹

The bi- or multilingual effects of these intrasocietal linguistic developments are not irrelevant for intersocietal communication between the Latin-Christian and the Arabic-Islamic sphere. However, they did not only contribute to the emergence of the bi- or multilingual 'minority groups' cherished as interpreters in an early medieval context. They provided the human resources with the appropriate linguistic skills to facilitate day-to-day communication not only within the Romance-Arabic societies of the western Mediterranean, but also in the many border regions between the Latin-Christian and the Arabic-Islamic sphere. Seen against this background, it is not surprising that early medieval sources describing Christian-Muslim encounters in the contact zones of southern France, the Iberian Peninsula, and southern Italy do not seem to consider direct communication between Christians and Muslims as abnormal.³¹² Latin-Christian expansionism then had the effect of acquainting a greater number of Latin Christians with Arabic and of spreading the use of Romance idioms in the Mediterranean. The sources proffer examples for captives, travellers, crusaders, etc. acquiring language skills through 'learning by doing' or via different methods of systematic training.³¹³ It is thanks

³⁰⁹ E.g. al-Khushanī, *kitāb al-quḍāh*, ed./trans. Ribera, pp. 111–12, 139 (AR), pp. 136, 171 (ES). Cf. Wasserstein, 'Situation' (1991), pp. 1–15; Gallego García, 'Languages' (2003), pp. 132–3.

³¹⁰ Gallego García, 'Languages' (2003), pp. 114–16; Catlos, *Muslims* (2014), pp. 448–51. Also see Petrus Venerabilis, *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, ed. Kritzeck, p. 229; *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés, p. xi, p. 3 with ns 1–3, on Muslims involved in the Latin translation of the Qur'an and of Aḥmad al-Rāzī's historiographical work *akhbār mulūk al-Andalus*. On the translation technique, see d'Alverny, 'Traductions' (1994), pp. 193–206.

³¹¹ Agius, *Siculo Arabic* (1996), pp. 93–122; also see Bresc, *Arabes* (2001); Metcalfe, *Muslims* (2003).

³¹² Cf. Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*, ed. Dümmler (MGH Poetae, 2), lib. 1, pp. 11–12, v. 207–49; *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. Westerbergh, § 110–11, pp. 122–3; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makkī, fol. 283b, AH 266, pp. 396–7; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 80–81, AH 303, pp. 120–2.

³¹³ On Muslim captives integrating into a new social context, see Ademar Cabannensis, *Chronicon*, ed. Bourgain et al. (CCCM 129), recensiones beta et gamma, cap. III, 52, p. 171; trans. Chauvin and Pon, p. 266 n. 471. On a Muslim traveller picking up Romance words, see Ibn Jubayr, *riḥla*, s. ed., pp. 271, 275, 277–9, 283. On Muslims and Christians acquiring language skills in a crusader context, see Willelmus Tyrensis, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens (CCCM 63A), vol. 2, lib. 18, cap. 9, p. 823; cf. Kedar, *Crusade* (1988), p. 82; Forey, 'Orders' (2002), p. 10; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus*, ed. Strange, cap. IV, 15, p. 186–7; cf. Waas, *Geschichte* (2005), vol. 2, p. 211; Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed./trans. Barbier de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 3), pp. 121–2; Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, p. 155; Abū Shāma, *al-raḥdatayn*, ed./trans. Barbier de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 4), p. 396; Arnoldus Lubecensis, *Chronica*, ed. Lappenberg (MGH SS in folio 21), lib. VII, cap. 8, p. 240; Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. James et al., lib. 1, cap. 22, pp. 66–7; cf. Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 83; Attiya, 'Knowledge' (1999), pp. 203–13; Friedman, *Encounter* (2002), pp. 117–18, 141.

to this military and economic expansion in the high and late medieval period that Romance elements make up such a large percentage of the so-called 'lingua franca', the vehicular language attested among Muslims and Christians of the early modern Mediterranean.³¹⁴

In addition to these linguistic coping mechanisms and phenomena that developed as a consequence of the interaction between Romance- and Arabic-speakers, we can witness an increasing degree of institutionalization in the field of cross-lingual communication and transmission at the latest from the twelfth century onwards, most notably in the juridical sphere. Trilingual charters in Norman Sicily,³¹⁵ bilingual treaties concluded between representatives of Latin-Christian and Arabic-Islamic polities³¹⁶ as well as the increasing number of references to professional interpreters provide proof. Their activity, already deemed necessary in early Islamic legislation,³¹⁷ is attested in Norman-Angevin Sicily,³¹⁸ the crusader principalities and their Muslim neighbours,³¹⁹ the papal curia,³²⁰ the Iberian Peninsula,³²¹ the Mamluk court,³²² and in the texts of 'international' treaties between the Crown of Aragon, Italian maritime republics, and the various polities of North Africa.³²³ Latest from the late thirteenth century onwards, these treaties were the product of complex mechanisms intended to guarantee that a translation was correct.³²⁴ It may be emphasized that we do not only find Christians or Christian converts to Islam among these linguistic mediators, but also Muslims, e.g. scribes in the service of crusader lords,³²⁵ translators, and interpreters in the service

³¹⁴ Dakhliia, *Lingua* (2008), pp. 16–17; Dakhliia, 'Histoire' (2010), pp. 22–3. Also see Aslanov, *Français* (2006), pp. 13–32; Kahane et al., *Lingua* (1958).

³¹⁵ Johns, *Administration* (2002), pp. 207, 297–8. On other trilingual phenomena in Sicily, see Bresc, *Arabes* (2001), pp. 39–47; Metcalfe, *Muslims* (2003), pp. 127–8, 135–7.

³¹⁶ Amari, *Diplomi* (1863); Mas Latrie, *Traité*s, vol. 1 (1866); Amari, *Ricordi* (1873); Wansbrough, *Documents* (1961); Burns and Chevedden, *Cultures* (1999).

³¹⁷ Tyan, *Histoire* (1960), pp. 72, 258. ³¹⁸ Sivo, 'Lingue' (1995), pp. 89–111.

³¹⁹ Riley-Smith, 'Officials' (1972), pp. 15–19, 22–4; Gabrieli, *Historians* (1984), pp. 98, 110–12, 134, 315; Minervini, 'Contacts' (1996), pp. 57–62; Bosselmann-Cyran, 'Dolmetscher' (1997), pp. 47–66; Jankrift, 'Rechtsgeschäfte' (2008), pp. 477–84.

³²⁰ Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luards, vol. 4, a. 1246, pp. 566–8; Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Madden, vol. 3, p. 11; Radulfus de Diceto, *Opera historica*, ed. Stubbs, vol. 2, pp. 25–6. Also see the Latin translations of Arabic letters in Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981).

³²¹ *Siete Partidas*, ed. La Real Academia de Historia, vol. 3, partida quinta, capitulo XI, ley I, p. 255, trans. Scott, vol. 4, p. 1092; cf. Echevarría, 'Trujamane's' (2013), pp. 73–94.

³²² al-Qalqashandi, *subh al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 123; vol. 14, pp. 70–1; cf. Wansbrough, *Lingua Franca* (1996), pp. 78–9; Hillenbrand, *Crusades* (2000), p. 333, on Baybars' interpreter.

³²³ Mas Latrie, *Traité*s, vol. 1 (1866), pp. 47, 54, 64–5, 70, 85–6, 119, 124–5, 127, 132, 139, 142, 147, 188–9, 192, 205, 213, 215–16, 220–1, 226–8, 236–7, 248–9, 254, 256, 284, 309, 350, 363–6, 368; *ibid.*, vol. 2 (1872), pp. 91–2.

³²⁴ König, 'Übersetzungskontrolle' (2015), pp. 470–86, on the basis of Amari, *Ricordi* (1873), pp. 16–17 (AR), pp. 63–5 (IT) (13.05.1290); Mas Latrie, *Traité*s, vol. 1 (1866), pp. 85–6 (1391), p. 132 (1397), pp. 215–16 (03.08.1305), pp. 220–1 (12.05.1317), pp. 236–7 (04.07.1392), pp. 248–9 (1427).

³²⁵ Riley-Smith, 'Officials' (1972), pp. 22–4.

of the Italian maritime republics³²⁶ or Hafsids³²⁷ and Mamluk³²⁸ administrations. A treaty concluded in 1421 on the part of the Hafsids with Pisa and Florence suggests that the parties involved were intent on meeting the requirements of a specific service sector in which interpreters of different religious and ethnic affiliation catered to the needs of both Muslim and Christian merchants and competed for assignments.³²⁹

All this shows that linguistic interaction between the Latin-Christian and the Arabic-Islamic sphere existed in a variety of forms, developed over the centuries, and was clearly not only dependent on non-Muslim minority intervention. A clear distinction between linguistically active Europeans and passive Muslims does not seem possible, as is to be expected in a medieval Mediterranean in which ethnic, religious, cultural, and linguistic boundaries were transgressed regularly.³³⁰

2.3. ENTANGLED SPHERES AND THEIR ARABIC-ISLAMIC CHRONICLERS

Building upon a common monotheistic and Graeco-Roman heritage, the Latin-Christian and the Arabic-Islamic spheres developed many parallel features when they arose from the residue left by the enormous transformations of Late Antiquity.³³¹ Nonetheless, both spheres emerged in different geophysical, ethnic, and cultural environments far away from each other, in a period preceded by the dissociation of the northwestern and southeastern regions of the Mediterranean. In the sixth and the early seventh centuries, these regions were only held together by comparatively weak ecclesiastical and economic ties as well as by interaction with the common neighbour Byzantium. At this time, the collective memories of both spheres overlapped, but were not yet shared.

The Arabic-Islamic expansion of the seventh and eighth centuries seems to have disrupted existing relations between the northwestern and the southeastern shores

³²⁶ Canale, *Istoria* (1860), p. 352; Jehel, 'Jews' (1996), p. 123.

³²⁷ Amari, *Diplomi* (1863), pp. 75–6 (Arabic letter written by the interpreter Aḥmad b. Tamīm to the Pisan Lamberto del Vernaccio around 604/1207), p. 100 (treaty of 654/1353): 'fa-tarjama 'anhum man yūthaq ilayhi min tarājimāt al-muslimīn'; Mas Latrie, *Traité*s, vol. 1 (1866), p. 220 (treaty between the doge of Venice and the Hafsids ruler, anno 1317): 'Et turcimanavit cum ipsis Moagus Saracenus, turcimanus doane...', p. 221: 'videns et audiens hec omnia in saracenica lingua per Moagum, saracenum turcimanum doane, interpretatorem dicti regis et ab eodem Moago fore in latinum reducta...'; vol. 1, p. 237 (treaty between the doge of Venice and the Hafsids ruler, anno 1392): 'audiens et videns hec omnia in saracenica lingua, per trucidanum doane interpretatorem dicti regis, et ab eodem Morag fore in latino reducta...'; vol. 1, p. 121, 123.

³²⁸ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, pp. 121, 123.

³²⁹ Mas Latrie, *Traité*s, vol. 1 (1866), p. 350, § 13: 'quod omnes interpretes teneantur servire omnibus mercatoribus comuniter et pariter; et quod dicti interpretes non possint recusare servicia alicujus mercatoris'. Cf. the Arabic version in Amari, *Diplomi* (1863), p. 158: 'an yakūn jamī' al-tarājima mushtarikin fī tarjamatihim wa-lā yakhtaṣṣ aḥad bi-turjumān'.

³³⁰ Cf. Dakhliā, *Lingua* (2008), pp. 20, 36, 39, 89, 97.

³³¹ Bulliet, *Case* (2004), pp. 16–39; cf. Dawson, 'Spengler' (1956), pp. 385–6; Daniel, *Arabs* (1975/2004), pp. 10–11, 21; Guidetti, *Vivere* (2007).

of the Mediterranean temporarily and on a regional scale.³³² More important is that it brought together two quasi-separate peripheral spheres and created a long-lasting neighbourhood with important contact zones that still shapes the Euromediterranean today.³³³ The initial relations established in the course of the Arabic-Islamic expansion needed time to develop into full-scale entanglement. The early medieval centuries witnessed an ever-increasing number of relations in and beyond the existing contact zones. Approximately from the eleventh century onwards, Latin-Christian expansionism then pushed these contact zones farther into the Arabic-Islamic orbit. Although it led to the destruction of some loci of Christian-Muslim interaction,³³⁴ it generally resulted in an intensification of relations.

The flow of information from the Latin-Christian to the Arabic-Islamic sphere took place within this shifting geopolitical landscape. Geographically, the contact zones between both spheres featured most prominently. Situated as they were on the Iberian Peninsula and along the Mediterranean coastlines, one may gain the impression that people from northern Europe were excluded. One should not forget, however, that the Holy Land and the riches of the Mediterranean attracted visitors from northern Europe long before the crusades and the possibilities of profitable trade brought further European Christians to the Mediterranean.³³⁵ Processes of transmission and reception thus took place on many social levels and involved various kinds of actors of different origins.

On an intrasocietal level, the subjected Christian and, later, Muslim populations under the rule of elites professing the respective other religion, could contribute to the flow of information, as did the Jewish populations subjected to both Muslim and Christian rule. Resulting contact and exchange could result in the emergence of a 'shared culture', of 'third spaces', of 'hybrid' phenomena or 'métissage', to use different terms designating the creative mingling of various cultural elements, including identity ascriptions. It has been shown, however, that cultural hybridization did not necessarily enhance the flow of information. When it involved the transgression of religious boundaries, society tended to force the transgressors to take sides and to penalize whoever failed to conform to the normative framework formulated by those in power. In such an atmosphere, those 'in between' obviously suffered from identity deficiencies, destabilized the social order, and thus failed to become productive transmitters. Notwithstanding, and with regard to the focus of research on the perception of 'the Other', it seems necessary to highlight the

³³² See the detailed argument of Claude, *Handel* (1980), pp. 268–82; Cahen, 'Relations' (1980), pp. 1–5; McCormick, *Origins* (2001), pp. 119, 778. The confiscation of goods in seventh-century Tripoli (North Africa) as reported by al-Balādhurī, *futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, § 264, pp. 225–6, provides one example for how the expansion disturbed trade across the Mediterranean. One of the earliest Latin references to commercial exchange after the expansion dates from the first half of the eighth century and concerns the Venetian export of slaves to North Africa, cf. *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 1, cap. XCIII (Zacharias, sed. 741–52), § 222 (§ XXII), p. 433.

³³³ See Laurens et al., *Europe* (2009); Zouache, 'Écrire' (2012), pp. 120–47.

³³⁴ See Taylor, *Muslims* (2005), pp. 173–202; Abulafia, 'Muslims' (2007), pp. 271–87, on the end of Muslim Lucera.

³³⁵ Micheau, 'Itinéraires' (1979), p. 80; Claude, 'Orientfahrten' (2000), pp. 235–54; Graboïs, *Pèlerin* (1998).

contribution of these 'border runners', 'cultural brokers', or 'hybrid personalities' to the transmission and diffusion of various kinds of information. Their existence may have rigidified communal boundaries and gating mechanisms in some cases. Generally, however, they contributed to rendering flexible and permeable the frontiers, barriers, and boundaries of a medieval Euromediterranean world only theoretically built on the unbending principles of truth and universalism propagated by the two dominant socio-religious systems, Christianity and Islam.³³⁶

On an intersocietal level, the flow of information from the Latin-Christian to the Arabic-Islamic sphere was maintained, amongst others, by envoys, merchants, mariners, interpreters and translators, slaves from Latin Christendom, ransomed Muslim captives returning home, Muslim refugees fleeing Latin-Christian domination, etc. These actors produced countless images of 'the Other', images that were transmitted farther and farther when the protagonists of interaction receded into their sphere of origin, passing on their impressions to contemporaries and to posterity.

'The Other' is a category that cannot be ignored in an analysis of intra- and intersocietal relations between the Latin-Christian and the Arabic-Islamic sphere. However, contemporary definitions of otherness were flexible, did not always apply to the same groups, and—as situational ascriptions—were sometimes altogether irrelevant or at least secondary.³³⁷ In the study at hand, however, images of 'the Other' are of particular importance, not because it seems necessary to define their relevance and function in the imbroglio of intra- and intersocietal relations sketched above, but because the historio-, geo-, and ethnographical records subject to analysis in this study were generally written by intellectuals who did not necessarily feature as agents of direct exchange at the forefront of inter- or transcultural communication.³³⁸ Often at the end of long chains of transmission, these intellectuals only constituted one of several groups involved in the flow of information from the Latin-Christian to the Arabic-Islamic sphere. Their main contribution to this flow lay in the reception, collection, organization, and documentation of data. Comparable to modern historians, they gathered, surveyed, and organized the extant evidence and, on this basis, formulated a comparatively detached scholarly perspective on their object of perception. This perspective resorted to 'active othering', not necessarily because of its emotional quality or ideological overtones, but because it operated on the basis of historical, geographical, and ethnographical categories. The literary and intellectual aim of Arabic-Islamic scholars was not to make their reader identify or empathize with the 'border runners', 'cultural brokers', or 'hybrid personalities' who embodied the contact zone as an integral part of their identity, but to provide an ordered vision of the known world and its inhabitants, past and present.

If this is taken into account, it becomes clear why Catlos' modes of perception, presented in Chapter 1, do not entirely apply to the scholarly perspective reconstructed

³³⁶ Cf. König, 'Caught' (2012), pp. 56–72; Höh et al. (eds), *Brokers* (2013), with a range of examples.

³³⁷ Rodinson, *Fascination* (1980/2003), pp. 197–8.

³³⁸ See Chapter 3.3.2.

in this study.³³⁹ Although Arabic-Islamic scholars often thought in macro- or 'ecumenian' terms in that they judged on the basis of their dogmatic-informed religious identity, their historical and geographical perspective was necessarily wider. Their literary choice to describe pre-Islamic times and non-Islamic spaces, generally in neutral terms, shows that they acknowledged and accepted them as an integral part of the historical and geographical world. Writing about these periods and spaces may have been linked to an institutional function, e.g. in the service of a Muslim administration. But even if they were active as envoys, merchants, administrators, or jurisconsults in direct contact with Latin Christians, this did not automatically entail that they perceived Latin-Christian Europe in terms of the meso- or 'corporate' mode defined by Catlos. As scholars, they did not face the challenge of having to reconcile 'ecumenian' norms and pragmatic necessities. In view of this scholarly detachment, but also depending on their sources of information and their position within shorter or longer chains of transmission, the micro- or local mode of perception could be, but was not automatically of relevance. If it is necessary to define a 'mode of perception' common to all Arabic-Islamic scholars under investigation here, given the varying sociocultural contexts and historical constellations they wrote in,³⁴⁰ it will have to be classified as an intellectualized scholarly meta-level of perception that was, of course, influenced to varying degrees by the other modes of perception defined by Catlos.

Although this scholarly meta-level of perception built on the encounters and exchanges sketched out in this chapter, it represents an organized and filtered mode of perception that neither transports the full number nor automatically conveys the essence of the actual perceptions involved. The extant Arabic-Islamic records on Latin-Christian Europe only provide restricted insight into the range of perceptions that were actually of relevance in the area and period under investigation. To assess their hermeneutical significance, it is thus necessary to consider the factors that influenced when, where, and how these records came into being.

³³⁹ Cf. Catlos, *Muslims* (2014), pp. 525–6; introduced near the end of Chapter 1.3.3.

³⁴⁰ See Chapters 1.2.2. and 9.1.

3

Scholars at Work

The previous chapters argued that the extant Arabic-Islamic records on Latin-Christian Europe have to be regarded as the written manifestation of an overriding framework of transmission and reception. These records drew on the flow of information from Latin-Christian Europe to the Arabic-Islamic world and reproduce a number of perceptions and images that arose from multiple situations of encounter and exchange in an ever changing 'information landscape'. However, these records do not document the entire range of perceptions, images, or available information that was of relevance in the area and period under investigation. As opposed to a large range of 'border runners', 'cultural brokers', or 'hybrid personalities', their authors were not necessarily engaged in direct contact with the Latin-Christian sphere and occupied a specific place at the end of shorter or longer chains of transmission. As intellectuals engaged in scholarly and literary pursuits they aimed at producing an organized vision of the historical and contemporary world and, consequently, depicted the non-Muslim world including Latin-Christian Europe from a comparatively detached scholarly perspective.

The present chapter aims at discussing the various factors that formed this scholarly perspective and affected how Latin-Christian Europe was recorded over the centuries. In an analysis of this scholarly sphere's absorptive capacities, it explains the production of these records against the backdrop of the regional emergence, existence, and demise of intellectual infrastructures as well as the resulting geographies of transmission and reception. The chapter then focuses on the various difficulties encountered by individual scholars wishing to acquire, understand, and present information on Latin-Christian Europe.

3.1. ABSORPTIVE CAPACITIES

Arabic-Islamic literature came into being in the century following the rise of Islam. Building on an Arab heritage of poetry (*shiʿr*), genealogy (*nasab*), and tribal lore (*ayyām al-ʿArab*), elements from the Judaeo-Christian tradition as well as the original contributions of Islam, its initial focus lay on the crucial decades of the life and preaching of Muḥammad.¹

Systematic study of the Qurʾān promoted the assimilation of pre-Islamic heritages.² Certain passages of the Qurʾān were only comprehensible if read against the

¹ Khalidi, *Thought* (1996), pp. 1–7, 83.

² Donner, *Narratives* (1998), pp. 275–90; Schoeler, *Genesis* (2009).

background of older Jewish and Christian traditions. Although its role for Islamic theology was to be debated, Judaeo-Christian tradition played an important role in moulding Arabic-Islamic approaches to the past.³

The study of the prophet's life and preaching furthered the development of research tools. Contemporary Arabic-Islamic scholars were confronted with the testimonies of eyewitnesses who were enmeshed in the sociopolitical conflicts of the day and prone to subordinate their memories to the aim of legitimizing a specific claim to the prophet's heritage. The genre of *ḥadīth* with its chain of transmitters (*isnād*) and the systematic biographical study of transmitters (*ṭabaqāt*) arose from the necessity of analysing the trustworthiness of these testimonies.⁴ The wish to record the foundations of Muslim collective identity was then extended to events and developments in the lifetime of the prophet's successors. Factionalism further promoted the rise of historiography that formulated political claims in its evaluation of past events.⁵

3.1.1. Emerging Intellectual Infrastructures

In the course of the seventh to ninth centuries, Arabic-Islamic culture developed imperial characteristics. Regions from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Asia had been subjected within the scope of approximately one century; the elites of a former periphery had become masters of a world empire. The expansion and the ensuing processes of empire-building gave a decisive impetus to the development of an Arabic-Islamic scholarly culture capable of looking beyond the confines of its early intellectual environment. According to later tradition, the second caliph 'Umar (ruled 13–23/634–44) already promoted the acquisition of knowledge about conquered regions. He allegedly wrote to a contemporary Arab scholar:

God has granted us conquest of the lands and we want to settle the earth and live in the military camps (*al-amṣār*). So describe the cities (*al-mudun*) to me as well as their climate, their dwellings and the influence exerted by the earth and the climate on their inhabitants.⁶

The heuristic effects resulting from the creation and early administration of an Arabic-Islamic empire bore further fruit in the eighth to tenth centuries. The Abbasid era witnessed a significant 'secularization' of literary production and the

³ Vajda, 'Isrā'īliyyāt' (1978), p. 211; Nagel, 'Kīṣāṣ al-anbiyā' (1986), p. 180.

⁴ Robson, 'ḥadīth' (1971), p. 23; Gilliot, 'ṭabaqāt B' (2000), p. 7.

⁵ Khalidi, *Thought* (1996), pp. 83–104.

⁶ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 973, p. 179 (AR), p. 369 (FR): 'qad fataḥa Allāh 'alaynā al-bilād wa-nurīd an natabawwa' al-arḍ wa-naskun al-amṣār fa-ṣif li al-mudun wa-ahwiyatihā wa-masākinihā wa-mā yu'aththiruhu al-turab wa-l-ahwiya fi sukkānihā'; cf. Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1 (1967/1997), pp. 339–40. Al-Mas'ūdī's (d. 345/956) statement is confirmed by the earlier Theophanes (d. 817–18), *Chronicle*, trans. Turtledove, annus mundi 6131 [= a. 639–40], cap. 341 (30.6.2.7), p. 40, reproduced by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (d. c.879), *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Bekker, p. 169: 'eodemque anno iussit Humar universum describi orbem, qui sub ipso erat. facta est autem descriptio tam hominum quam iumentorum et frugum.'

creation of various forms of 'belles-lettres' (*adab*).⁷ Moved by practical considerations such as the need to guide postal messengers through the expanses of the Islamic world,⁸ Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars developed new genres with titles such as *Routes and Realms* (*al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*) and *The Image of the World* (*ṣūrat al-aḍḍ*). Although centred on a description of the Islamic world, these genres provide data on pre-Islamic peoples and describe what lay beyond the confines of the Islamic orbit, thus resulting in what André Miquel has called a 'géographie totale'.⁹ Additional perspectives soon seconded this view from the imperial centre. The subjection, settlement, development, and increasing independence of newly gained provinces became the subject of many a treatise.¹⁰ Consequently, the expansion stood at the beginning of an Arabic-Islamic historiography of local and regional character.¹¹ Universal historiography of a later date made use of such writings, thus preserving local and regional traditions in abbreviated form.¹²

While an Arab empire, ruled from Damascus, gave way to a multipolar Islamic world governed by Muslim elites of various ethnic and cultural origins,¹³ acculturation and assimilation in the wake of the expansion made new intellectual resources available. The new social order quickly assigned a place to a large range of ethnic and religious groups.¹⁴ As a result of subjection, collaboration, and conversion, new groups and peoples with their respective expertise were integrated into the folds of the emerging Arabic-Islamic superstructure—from the Christianized Arabs of the Fertile Crescent and the former subjects of Sassanid and Byzantine rule to Berber groups in North Africa and the Romano-Gothic population of the Iberian Peninsula. Looking back on the foundation era, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) describes the emergence of an Arabic-Islamic world that discovered, appreciated, and appropriated many elements of its new environment, acquiring skills and knowledge by drawing on the expertise of its subject peoples.¹⁵

However, many steps had to be taken, from the third decade of the seventh century onwards, to propel the original synthesis of Arabhood and Islam to the height of a civilization able to draw on the multiple heritages now assembled under the aegis of Islam. More than a few decades were necessary for the dust to settle after the upheavals that accompanied the expansion, early infighting and the creation of an Umayyad state, the transition to an Abbasid Empire as well as its ensuing fragmentation.¹⁶

⁷ Khalidi, *Thought* (1996), pp. 1–7, 83.

⁸ Cf. Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. viii–x, xix–xx; Arendonk, 'Ibn Khordādhbeh' (1927), p. 422.

⁹ Miquel, *Géographie* (2001), vol. 1, pp. 85–92, 267–85.

¹⁰ Hinds, 'al-Maghāzī' (1986), p. 1161; Khalidi, *Thought* (1996), pp. 62–8.

¹¹ Cf. Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1 (1967/1997), pp. 339, 361–5, on al-Andalus.

¹² See what Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 439–40 (Leiden), p. 556 (Beirut), writes on the historiography of al-Andalus.

¹³ Overviews provided by Hourani, *History* (1991/2001), pp. 1–208; Lapidus, *History* (1988/2002), pp. 3–196; Haarmann, *Geschichte* (1987/2004), pp. 11–323.

¹⁴ Planhol, *Minorités* (1997).

¹⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 313–14, 632–3; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, trans. Rosenthal, vol. 3, cap. VI, 18, pp. 115–18.

¹⁶ Hawting, *Dynasty* (2000); Kennedy, *Caliphate* (1986); Nagel, 'Kalifat' (2001), pp. 101–65.

The human resources capable of transmitting the heritages of the past were not reared overnight. The so-called 'Graeco-(Syriac-)Arabic translation movement' of the eighth to tenth centuries provides a case in point in that it can be seen as the result of a process of mutual acculturation in the wake of the expansion. Among other things, it acquainted an increasingly thriving sphere of Arabic-Islamic scholarship with ancient geographical texts and an extended vision of the inhabited world.¹⁷ Kept alive thanks to the endeavours of Middle Eastern Christians of various denominations,¹⁸ the Greek heritage was linked to the legacy of Christianity and thus furnished the backbone necessary to understand the social and political history of the Roman Empire and the historical constellation that gave rise to Latin-Christian Europe.¹⁹ Translation from Greek and Syriac to Arabic involved the difficult task of creating a comprehensible conceptual terminology and of phrasing ideas hitherto foreign to the Arabic language.²⁰ Such a task could only be performed by those who simultaneously mastered older and new linguistic skills. The earliest translations from Greek to Arabic involving Byzantine administrative documents are attested for the late seventh century. The translation of scientific and other literature, however, only gained momentum in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries. Consequently, the first large bulk of Arabic-Islamic scholarly literature that dedicates a significant amount of space to non-Muslim societies only appeared around the middle of the ninth century in a Middle Eastern context, marked by centuries of interaction between Greek, Syriac, and Arabic and under Muslim rule since around two hundred years.²¹

By this time, i.e. the middle of the ninth century, the Arabic-Islamic world already looked back on approximately one and a half centuries of direct relations with the Latin-Christian sphere in a flexible contact zone stretching from the Iberian Peninsula, via the coasts of southern France, to the Apennine Peninsula.²² But whereas Latin-Christian chroniclers from the Iberian Peninsula, the Carolingian realm, the Apennine Peninsula, and even the British Isles recorded meticulously when and where the 'Saracens' struck in the eighth and ninth centuries,²³ Arabic-Islamic scholars were neither available in sufficient numbers nor at the right places to record directly what happened in the western Mediterranean.²⁴ Due to its later conquest, the Muslim West lagged behind with regard to the many preparatory developments necessary to facilitate large-scale processes of transmission, reception,

¹⁷ Nallino, 'Al-Huwarizimi' (1894), pp. 3–53; Maqbul and Taeschner, 'Djughrāfiyā' (1965), pp. 575–89; Gutas, *Thought* (1998), p. 182. Cf. O'Leary, *Science* (2002); Walzer, *Greek* (1962); Rosenthal, *Heritage* (1975).

¹⁸ On their contribution, see Klinge, 'Bedeutung' (1939), pp. 346–86; Spuler, 'Denken' (1980), pp. 13–26; Troupeau, 'Rôle' (1991), pp. 1–10; Teixidor, 'Antioche' (2001), pp. 249–62.

¹⁹ Cf. Rosenthal, *History* (1968), p. 77; Radtke, *Weltgeschichte* (1992), p. 160; Branco, *Storie* (2009), p. 30. See the beginning of Chapter 2.2.1. as well as Chapters 3.3.1. and 4.1.

²⁰ Endreß, 'Übersetzungen' (1989), pp. 103–46.

²¹ Gutas, *Thought* (1998), pp. 17–20.

²² Cf. Jansen et al., *Méditerranée* (2000), pp. 17–34.

²³ See Chapter 2.1.3. ²⁴ See Chapters 2.2.1. and 7.1.1.

and assimilation.²⁵ Aside from al-Andalus and Sicily, most western regions did not remain under Muslim rule for long and, from a Muslim viewpoint, mainly functioned in terms of a raiding economy.²⁶ Because they lacked security, stability, and, in consequence, institutions of learning and erudition, raider bases were neither able to produce nor to attract Muslim intellectuals, who, in the seventh and eighth centuries, were concentrated in the well-established urban centres of the Islamic Middle East. In the Muslim West, urban centres only emerged as notable sites of cultural productivity in the ninth century.²⁷ Direct and frequent communication between raiders and urban scholarly elites cannot be taken for granted. Raiding activities were not necessarily the product of centralized government decisions taken in one of the centres of Muslim power, but often involved haphazard activities of local groups and leaders.²⁸ This explains why Latin-Christian records on the 'Saracen' sack of Rome in 846, the negotiations of Muslim raiders with pope John VIII in around 878, collaboration and confrontation between Muslims and the cities of Salerno, Naples, and Amalfi, as well as other instances of interaction on the Apennine Peninsula, have no Arabic-Islamic counterpart.²⁹ Even the long-lasting raider bases of Bari and Fraxinetum rarely figure in Arabic-Islamic scholarly works, always written by authors who had not been there themselves.³⁰ Curiously, not even Sicily, generally acknowledged as one of the hotspots of Islamic culture in the western Mediterranean, produced its own local historiography.³¹

Thus, a cultural environment that recorded what happened in the neighbouring non-Islamic orbit only emerged in al-Andalus with its comparatively stable and long-term Muslim presence. Even here, the situation was not very advantageous in the early chaotic years following the invasion. However, the conquerors seem to have begun recording geo- and ethnographical data as soon as the demands of taxing and administering the new territories made such a procedure necessary.³² If this had not been the case, later Andalusian historiographers would not have been able to provide material on contemporary events, including relations with

²⁵ The conquest of the Middle East took place in the middle of the seventh century, the Maghreb in the late seventh century, al-Andalus and Septimania at the beginning of the eighth century, Sicily and parts of the Italian mainland in the ninth century; cf. Kennedy, *Conquests* (2007), pp. 66–224; Chalmers, *Invasión* (2003); Clément, 'Province' (2006), pp. 18–25; Sénac, *Musulmans* (1980), pp. 15–25; Metcalfe, *Muslims* (2009), pp. 4–25.

²⁶ See Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed./trans. France, p. 20, on the 'Saracens' of Fraxinetum.

²⁷ Cf. the cases of Kairouan and Córdoba summarized by Talbi, 'al-Ḳayrawān' (1978), p. 824; Seybold and Ocaña Jiménez, 'Ḳurṭuba' (1986), pp. 509–12.

²⁸ Guichard, 'Débuts' (1983), pp. 55–76; Sénac, *Musulmans* (1980), pp. 47–57; Sénac, *Provence* (1982).

²⁹ Cf. Engreen, 'Pope' (1945), pp. 321–2; Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), pp. 18–101.

³⁰ Muscà, *L'Emirato* (1992), p. 11; Sénac, 'Contribution' (1981), pp. 7–8; cf. Engreen, 'Pope' (1945), p. 322, and his concept of 'border-Christianity'.

³¹ See the texts collected in Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* (1857/1881–82). Traini, 'Sikilliya' (1997), p. 582, speaks of 'the almost total absence of prose, whether in the context of historiography or of parenthesis or, more especially, of *adab*'. Arabic-Islamic texts on Sicily were mainly written by visitors such as Ibn Hawqal in the late tenth century, Ibn Jubayr in the twelfth, and Ibn Wāṣil in the thirteenth century. However, see Yāqūt, *muʿjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'al-Biyāwu', p. 774, on a history of Sicily (*tārīkh Siqilliya*) by the jurisconsult (*al-faqīh*) al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā.

³² See Chapter 2.2.1.

neighbouring Christian societies in this early period.³³ Although unknown persons attached to the early governors and Umayyad rulers of al-Andalus must have kept record of events in the eighth and early ninth centuries, a proper Andalusian historiography did not yet exist. The earliest known Arabic-Islamic historiographer from al-Andalus is Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/853). Up to his lifetime, historiographers interested in the history of al-Andalus all seem to have lived in Egypt.³⁴

3.1.2. Geographies of Transmission and Reception

Ibn Ḥabīb wrote his universal history in the first half of the ninth century, a period in which al-Andalus finally witnessed a rather long phase of stability after the reign of twenty-three short-lived governors, the great Berber revolt of 123/740, and the Umayyad '*coup d'état*' carried out by 'Abd al-Raḥmān in 138/756.³⁵ During Ibn Ḥabīb's lifetime, Umayyad al-Andalus interacted with its northern Christian neighbours³⁶ and was forced to accept the Carolingian intervention in the Spanish Levant that resulted in the establishment of the county of Barcelona.³⁷ Apart from a chapter on the Iberian Peninsula's conquest which contains some material on the downfall of the Visigothic kingdom as well as a brief reference to the Franks' military prowess, Ibn Ḥabīb's history neither betrays knowledge of the Visigothic past nor of contemporary relations with subjected or neighbouring Christian populations.³⁸ Considering that this Andalusian scholar of the ninth century almost exclusively drew on authorities of Egyptian and Middle Eastern origin,³⁹ it is not surprising that Middle Eastern scholars, who bore the brunt of scholarly production up to the early tenth century, produced reports on the Latin-Christian West of such meagre quantity and quality.

The Muslim Middle East of the eighth century had some knowledge of the West. Conquerors who returned to the Middle East with booty and captives probably reported on the Visigothic kingdom and its Frankish neighbour.⁴⁰ In the first half of the eighth century, Damascus frequently sent messengers to intervene in the affairs of al-Andalus.⁴¹ In some cases, Arabic-Islamic scholars

³³ See Chapter 6.2.1.

³⁴ Pons Boigues, *Historiadores* (1898/1972), p. 29; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1 (1967/1997), pp. 361–2; Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), pp. 29–33.

³⁵ Cf. Collins, *Conquest* (1989); Chalmeta, *Invasión* (2003), pp. 251–358.

³⁶ Guichard, 'Relations' (2008), pp. 233–4, 236–7. ³⁷ Sénac, *Carolingiens* (2002).

³⁸ Ibn Ḥabīb, *tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, pp. 136–56, with references to the Franks in § 353, 408, 430, pp. 122, 142, 148. On Ibn Ḥabīb's description of the Visigoths, see Chapter 5.1.2.

³⁹ Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 157–8, 197–200; Dhū'n-Nūn Ṭāha, 'Importance' (1985), pp. 40–1; Dhū'n-Nūn Ṭāha, *nash'a* (1988), pp. 7–10; Ibn Ḥabīb, *tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, pp. 72–3, 102–7 (introducción); García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), pp. 225–6. See Chapter 2.2.1.

⁴⁰ On booty and captives, see *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 73, 76, 102, pp. 354, 362. The depiction of the last Visigothic king Roderic in the early eighth-century Umayyad palace at Qusayr 'Amra in modern-day Jordan provides tangible proof for the accompanying flow of information: Fowden, *Qusayr 'Amra* (2004), pp. 207–13; Drayson, 'Ways' (2006), pp. 115–28.

⁴¹ *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 79, 86, 107, 122, pp. 356, 358, 362, 364; cf. the correspondence between conquerors/governors of al-Andalus and caliphs in Damascus in the later *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, pp. 5, 23 (AR), pp. 20, 34 (ES).

seem to have had access to this flow of information.⁴² The latter must have dwindled when the shift of the empire's centre from Damascus to Baghdad and the secession of Umayyad al-Andalus severed political and administrative links in the middle of the eighth century. Although some scholars in eighth-century Iraq and Egypt seem to have made efforts to extract information from Andalusian travellers,⁴³ it cannot be taken for granted that the latter had something to say about the Latin-Christian world. Pilgrims to Mecca or 'seekers of knowledge' (*tulāb al-'ilm*) came with the aim of acquiring, not of providing knowledge.⁴⁴ Moreover, they were probably better informed about the internal affairs of Muslim society in al-Andalus than about relations with the Latin-Christian environment. This may explain why the Egyptian historiographer Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) has much to say about Christians involved in the invasion of al-Andalus, but focuses on Muslim affairs as soon as he has dealt with the conquest.⁴⁵

In the ninth century, direct contact between the Latin-Christian world and the Arabic-Islamic Middle East was still scarce. Middle Eastern scholars such as al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905) took notice of some events in al-Andalus, e.g. the Viking attack on Seville in 229/844.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, their works are almost devoid of information on the contemporary Latin West. The universal histories of al-Ya'qūbī and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) dedicate a few lines to the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, but practically ignore what lies beyond al-Andalus.⁴⁷ Even Ibn Khurdādhbah's (d. c.300/911) *kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, probably the most elaborate Arabic-Islamic work on the Latin West in this period, does not overflow with information. His geographical outlook derives from Ptolemy.⁴⁸ He possesses some knowledge on the history of the Roman Empire and its Christianization, but only rarely mentions western toponyms in this context.⁴⁹ His description of Rome contains much legendary material.⁵⁰ He describes how the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula brought about the end of the Visigothic kingdom,

⁴² According to Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 2, pp. 7–8, 13, al-Wāqidi (d. 207/822) in Baghdad cited Mūsā b. 'Alī b. Rabāḥ al-Lakhmī, the son of a combatant involved in the conquest of Spain, as well as 'Abd al-Ḥamid b. Ja'far, whose father had known a person from al-Andalus who transmitted information about the battle against Roderic; cf. Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 166–7, 172, 205.

⁴³ Ibn al-Faraḍī, *tārīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus*, ed. al-'Aṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī, vol. 2, no. 1445 (Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ), on the informants of al-Layth b. Sa'd (d. 175/792) in Egypt; cf. Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), p. 176, and the overview in Makkī, 'Ensayo' (1961–62), pp. 65–92.

⁴⁴ Cf. Dhū'n-Nūn Ṭāha, 'Importance' (1985), pp. 39–44; Marín, 'Ulemas' (1990), pp. 257–306; Ávila, 'Search' (2002), pp. 125–39; Peña Martín (ed.), *Iraq* (2009), pp. 63–144.

⁴⁵ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, pp. 204–26.

⁴⁶ al-Ya'qūbī, *al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 354.

⁴⁷ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 2, p. 207; al-Ṭabarī, *tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 6, p. 468.

⁴⁸ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 3: 'fa-wajadtu Baṭlimiyūs qad abāna al-ḥudūd wa-awḍaḥa al-ḥujja fi ṣifatiḥa bi-lughā a'jamiyya fa-naqaltuhā 'an lughatihi bi-l-lughat al-ṣaḥiḥa...'.
⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 16, 83, 91–2, 103–5, 113–15, 118. This suggests that his knowledge was based on Middle Eastern Christian sources, see Chapter 4.1.2.

⁵⁰ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 113–15. See Chapter 7.1.2.

but proffers no information on the Christian North⁵¹ and only brief remarks on the Frankish realm.⁵²

With the stabilization of Muslim rule and the rise of a more elaborate intellectual culture in al-Andalus from the ninth century onwards, the conditions were finally met for a more active local and regional documentation of the Latin-Christian 'Other' on the Iberian Peninsula. As in the Middle East of the seventh to tenth centuries, the intermingling of conquerors and conquered produced bilingual generations able, and an interested scholarly public willing to contribute to the transmission and reception of information about the peninsula's pre-Islamic past. As soon as Arabic-Islamic scholars from al-Andalus assimilated this material in the course of the tenth century, their Middle Eastern colleagues also began to include more substantial data on the non-Muslim peoples of or adjacent to the Iberian Peninsula.⁵³ We should consider, however, that information travelled at different speeds. According to later Andalusian tradition, the conqueror Mūsā b. Nuṣayr informed the caliph in Damascus about his plans to cross the Strait of Gibraltar and received a written response before he set out.⁵⁴ The Frankish chronicle used by al-Mas'ūdī arrived in Egypt only seven years after it had been presented to the Umayyad court in Córdoba in 328/939–40.⁵⁵ In other cases, transmission from west to east seems to have taken longer. The Arabic version of Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, produced between the late ninth and the early tenth century, was first used by scholars active in the Middle East in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, i.e. by Ibn Khaldūn, al-Qalqashandī, and al-Maqrīzī.⁵⁶ The only Middle Eastern author, who used information recorded in the tenth-century travel account written by the Andalusian Jew Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī, was the Persian cosmographer al-Qazwīnī. Writing in the thirteenth century, he gained access to this text via the work of the eleventh-century Andalusian scholar al-'Udhri.⁵⁷

Although Ibn Rustah's (d. after 300/913) references to the pope, Venice, and the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy prove that Arabic-Islamic scholars also acquired information via other channels,⁵⁸ currents of transmission from east to west often passed through al-Andalus in the pre-crusading era.⁵⁹ This was due to the geopolitical changes brought about by Latin-Christian expansionism. It would seem plausible to assume that the Norman conquest of Sicily, the crusades, and the rising momentum of the Reconquista made Latin-Christian societies less accessible to Muslims.⁶⁰ Contemporary documentation suggests, however, that several Muslims

⁵¹ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 83, 90, 92, 154–7, 231. See Chapters 5.1.2. and 8.3.

⁵² Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 153–4. See Chapter 6.2.2.

⁵³ See Chapter 2.2.1.

⁵⁴ *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 5 (AR), p. 20 (ES).

⁵⁵ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 912, p. 146 (AR), p. 344 (FR).

⁵⁶ Cf. *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 73–81.

⁵⁷ Cf. Jacob, *Berichte* (1927) with a translation of all historiographers who made use of this travel account. Cf. Miquel, 'L'Europe' (1966), pp. 1049–50.

⁵⁸ Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥḥa*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 85, 128–30.

⁵⁹ For more details, see Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

⁶⁰ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), pp. 91–2.

entered Latin-Christian societies adjacent to the Arabic-Islamic orbit between the eleventh and the fifteenth century.⁶¹ The military thrust to the south involved various groups from all over Europe and resulted in (temporary) Latin-Christian rule over large Muslim populations who often maintained relations with the Arabic-Islamic sphere.⁶² The creation of commercial outposts in all important ports of the Mediterranean at the hands of the Christian maritime powers, in turn, resulted in intensified commercial interaction.⁶³ Thus, expansionism brought new actors into the Mediterranean sphere, carried the contact zone farther into Islamic territory, and created new forms of cohabitation between Latin-Christian and Muslim populations. In view of this, Latin-Christian expansionism seems to have created additional channels of transmission and thus promoted rather than impeded the flow of information. In this period, Arabic-Islamic scholarship had firmly taken root in all parts of the Arabic-Islamic world. Consequently, Latin-Christian activities were duly recorded by Arabic-Islamic scholars.⁶⁴

This should not obliterate that Latin-Christian expansionism also began to destroy environments which had so far boasted considerable intellectual activity. Ibn Khaldūn's (d. 808/1406) observation that writing styles in the Maghreb were replaced by Andalusian variants due to the large number of refugees seeking posts in the administrations of Ifrīqiya, suggests that al-Andalus experienced a significant brain drain. Although these refugees may have diffused information about the Latin West, their decision to emigrate left the Iberian Peninsula increasingly devoid of Muslims able to record first-hand what was happening to the remnants of Islamic culture.⁶⁵ Apparently, in reaction to the Christian claims to the Iberian Peninsula, western Muslim scholars also turned away from the pre-Islamic history of al-Andalus.⁶⁶

3.2. THE LINGUISTIC HURDLE

Whereas channels of transmission and environments of documentation shifted in line with geopolitical changes, one obstacle remained in place throughout the entire period

⁶¹ Catlos, *Muslims* (2014), pp. 228–80. Cf. Gautier de Compiègne (d. after 1155), *Otia de Mahomete*, ed. Huygens, cap. V.11, pp. 291, 294, on a Muslim convert to Christianity from 'the homeland of Muḥammad' (*Machomis patriam*); Lagardère, *Histoire* (1995), fatwā no. 198–9, 241, 275, 291, pp. 54, 64, 68, 72, on Muslims redeeming their coreligionists in the 'dār al-ḥarb'; Mas Latrie, *Traité*, vol. 1 (1866), pp. 205, 365–6, on safe-conducts granted to 'Saracens' by Venice, Pisa, and Genoa; Conseil national de la recherche archéologique, *Recherche* (1997), pp. 301–2, on the possibly Muslim craftsmen from al-Andalus working in Marseille of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. See Chapter 2.2.2. on Muslim envoys, Chapter 2.2.3. on Muslim captives, and Chapter 3.3.2. on Muslim travellers in Latin-Christian territories.

⁶² Catlos, *Muslims* (2014), pp. 454–6.

⁶³ Mansouri, 'Consuls' (2000), pp. 151–62; Abulafia, 'Redes' (2004), pp. 338–51; Constable, *Housing* (2009), pp. 107–57, 266–305.

⁶⁴ See Chapters 2.2. and 8.

⁶⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 1, pp. 528–9; Talbi, 'Contacts' (1973), pp. 84–8; cf. Catlos, *Muslims* (2014), pp. xiii, 165, 445, 454, 518, on the available sources.

⁶⁶ See Chapter 5.3.2. and 5.3.3.

of investigation—the linguistic hurdle. Linguistic interaction between the Romance- and the Arabic-speaking sphere was high, particularly in al-Andalus, in the crusader states as well as in the orbit of the high and late medieval powers engaged in intensive diplomatic and commercial exchange.⁶⁷ However, the world of Arabic-Islamic scholarship largely failed to invest much intellectual energy into the acquisition of foreign language skills. Although scholars acquired some theoretical knowledge about Latin, they never developed a proficiency in either Latin or one of its derivatives.

3.2.1. The Latin Dimension of ‘Frankish’

Ibn Khurdādhbah (d. c.300/911) provides one of the earliest Arabic-Islamic references to languages used in the Latin West. He not only distinguishes between an ancient form of Greek called ‘al-Yūnāniyya’,⁶⁸ and a Byzantine form of Greek called ‘al-Rūmiyya’,⁶⁹ but he also mentions that Jewish merchants involved in long-distance trade between the Frankish kingdom and the western parts of China spoke ‘Andalusian’ (*al-Andalusiyya*), ‘Frankish’ (*al-Ifranjiyya*), and ‘Slavonic’ (*al-Ṣaqlabiyya*). Assuming that the aforementioned Jewish merchants were more in need of oral communication skills than of a literary language such as Latin, we may identify ‘al-Andalusiyya’ and ‘al-Ifranjiyya’ with regional Romance vernaculars, ‘al-Ṣaqlabiyya’, with the language spoken by Bulgars or Slavic groups known to the Arabic-Islamic world of the ninth century.⁷⁰

Authors of the tenth century did not necessarily surpass Ibn Khurdādhbah in knowledge. In his *murūj al-dhahab*, al-Mas‘ūdī (d. 345/956) fails to distinguish between different ancient languages or between an ancient and a Byzantine form of Greek.⁷¹ He admits that he was only able to acquire knowledge on the Romans aurally since most history books were in the language ‘al-Rūmiyya’.⁷² Although he dedicates entire chapters to the Galicians, Franks, Lombards, and Slavs, he does not comment on their languages.⁷³ Copied by Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 378/988), al-Iṣṭakhri (tenth cent.) at least differentiated between languages used by Christians of the western and the eastern hemisphere. Including the Franks and the Galicians in his description of Byzantine territory (*balad al-Rūm*), he highlights that they adhered to the same religion but differed in language.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ See Chapter 2.2.2. and 2.2.5.

⁶⁸ Cf. Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 231, on the geographic term *Ῥεανός* (*Lūgyānūs*).

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 91, on the city-names Pentapolis (*Antabulus*) and Tripolis (*Atarābulus*). He also mentions other city-names classified as ‘Greek’ (*bi-l-Rūmiyya*), e.g. ‘Qalāniqūs’ (p. 73), ‘Hālinūbulus’ (p. 73), ‘Tārsūm’ (p. 99).

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 153–4.

⁷¹ Cf. al-Mas‘ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 712, p. 30 (AR), p. 267 (FR), on Augustus composing verses in ‘al-Rūmiyya’, and § 127, p. 73 (AR), p. 54 (FR), on the name of the apostle Peter (*Buṣrus*) in the same language.

⁷² Ibid., § 733, p. 40 (AR), p. 274 (FR): ‘wa-aktharuhā bi-l-Rūmiyya fa-ḥakaynā min dhālika mā ta’attā lanā waṣfuhū’.

⁷³ Ibid., § 910–22, pp. 145–52 (AR), pp. 343–8 (FR).

⁷⁴ al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 9; Ibn Ḥawqal, *ṣūrat al-ard*, ed. Kramers, p. 14; cf. Miquel, *Géographie* (2001), vol. 1, p. 269.

In the tenth century, Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars also used the term 'Frankish' for linguistic phenomena that seem to have represented Latin. In his *kitāb al-tanbīh*, written a few years after the treatise mentioned above,⁷⁵ al-Mas'ūdī claims that Greeks, Romans, Slavs, and Franks, as well as 'the other peoples that lay behind them in the northern regions', had originally formed one people, i.e. the third of, all in all, seven primeval peoples, and had originally spoken one single language.⁷⁶ Moreover, al-Mas'ūdī employs the term 'archaic Frankish' (*al-Ifranjiyya al-ūlā*) to explain the titles 'Augustus' (*Awghustus*) and 'Caesar' (*qaysar*).⁷⁷ Since he explains that 'Rome is and has always been the capital of the realm of great Francia',⁷⁸ this ancient Frankish language must stand for Latin.⁷⁹

More centred on the contemporary linguistic landscape, Ibn al-Nadīm (d. c.385–88/995–98) from Baghdad distinguishes between various scripts which he defines as 'Greek' (*al-khaṭṭ al-rūmī*), 'Lombard', and, possibly, 'Saxon' (*qalam li-Nukubardih wa-li-Sākisiḥ*) as well as 'Frankish' (*kitābat al-Faranja*) in his bibliographical index *al-fihrist*. Since the graphic specimens originally included in the work have been lost, it is necessary to draw on the descriptions he offers instead. Written from left to right, the 'Lombard and Saxon' script, used by a people living near al-Andalus between Rome (*Rūmiyya*) and the Franks (*Ifranja*), consisted of twenty-two letters and was called 'Aqistaliqī'.⁸⁰ Considering that southern Italy in the tenth century was strongly influenced by Byzantine culture,⁸¹ only the double reference to 'Lombard' and, possibly, 'Saxon' suggests that this script was used to write Latin. No doubts arise in his description of 'Frankish'. Ibn al-Nadīm asserts that it resembled the Greek script but was more rectilinear, and that he had seen it on the hilts of Frankish swords as well as in the letter written by a Frankish queen to the Abbasid caliph al-Muktafi bi-llāh.⁸² In the late tenth century, Romance vernaculars were still seldom written,⁸³ inscriptions on Frankish sword hilts were often in Latin,⁸⁴ whereas an official letter sent by a member of the Frankish ruling elite would have been written in this language as well. Another example for the

⁷⁵ The treatise *murūj al-dhahab* was finished in 336/947, the *kitāb al-tanbīh* in 345/956, the year of his death, cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 30, p. 29 (AR), p. 19 (FR); § 3628, pp. 282–3 (AR); al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 6.

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 77, 83: 'wa-man itaṣala bihim min al-umam fi l-jarbi'.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 123–4.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 181–2: 'wa-Rūmiyya dār mamlakat al-Ifranjiyya al-'uẓmā [sic] qadiman wa-ḥadīthan', trans. Carra de Vaux, pp. 246–7, 429. See Chapters 4.2.1. and 6.4.1.

⁷⁹ Note that, in his translation of al-Mas'ūdī's *kitāb al-tanbīh*, Bernard Carra de Vaux (Maçoudi, *Livre de l'avertissement*, p. 173) uses the term 'les Latins' although it never appears in phonetical transcription (i.e. *al-Laṭīniyyūn*) in the works of al-Mas'ūdī.

⁸⁰ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-fihrist*, ed. Fluegel, p. 18.

⁸¹ Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), pp. 62–7, 150–1.

⁸² Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-fihrist*, ed. Fluegel, p. 20. Al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *al-dhakhkhā'ir*, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, pp. 48–54, claims that the caliph drew back on two persons to read the letter—a 'Frank', capable of reading 'the writing of his people' (*yaqrā kitābat ahliḥi*), who translated the letter into Greek (*tarjamahu bi-kitābat al-rūmiyya*), and the scholar Iṣḥāq b. Hunayn who rendered the letter from Greek to Arabic. The authorship and authenticity of this document, commonly ascribed to the eleventh century, is debated, see *ibid.*, pp. 9–17, trans. al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, pp. 11–13; Christys, 'Queen' (2010), pp. 149–70.

⁸³ Wright, *Latin* (1982), p. 144, describes a period of 'experimentation in Romance writing'.

⁸⁴ Zeki Validi, 'Schwerter' (1936), p. 26.

definition of Latin as 'Frankish' is proffered by the Persian scholar al-Bīrūnī (d. c.442/1050) who points to the Frankish (*Ifrañjiyya*) origins of the title 'Caesar' (*qaysar*).⁸⁵

Early Middle Eastern scholars of the ninth to eleventh centuries only seem to have had a vague and inconsistent notion of the languages written and spoken in the northwestern hemisphere. Employing the ethnonym 'al-Rūm' for the inhabitants, the term 'al-Rūmiyya' for the languages of the ancient Roman and Byzantine Empires, their linguistic terminology lacked a clear distinction between ancient and Byzantine Greek on the one hand, Greek and Latin on the other hand.⁸⁶ Only some of them classified ancient Greek as 'al-Yūnāniyya' or pointed to a linguistic divide between the east and the west. With regards to the languages of medieval Europe, the term most frequently employed was 'Frankish', with al-Mas'ūdī distinguishing implicitly between an 'ancient' and a 'modern' form of this language. The popularity of this term cannot be explained only with reference to Frankish dominance in early medieval Western Europe.⁸⁷ One must also consider that all sources dealt with so far had been written by Middle Eastern authors who presumably heard languages of the Latin West less frequently than their colleagues from the Muslim West did.

3.2.2. Latin in al-Andalus

Before the Muslim invasion, the linguistic situation on the Iberian Peninsula had been characterized by a form of Latin-Romance diglossia, Latin being the language of writing, a Romance idiom the means of oral communication.⁸⁸ The establishment of an Arabic-Islamic ruling elite on the peninsula changed the linguistic landscape in that Arabic increasingly became the medium of oral and written expression.⁸⁹ In the oral sphere, however, Romance vernaculars seem to have remained in use among great parts of the population for a certain period. During the process of linguistic Arabization, which saw a majority population of Romance-speakers acquiring the language of a demographic minority of native Arabic-speakers, Romance elements left a strong linguistic imprint on the Andalusian variant of Arabic.⁹⁰ In the written sphere, Latin continued to be used in certain Christian circles up to the ninth or tenth century, but was increasingly replaced by Arabic.⁹¹

⁸⁵ al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, p. 29 (AR), p. 33 (EN). Al-Bīrūnī's linguistic definitions lack consistency. In *ibid.*, p. 92 (AR), p. 103 (EN), he claims that Caesar's name 'Julius' meant 'ruler of the world' in the language 'al-Rūmiyya'.

⁸⁶ Cf. Marín, 'Rūm' (1984), pp. 109–18; el-Cheikh and Bosworth, 'Rūm' (1995), p. 601; Serikoff, 'Rūmī' (1996), pp. 169–94.

⁸⁷ See Chapter 6.

⁸⁸ Wasserstein, 'Situation' (1991), p. 4; Gallego García, 'Languages' (2003), p. 108.

⁸⁹ Millet-Gérard, *Chrétien* (1984), pp. 49–62; Fierro, *Al-Andalus* (2001), pp. 13–24, esp. 16–21; Vicente, *Proceso* (2007). See Chapter 2.2.1.

⁹⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 770–1; cf. Versteegh, 'Origin' (1986), pp. 337–52; Corriente, *Arabe* (1992).

⁹¹ The extant Latin texts, written in their greatest part by three authors, are conveniently collected in the *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, ed. Gil, 2 vols. Cf. Wright, *Latin* (1982), pp. 151–61;

It remains difficult to estimate if and how many members of the Arabic-Islamic scholarly elite of al-Andalus were able to understand a Romance vernacular or even Latin texts. Al-Khushanī (d. c.371/981) mentions two Muslim judges active in ninth-century Córdoba, one who seems to have understood, another who spoke the local 'non-Arabic language' (*al-'Ajamiyya*).⁹² Another judge of the tenth century had 'non-Arabic parents'.⁹³ According to Julián Ribera, these passages allow us to infer that 'the Romance language... was common among Muslims of all social classes in this period even in the Islamic capital'.⁹⁴ Although this seems exaggerated, we can assume for the above-mentioned reasons that some members of the scholarly elite were capable of understanding the local Romance idiom.⁹⁵

From the late ninth or early tenth century onwards, we also find evidence for a connection between Arabic-Islamic scholarship and the Latin language. Produced in this period,⁹⁶ the Arabic version of Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos* is of particular importance in this context. The *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* consists of a reworked Arabic translation of Orosius' (d. c.417) history, several translated excerpts from the cosmography of Julius Honorius (4th–5th cent.), as well as the *Chronica, Etymologiae*, and *Historia Gothorum* of Isidore of Seville (d. 636).⁹⁷ Since the table of contents also claims to list Visigothic kings up to the times of Roderic (d. 711),⁹⁸ the work must also have included material based on Hispano-Latin sources produced after Isidore's death.⁹⁹ Scholarship has traditionally ascribed the production of this work to the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (ruled 300–50/912–61) or al-Ḥakam II (ruled 350–66/961–76).¹⁰⁰ Citing the Andalusian scholar Ibn Juljul (d. after 384/994), the Oriental scholar Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (d. 668/1270) claims that 'Abd al-Raḥmān III received the *Historiae adversus paganos* from the Byzantine emperor. The latter encouraged the caliph to draw on 'the Latins able to read the Latin language' (*al-Laṭīniyyin man yaqra'uhū bi-l-lisān al-laṭīnī*) in his realm, to

Wasserstein, 'Situation' (1991), pp. 5–7; Gallego García, 'Languages' (2003), pp. 108–10; Aillet, *Mozarabes* (2010), pp. 134–52.

⁹² al-Khushanī, *kitāb al-quḍāh*, ed./trans. Ribera, pp. 111–12 (AR): 'wa-kāna a'jamī al-lisān fa-ṣāha 'alā l-bu'd bi-l-'Ajamiyya... fa-qāla al-qāḍī qūlū lahu bi-l-'Ajamiyya...', p. 136 (ES); *ibid.*, p. 139 (AR): 'fa-qālat lahu bi-l-'Ajamiyya... fa-qāla lahā bi-l-'Ajamiyya', p. 171 (ES).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 188 (AR): 'kāna fī abawayhi 'ajama', p. 234 (ES).

⁹⁴ al-Khushanī, *kitāb al-quḍāh*, ed./trans. Ribera, p. xxii (introducción): 'la lengua romance... era corriente en aquella época entre musulmanes de toda clase social en la misma capital del islamismo'.

⁹⁵ Cf. Wasserstein, 'Situation' (1991), pp. 9–11; Gallego García, 'Languages' (2003), pp. 110, 127–37.

⁹⁶ Levi della Vida, 'Traduzione' (1954), pp. 260–2; Badawī, *Ūrūsyūs* (1982), pp. 10–14; Molina, 'Orosio' (1984), pp. 66–71; Penelas, 'Author' (2001), pp. 113–35; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 27–42; Penelas, 'Traducciones' (2009), pp. 223–51.

⁹⁷ *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 47–66, 99–119 (introducción); Penelas, 'Islamization' (2006), p. 106 with n. 17. See Chapter 2.2.1.

⁹⁸ *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, p. 16 (AR).

⁹⁹ The identity of these sources is disputed. The editors of the *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés, p. lix, opt for the *Continuatio Hispana*, also known as *Chronica muzarabica* or *Chronicle of 754*. Molina, 'Orosio' (1984), p. 91, believes the translators used the *Libro de los Profetas enviados a los reyes*.

¹⁰⁰ Levi della Vida, 'Traduzione' (1954), pp. 260–2; discussed by Badawī, *Ūrūsyūs* (1982), pp. 10–14; Molina, 'Orosio' (1984), pp. 66–71; Penelas, 'Traducciones' (2009), pp. 223–51; Christys, *Christians* (2002), pp. 135–57.

facilitate a translation 'from the Latin to the Arabic language' (*min al-Laṭīnī ilā l-lisān al-ʿarabī*).¹⁰¹ Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), however, states that the book was translated for al-Ḥakam II.¹⁰² With regard to the identity of the translators, Ibn Khaldūn makes two contradictory statements, claiming that the book was translated 'by the chief judge of the Christians, their translator and [the Muslim scholar] Qāsim b. Aṣḥāgh',¹⁰³ or—in the alternative passage—by two Muslims.¹⁰⁴ In view of these contradictions, Mayte Penelas proposed that the work was rendered into Arabic at the end of the ninth century by Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī, the Arabic-Christian translator of Jerome's Latin version of the Psalms.¹⁰⁵

Although we lack a final answer to the question how and why the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* came into being, it seems undisputable that the Umayyad court and its scholarly entourage knew of the work and were somehow involved in its production. Ibn Khaldūn took for granted that Muslim translators were involved. Considering that Muslims are attested as having participated in later translations from Arabic to Latin, this is not out of the question.¹⁰⁶ Some scholars regard the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* as a subtle Christian polemic against Islam.¹⁰⁷ Such an interpretation does not explain, however, why it was hailed as an 'outstanding historical account' (*tārikh ʿajīb*) of 'great merits' (*fawā'id ʿazīma*) by Ibn Juljul (d. after 284/994)¹⁰⁸ and used by several Arabic-Islamic scholars from this period onwards, later even finding its way to Egypt.¹⁰⁹ The *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* acquainted these scholars with various elements of Latin culture including historical data on the Latin West and transcribed Latin terminology.¹¹⁰ It seems to be the earliest extant Arabic text that contains an Arabic transcription of the term 'Latin'. As an adjective, it defines a specific form of 'pre-Byzantine Romans' active in the West.¹¹¹ It also takes on the form of the hitherto unused ethnonym 'al-Laṭīniyyūn'.¹¹²

¹⁰¹ Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿuyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Müller, vol. 2, p. 47: 'qāla Ibn Juljul...wa-kataba Armānyūs ilā l-Nāṣir...wa-ammā kitāb Hurūsis fa-ʿindaka fī baladika min al-Laṭīniyyīn man yaqraʾu hu bi-l-lisān al-laṭīnī wa-in kāshaftahum ʾanhu naqalūhu laka min al-Laṭīnī ilā l-lisān al-ʿarabī'.

¹⁰² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 101.

¹⁰³ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 101: 'wa-mā naqalahu ayḍan Hurūshiyūsh muʾarrikh al-Rūm fī kitābihi alladhi tarjamahu li-l-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir min Banī Umayya qāḍī al-naṣārā wa-turjumānuhum bi-Qurṭuba wa-Qāsim b. Aṣḥāgh'.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 234: 'wa-khabar Hurūshiyūsh muqaddam li-anna wāḍiʾayhu muslimān kānā yutarjimān li-khulafāʾ al-Islām bi-Qurṭuba wa-humā maʾrūfān wa-waḍāʾa al-kitāb'.

¹⁰⁵ Penelas, 'Author' (2001), pp. 113–35; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 27–42 (introduction); cf. Daiber, 'Weltgeschichte' (2011), pp. 191–9.

¹⁰⁶ A Muslim named 'Mahumetus' was involved in the first Latin translation of the Qurʾān, cf. Petrus Venerabilis, *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, ed. Kritzeck, p. 229. A Muslim also participated in the translation of Aḥmad al-Rāzī's historiographical work *akbbār mulūk al-Andalus*, cf. *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalan and de Andrés, pp. XI, 3 with ns 1–3. Also see d'Alverny, 'Traductions' (1994), pp. 193–206.

¹⁰⁷ Daiber, 'Weltgeschichte' (2011), pp. 191–9.

¹⁰⁸ As cited in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. Riḍā, p. 494.

¹⁰⁹ On its reception, see Badawī, *ʿUrūsyūs* (1982), pp. 21–47; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 67–81 (introducción).

¹¹⁰ Ibid., Index.

¹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 47 (*al-Rūm al-laṭīniyyūn*), 45, 53–4, 89, 116, 140 (*al-Rūmāniyyūn al-laṭīniyyūn*).

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 50, 54, 79, 81, 89, 116–17, 123, 131, 143–4, 166, 182, 230, 241.

In the orbit of this work and in the period following its translation we find various references to Arabic-Islamic scholars using either non-Arabic books or the transcribed Latin terminology of the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*. Later Arabic-Islamic scholars claim, for example, that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955), one of the historiographers working in the orbit of the Umayyad court, based his knowledge of the pre-Islamic history of al-Andalus on 'what its non-Arab scholars mention' and even made use of 'some non-Arabic books'.¹¹³ These passages as well as speculations about al-Rāzī's involvement in the Arabic rendering of Orosius' history do not permit to conclude with Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo that al-Rāzī had an excellent command of Romance and Latin,¹¹⁴ but prove, nonetheless, that his interest in sources on pre-Islamic culture was genuine. This interest was shared by his later peers: Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) mentions 'the Latin language' (*al-lughā al-lātīniyya*) when he comments on the Christian interpretation of Jesus' divine sonship or points to certain aspects of Latin grammar.¹¹⁵ Šā'id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070), who reproduces al-Mas'ūdī's theory on the linguistic diversification of the northern hemisphere, distinguishes between Greek (*al-Ighrīqiyya*) and Latin (*al-Laṭīniyya*) when commenting that, in ancient times, the territory of the Romans (*al-Rūm*) was situated beside the territory of the Greeks (*al-Yūnāniyyin*).¹¹⁶ Although al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) fails to define three different terms for Greek, i.e. 'al-Rūmiyya', 'al-Yūnāniyya', and 'al-Ighrīqiyya' against each other,¹¹⁷ he clearly distinguishes them from Latin, one of the languages of pre-Islamic al-Andalus. He transcribes the Latin pronunciation of the toponym 'Toledo' and claims that 'experts of the Latin language' (*ahl al-'ilm bi-l-lisān al-laṭīnī*) traced the toponym 'Seville' back to a certain 'Ishbāl'.¹¹⁸ Such 'experts' may have informed al-Bakrī's teacher, al-'Udhri (d. 478/1085), about the Gothic language. Both scholars claim that the toponym 'Córdoba' signified 'various hearts' (*al-qulūb al-mukhtalifa*) in the language of the Goths (*bi-l-lisān al-Qūṭ*). Al-Bakrī provides the alternative translation 'he settled it' (*fa-askanahā*).¹¹⁹

Al-Bakrī's text also testifies to the fact that intermittent contact between al-Andalus and the Latin-Christian world had provided Arabic-Islamic scholars with knowledge about the linguistic landscape of contemporary Europe. He mentions a people called 'Biyūra', also known as 'al-Amānīsh' who lived near the

¹¹³ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, § 'al-Andalus', p. 33: 'alā mā yadhkuruḥā 'ulamā' 'Ajamiḥā'; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, vol. 2, p. 2: 'ba'd kutub al-'Ajam'. Cf. Safran, *Caliphate* (2000), pp. 111–12; García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), pp. 214–16.

¹¹⁴ Vallvé Bermejo, 'Fuentes' (1967), pp. 243–7, esp. 244, 247, 254.

¹¹⁵ Ibn Ḥazm, *al-faṣl*, ed. Naṣr and 'Umayra, vol. 1, p. 113; cf. Aillet, *Mozarabes* (2010), pp. 216–17; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-taqrīb*, ed. 'Abbās, pp. 110, 153, 156; Wasserstein, 'Situation' (1991), p. 9.

¹¹⁶ Šā'id al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Bū 'Alwān, pp. 38, 96.

¹¹⁷ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 475, pp. 302–3: 'fa-tarjamū al-tawrah min al-'Ibrāniyya ilā l-Ighrīqiyya'; § 538, p. 328: 'arḍ Barqa wa-hiya bi-l-Rūmiyya Anṭālīs'; § 510, p. 316: 'ra'aytu ḥajaran manṣūban maktūban 'alayhi bi-l-Yūnāniyya...'; § 1091, p. 653: 'wa-yudhkar anna tafsīr al-'Tarābulus bi-l-'Ajamiyya al-Ighrīqiyya thalāth mudun'.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., § 1513, p. 902: 'za'ama ahl al-'ilm bi-l-lisān al-laṭīnī anna aṣl tasmiyyatihā Ishbāl'; § 1521, p. 907: 'ma'nā Tulayṭula bi-l-Laṭīnī Tūlāzū'.

¹¹⁹ al-'Udhri, *tarsī al-akhbār*, ed. al-Ahwānī, p. 121; al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1508, p. 900.

Basques (*al-Bashkuns*) and 'spoke a language that differed from the one spoken by the Franks'.¹²⁰ Al-Bakrī classifies the language of the Bretons (*al-Birtūnīn*) as 'a language the ears will reject',¹²¹ mentions that the Bulgarians (*al-Bulqārīn*) knew various tongues, and had translated the gospels into the Slavic language (*al-lisān al-ṣaqlabī*).¹²² Finally, he claims that the Prussians (*al-Brūs*) had an independent language not understood by their neighbours.¹²³ His knowledge probably derives from the travel account written by the Andalusian Jew Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī that provided al-Bakrī with much information on central and eastern Europe.¹²⁴

3.2.3. Latin in Muslim North Africa and the Middle East

Some of this linguistic knowledge acquired in al-Andalus also reached North Africa and the Muslim Middle East. As mentioned above, the Middle Eastern scholar Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'a (d. 668/1270) cited the Andalusian scholar Ibn Juljul on the Latin skills of people in al-Andalus.¹²⁵ In a biographical article on the Andalusian scholar Ibn Fīrrū al-Shāḡibī (d. 590/1194 in Cairo), the Middle Eastern scholar Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) claims that the word 'Fīrrū' (cf. Span. *hierro*) signifies 'iron' 'in the Latin language of the non-Muslim inhabitants of al-Andalus'.¹²⁶ Al-'Udhri's and al-Bakrī's statement about the 'Gothic language' was copied by al-Ḥimyarī (13th–14th cent.) in North Africa and, probably via al-Ḥimyarī, by al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) in Egypt.¹²⁷

However, neither North African nor Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholarship produced any substantial comments on Latin, Romance, or other languages. This is surprising with regards to North Africa, even if one supposes that Latin and Romance idioms had ceased to be of relevance after the Muslim conquest of the region.¹²⁸ The intensive diplomatic and commercial relations between Muslim North Africa and the Christian maritime powers, laid down in scores of bilingual Latin/Romance-Arabic treaties, must have acquainted high and late medieval Arabic-Islamic scholars from North Africa with some knowledge about Latin and various Romance languages.¹²⁹ This also applies to their Middle Eastern colleagues, considering the relations between the crusaders and surrounding Muslim powers or between Mamluk Egypt and the Crown of Aragon.¹³⁰ We possess an Arabic-French

¹²⁰ Ibid., § 1531, p. 913: 'wa-lahum kalām ghayr kalām al-Ifranj'.

¹²¹ Ibid., § 1533, p. 915: 'lahum lughā tamujjuhā al-asmā'.

¹²² Ibid., § 552, pp. 334–5. ¹²³ Ibid., § 549, p. 334.

¹²⁴ Ibid., pp. 22–3 (Introduction); Jacob, *Berichte* (1927), pp. 2–18.

¹²⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'a, *uyūn al-anbā'*, ed. Müller, vol. 2, p. 47.

¹²⁶ Ibn Khallikān, *wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. 'Abbās, vol. 4, § 537, p. 72: 'bi-l-lughat al-laṭīnī [sic] min A'ājim al-Andalus'; Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, trans. de Slane, vol. 2, p. 501.

¹²⁷ al-'Udhri, *tarṣīf al-akhbār*, ed. al-Ahwānī, p. 121; al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1508, p. 900; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mī'ār*, ed. 'Abbās, p. 458; al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 226.

¹²⁸ Cf. Lewicki, 'Langue' (1958), pp. 415–80; Lancel, 'Fin' (1981), pp. 269–97.

¹²⁹ See Chapter 2.2.5. on these relations. Mansouri, 'Milieux' (2004), p. 283, argues that the extant Arabic-Islamic sources from high and late medieval North Africa 'camouflage' the participation of scholarly elites in commercial transactions with Christian merchants.

¹³⁰ See Chapter 2.2.2. and 2.2.5.

word list in Coptic script from the twelfth or the thirteenth century¹³¹ and an Arabic-Castilian glossary in a cursive Hebrew Oriental rabbinic script from the fifteenth century,¹³² but no informed comment on Latin and Romance languages from an Arabic-Islamic scholar in this region.

The well-known Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188) claims not to have understood the murmuring of a Frankish woman and only transliterates a few 'Frankish' words such as the terms 'vicomte' (*al-biskund*) and 'bourgeois' (*burjāsi*).¹³³ Transliterations, e.g. of the term 'chancellor' (*al-khaṣālir*), is all Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) has to offer.¹³⁴ Copying the Andalusian geographer Ibn Sa'īd (d. 685/1286), Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) only refers to the Western European languages in connection with the title 'emperor'. Both distinguish between two different pronunciations, i.e. 'al-ambārātūr' or 'al-anbaraṭūr' (cf. *imperator*) versus 'al-anbarūr' (cf. *empereur*), declaring the latter to be of colloquial origin.¹³⁵ However, both authors refrain from mentioning the languages spoken in the emperor's dominions, i.e. 'the lands of Germany' (*bilād Almāniyya/al-Lamāniyya*), Abū l-Fidā' adding that 'the names of these places are foreign, and only rarely mentioned among us'.¹³⁶

Even Ibn Khaldūn, who certainly knew a lot about the history of the Latin West,¹³⁷ visited Castile as a diplomatic envoy,¹³⁸ and repeatedly commented on linguistic phenomena,¹³⁹ did not possess systematic knowledge about the linguistic landscape of Western Europe. In the prefatory book (*al-muqaddima*) to his universal history, Ibn Khaldūn reduces Western European languages of his period to a single 'Frankish language'. When he addresses the problem of reproducing foreign non-Arabic words correctly, explaining that various alphabets contain letters without equivalent in Arabic, he refers to the 'language of the Franks' (*luḡhat al-Ifranj*).¹⁴⁰ In another context, he claims that the term 'admiral' (*al-miland*) derived from the Frankish language (*min luḡhat al-Ifranja*).¹⁴¹ Since he clearly defines the 'Latin writing' (*al-khaṭṭ al-laṭīnī*) as 'the writing of the Latin Romans' (*khaṭṭ al-Rūm al-laṭīniyyīn*), distinguishing it from other non-European scripts,¹⁴² he must have understood that 'Frankish' represented a contemporary language, 'Latin' an ancient one. His incorrect translation of the title 'emperor' as 'the

¹³¹ Aslanov, *Français* (2006), pp. 43–76.

¹³² Sheynin, 'Genizah' (1981), pp. 151–66.

¹³³ Usāma b. Munqidh, *al-ītibār*, ed. Hitti, pp. 139–41, cf. Aslanov, *Français* (2006), pp. 42–3.

¹³⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 12, AH 593, p. 84 (Leiden), p. 126 (Beirut).

¹³⁵ Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, p. 193; Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 202: 'wa-l-'amma taqūl'.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 202: 'mu'jamat al-asmā' khāmīlat al-dhikr 'indanā'.

¹³⁷ See passages that deal with Ibn Khaldūn in Chapters 4–8.

¹³⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 7, p. 551.

¹³⁹ Cooke, 'Ibn Khaldun' (1983), pp. 179–88; John, 'Views' (1989), pp. 153–64; Chio, 'Study' (2005), pp. 127–52; Deymi-Gheriani, 'Conception' (2008) pp. 155–64.

¹⁴⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 44.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 312, gives the term 'admiral' as 'al-balamanda'. Other editions feature the term 'al-miland', cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *al-muqaddima*, ed. al-Shaddādī, vol. 2, cap. III,32, p. 27. This is also valid for the Būlāq-edition, which forms the basis of the translations by de Slane and Rosenthal, cf. Ibn-Khaldoun, *Prolégomènes*, trans. de Slane, vol. 2, cap. III,32, p. 37; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, trans. Rosenthal, vol. 2, cap. III,32, p. 37.

¹⁴² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 730.

crowned one' (*al-mutawwaj*) proves, however, that he lacked real knowledge of both Latin and its Romance derivatives.¹⁴³

Ibn Khaldūn has more to say about Latin in the chapters on ancient history that form part of his universal history. He is the only Arabic-Islamic scholar to deal with the origins of the Latin alphabet (*ḥurūf al-lisān al-laṭīnī*), allegedly invented by a certain 'Karamunus b. Marsiya b. Shayban b. Mazka' around 4050 years after the Creation.¹⁴⁴ He is also aware that Latin was important to the Romans (*al-Rūm*) who, when they adopted Christianity, allegedly translated the Torah and the Hebrew prophets into Latin (*al-Laṭīnī*) to derive legal precepts from these texts, consequently putting much effort into the cultivation of this language.¹⁴⁵ Several passages prove, however, that his linguistic terminology is inconsistent. Julius Caesar and the Hasmonean ruler Hyrcanus II allegedly concluded a bilingual treaty in two languages called 'lisān al-Rūm' and 'lisān al-Yūnān'. Here, a 'language of the Romans' is opposed to that of the 'Ionians', suggesting that 'lisān al-Rūm' stands for Latin.¹⁴⁶ In other passages the language linked to the ethnonym 'al-Rūm' is clearly opposed to Latin and thus stands for a form of Greek. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Septuagint was translated from Hebrew (*al-lisān al-ibrānī*) to Latin (*al-lisān al-laṭīnī*) and to another 'Roman' language, i.e. 'al-lisān al-rūmī', which must correspond to Greek in this context.¹⁴⁷ The emperor Titus (*Ṭītush*) allegedly knew Latin (*al-Laṭīnī*) and Greek, the latter called 'al-Gharīqī'.¹⁴⁸ Ibn Khaldūn was obviously unable to distinguish clearly between Greek and Latin or between different forms of Greek. Since his terminology changes according to context, he may have only reproduced the terminology of his sources. However, his difficulties of discerning ancient Romans from the Byzantines may have played a role as well.¹⁴⁹

3.2.4. Scholarship and Language Skills

Western European languages do not seem to have constituted the primary field of interest of Arabic-Islamic scholars. In spite of the diffusion of the term 'Latin' from the tenth century onwards, many of them continued to use an inconsistent terminology and failed to differentiate clearly between Latin, Greek, and different medieval Western European vernaculars. In the entire period of study, no Arabic-Islamic scholar, not even the Andalusian scholar Ibn Ḥazm, dealt with either Latin

¹⁴³ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 292.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 232. According to Ibn Khaldūn, this statement is allegedly based on the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*. However, neither the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* nor the Latin version of Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos* contains a similar statement. 'Karamunus' may represent a distortion of 'Carmenta', cf. Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, lib. I, cap. 1,3–4: 'Latina litteras Carmentis nympha prima Italis tradidit.'

¹⁴⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 730–1.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 149.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 224.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 241.

¹⁴⁹ In *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 218–37, he tries to understand the origins of the Roman Empire and its interdependence with the Hellenic sphere, using the terms 'al-Kaytam', 'al-Rūm', and 'al-Laṭīniyyūn'. The following chapter heading (p. 232) clearly reveals his terminological problems: 'News on the Latins who are the Kaytam known as al-Rūm' (*al-khabar 'an al-Laṭīniyyīn wa-hum al-Kaytam al-ma'rūfūn bi-l-Rūm*).

or a contemporary Western European vernacular in a way comparable to Guillelmus de Luna, the translator of Ibn Rushd/Averroes in thirteenth-century Naples, who explained the intricacies of Arabic verbs and other grammatical phenomena.¹⁵⁰ Thus, linguistic barriers count among the most important impediments to the acquisition of information on Latin-Christian Europe at the hands of Arabic-Islamic scholars. This said, it seems necessary to reflect on the reasons for this failure to acquire linguistic competence.

According to Lewis, interest in other languages was not necessary in an Arabic-Islamic world lacking interest in the Latin West, 'where Arabic was the sole language of religion, commerce, and culture'¹⁵¹ and where 'knowledge of foreign languages was not an esteemed qualification'.¹⁵² If they did not make use of the linguistic skills of religious minorities, Muslims communicated with the help of the pan-Mediterranean pidgin called 'lingua franca'.¹⁵³

The following chapters will hardly corroborate that the Arabic-Islamic world lacked interest in the Latin West. Moreover, this world was far from monolingual. Religious minorities retained their liturgical languages. Apart from Persians, Berbers, Kurds, Turks, etc., even 'Galicians' and 'Franks' left their imprint on Arabic, as Ibn Khaldūn commented with regards to the 'corruption' of Andalusian Arabic.¹⁵⁴ Finally, an earlier chapter has listed evidence for Muslims actively involved in sophisticated forms of cross-lingual transmission, e.g. the translation of legal and scientific texts.¹⁵⁵

Lewis is certainly correct in highlighting that Arabic-Islamic scholars failed to acquire much information on other languages. However, this scholarly focus on one single language is not characteristic of the Arabic-Islamic world alone. Richard Bullet has pointed out that intellectual endeavours in the medieval Arabic-Islamic and Latin-Christian world were mainly carried out by 'bodies of religious specialists' dedicated 'to a single language of religion—Latin in Europe, Arabic in North Africa and the Middle East'. Whereas daily life could involve the use of several languages and dialects, literary education was not necessarily monolingual, but certainly dominated by one literary language.¹⁵⁶ Lewis, in turn, not only maintains that Western Europeans exhibited a particular interest in alien cultures,¹⁵⁷ but also asserts that, because of their Hebrew, Greek, and Latin religious heritage, Europeans were:

accustomed from an early stage to the necessity of studying and mastering difficult languages other than their own vernaculars and, more than that, of recognizing that there were external sources of wisdom written in foreign languages, access to which involved learning them.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁰ Auerroes Cordubensis secundum translationem quam Guillelmus (Wilhelmus) de Luna fecisse dicitur, *Commentum medium super libro Peri hermeneias Aristotelis*, ed. Hissette, *Differentia* 1, §7, lin. 78; § 10, lin. 124; § 11, lin. 130; § 19, lin. 220, 227, 235.

¹⁵¹ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 298.

¹⁵² Lewis, *Discovery* (1957), p. 415; Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 81.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 81. On this vehicular language, see Dakhli, *Lingua* (2008).

¹⁵⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 1, pp. 770–1; Vicente, *Proceso* (2007).

¹⁵⁵ See Chapter 2.2.5. Cf. Dakhli, *Lingua franca* (2008), pp. 89, 97.

¹⁵⁶ Bullet, *Case* (2004), pp. 24–5. Cf. Grévin, *Parchemin* (2012), on Latin vs. Arabic.

¹⁵⁷ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 9.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

As opposed to Lewis, Bulliet does not account for the fact that Arabic-Islamic scholars neglected to learn Latin whereas many Latin-Christian scholars began to study Arabic from the twelfth century onwards. However, it would be too simple to claim that the rise of Arabic studies in Western Europe was due to a general Western European disposition to study foreign languages. Rather, Western European interest in Arabic had been stimulated in different ways.¹⁵⁹

One important motivation to study Arabic was to receive access to intellectual resources that had come into existence thanks to the translation of Greek and Syriac texts into Arabic between the eighth and the tenth century and the subsequent development of this heritage at the hand of Arabic-Islamic scholars. Stephen of Antioch (fl. 1127), who produced a Latin translation of Dioscorides' pharmacological treatise after comparing Greek and Arabic versions, is only one among the many Latin-Christian scholars who exhibited interest in this scientific heritage.¹⁶⁰ However, other motivations also nourished this quest for knowledge. At the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, Ibn 'Abdūn from Seville complained about Jews and Christians who translated scientific books from Arabic only to present them to their co-religionists as their own.¹⁶¹ Adelard of Bath (d. c.1152), in turn, wrote a dialogue in which he tries to convince his nephew of the merits of Arabic scholarship. In this treatise, he bitterly complains about an intellectual environment that only accepted older authorities. For this reason, Adelard claims, he used other authorities to express his own thoughts. Considering the context of this statement, Adelard seems to have used Arabic-Islamic works of scholarship to propose ideas potentially provocative to contemporary academia.¹⁶² Thus, Latin-Christian scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries employed Arabic skills not only to acquire knowledge, but also to leave a mark in their respective intellectual environment.

Christianity's intellectual struggle with its rival Islam provided another important motivation to promote the study of Arabic. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, commissioned the Latin translation of the Qur'ān in 1141, explaining:

because the Latins, and especially contemporaries . . . , were only proficient in their own language they had been born in, they could not recognize the nature of so much error and were unable to counter it.¹⁶³

For this reason, he turned to

those proficient in the Arabic language, from which the deadly virus emerged to infect more than half of the world,¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ Fück, *Studien* (1955), pp. 1–25; Toomer, *Wisdome* (1996), pp. 7–13.

¹⁶⁰ Burnett, 'Antioch' (2000), pp. 38–9.

¹⁶¹ Ibn 'Abdūn, *risāla fī l-ḥisba*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 248, trans. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville* (2001), § 206, p. 92.

¹⁶² Adelardus Bathensis, *Questiones naturales*, ed./trans. Burnett, pp. 82–3.

¹⁶³ Petrus Venerabilis, *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, ed./trans. Gleij, prologus, cap. 17, pp. 52–5: 'Sed quia Latini et maxime moderni . . . non nisi linguam suam noverunt, "in qua nati sunt", cuiusmodi tantus error esset agnoscere, ne dicam tanto errori obviare non poterant.'

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 52–5: 'Contuli ergo me ad peritos linguae Arabicae, ex qua procedens mortiferum virus orbem plusquam dimidium infectit.'

and asked them to translate the Qur'ān. In this context, he composed the treatise *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, hoping that it would be translated into Arabic.

In this way, a Latin work, translated into another language, will maybe help others, whom the lifewinning grace would like to win for God.¹⁶⁵

The idea that Arabic skills would be helpful to spread the Christian faith was then promoted considerably by Raimundus Lullus (d. c.1316)¹⁶⁶ and found institutional expression in the plan, envisaged at the council of Vienne (1311–12), to create chairs for the teaching of Oriental languages in Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca.¹⁶⁷

Arabic-Islamic scholars failed to develop comparable motivations to study Latin. The Latins sought the intellectual resources at their disposal, not vice versa. To an Arabic-Islamic world imbued with Greek science in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, geography, medicine, etc., the medieval Latin-Christian world still had little to offer.¹⁶⁸ Unlike Orosius' Latin history of the world, writings on Christian theology or treatises that dealt with the agricultural, political, and historical specificities of Christian societies were hardly able to arouse Arabic-Islamic scholarly curiosity, aside from the fact that they were probably difficult to acquire in manuscript form. Moreover, medieval Arabic-Islamic theologians, although prolific as authors of treatises on *jihād* and the merits of Islam over Christianity,¹⁶⁹ never seem to have developed the idea of penetrating Christian territory with the help of missionaries. Thus, unlike their high and late medieval Latin-Christian colleagues, Arabic-Islamic scholars moved in an environment that failed to stimulate proficiency in the other sphere's languages. This also set them apart from other professional groups in the Islamic world who depended on such skills to facilitate economic, diplomatic, and other forms of relations.¹⁷⁰ Claiming that the entire Arabic-Islamic world lacked interest in European languages neither explains the existence of Muslim linguistic mediators nor why the so-called 'lingua franca', widely diffused in the early modern Mediterranean, predominantly consists of Romance words.¹⁷¹

3.3. ACQUIRING RELIABLE DATA ON LATIN-CHRISTIAN EUROPE

Apart from linguistic barriers, time and space separated Arabic-Islamic scholars from their subject matter. In many cases, they obviously lacked sound data. Abū l-Fidā'

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., cap. 18–19, pp. 54–6: 'Sic Latinum opus in peregrinam linguam translatum, proderit forsitan aliquibus, quos ductrix ad vitam gratia Deo lucrari voluerit.'

¹⁶⁶ Raimundus Lullus *Opera Latina*, Tomus IX, pp. 120–2, in Monte Pessulano anno MCCCIV composita, ed. Madre (CCCM 35), pp. 280–3, trans. Housley, *Documents* (1996), pp. 35–6.

¹⁶⁷ *Concilium Viennense (a. 1311–12)*, § 24, ed./trans. Alberigo and Wohlmuth, p. 379.

¹⁶⁸ Dakhliā, *Lingua* (2008), p. 97.

¹⁶⁹ Fritsch, *Islam* (1930); Tyan, 'Djihād' (1965), pp. 538–40.

¹⁷⁰ See Chapter 2.2.5.

¹⁷¹ Dakhliā, *Lingua* (2008), pp. 16–17, 89, 97.

(d. 732/1331), for example, proffers an interpretation of pre-imperial Roman history that would have caused indignation among all proponents and defenders of the republican system. Lacking alternative information, he inferred that kings had ruled the Roman Republic.

Then Romulus (*Rūmullus*) assaulted his brother Remus (*Rūmānāwus*) and killed him. Then, after his killing, he ruled alone for thirty-eight years, during which Romulus created a remarkable theatre (*mal'aban*) in Rome. Then, after him, several rulers (*mulūk*) ruled, none of whom became very famous, and no information on them has come upon us Their first ruler to become famous was Caius (*Ghānyus*), and then Julius (*Yūlyūs*) and Augustus (*Aghuṣṭus*) ruled after him.¹⁷²

3.3.1. Accessing the Pre-Islamic Past

Since Arabic-Islamic historiography only came into being in the seventh century, access to the pre-Islamic past required having recourse to the knowledge stored by groups whose collective memory extended further back.¹⁷³

Most Arabic-Islamic scholars had no ideological qualms to make use of non-Muslim source material. Non-Muslim sources were not only cited in religious polemics, e.g. the refutations of Christianity by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) or al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), who drew on Christian material of antique and late antique provenance such as the gospels, the Nicene Creed, etc.¹⁷⁴ They also provided Arabic-Islamic historiographers with large quantities of material. In his chapter on the Romans, al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905) paraphrases the Nicene Creed¹⁷⁵ and summarizes the essential doctrines on the divine formulated by ancient Greek philosophers, concluding that there had been some clear-sighted and sensible thinkers (*ahl al-naẓar*) among them.¹⁷⁶ To write about the Roman presence in the Near East, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) drew on 'scholars among the people of the book from Palestine'¹⁷⁷ and 'the testimony of Christians'.¹⁷⁸ The Andalusian historiographer Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955) seems to have employed local Christian source material to reconstruct the ancient history of the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁷⁹ Doing research on the Romans' origins, al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) consulted the Torah and other books of the Hebrews.¹⁸⁰ His passages

¹⁷² Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 1, p. 83: 'thumma wathaba Rūmullus 'alā akhihi Rūmānāwus, fa-qatalahu, wa-malaka ba'da qatlihi thamāniyan wa-thalāthīn sana waḥdahu, wa-ttakhadha Rūmullus bi-Rūmiyya mal'aban 'ajiban, thumma malaka ba'dahu 'alā Rūmiyya 'iddat mulūk, wa-lam yashtahirū wa-lā waqa'at ilaynā akhbāruhum ... wa-kāna awwal man ishtahara min mulūkihīm Ghānyus, thumma malaka ba'dahu Yūlyūs, thumma malaka ba'dahu Aghuṣṭus ...'.

¹⁷³ See Chapter 4.

¹⁷⁴ Ibn Ḥazm, *al-faṣl*, ed. Naṣr and 'Umayra, vol. 1, pp. 109–15; vol. 2, pp. 2–77; al-Shahrastānī, *Livre des religions*, trans. Gimaret and Monnot, vol. 1, p. 627.

¹⁷⁵ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 1, p. 195.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 188–94.

¹⁷⁷ al-Ṭabarī, *tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 540: 'qawm min 'ulamā' ahl al-kitāb min ahl al-Filasṭīn'.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 606: 'qawl al-naṣāra'.

¹⁷⁹ al-Himyārī, *al-rawḍ al-mīṭar*, ed. 'Abbās, p. 33: 'qāla al-Rāzī: awwal man sakana al-Andalus ba'da l-ṭufān 'alā mā yadhkuruhu 'ulamā' 'ajamiḥā ...'; cf. Vallvé Bermejo, 'Fuentes' (1967), p. 243.

¹⁸⁰ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 715–16, pp. 32–3 (AR), pp. 269–70 (FR).

on Roman history are based on Christian sacred texts¹⁸¹ and Christian historiography, including a Melkite chronicle he had seen in Antioch,¹⁸² the 'histories of Jewish and Christian legal authorities',¹⁸³ as well as several books written by Christian authors of Melkite, Maronite, Jacobite, and Nestorian confession in Arabic, some of whom he knew personally.¹⁸⁴ The Andalusian scholar Ibn Juljul (d. after 284/994) regarded the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* as an 'outstanding historical account' (*tārīkh 'ajīb*) of 'great merits' (*fawā'id 'aẓīma*).¹⁸⁵ Al-Bīrūnī (d. c.442/1050) states that he received a list of Roman emperors thanks to Ḥamza al-İṣfahānī on the authority of al-Wakī' al-qāḍī who 'took it from a book that belonged to the ruler of the Byzantines'.¹⁸⁶

Later works of universal history employed non-Muslim material less frequently. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), for example, drew on al-Ṭabarī as his main source for Roman history in a preliminary exposition of the latter, then ventured to write a second, fuller version that seems to be based largely on al-Mas'ūdī.¹⁸⁷ Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), in turn, followed the model furnished by Ibn al-Athīr.¹⁸⁸ The list of Frankish kings that became available to al-Mas'ūdī in 336/947, was reproduced by al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) and al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333).¹⁸⁹ Able to draw on earlier works of Arabic-Islamic scholarship, later historiographers could thus afford to ignore material provided directly by non-Muslims. This should not imply that they never made use of non-Muslim sources. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), for example, drew on the Arabic version of Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, the tenth-century Jewish chronicle *Josippon*, as well as the Coptic historiographer Ibn al-'Amīd (d. 672/1273) to reconstruct Roman history.¹⁹⁰

With one exception, the historiographers dealt with in this study either made use of non-Muslim sources without further comment or occasionally even praised their merits. Ibn Khaldūn, however, seems to have felt obliged to discuss the necessity of using such material. In a passage on the Hasmoneans and the kingdom of Judah, Ibn Khaldūn defends his use of the Jewish-Roman historian Flavius Josephus, falsely believing that the latter had authored the actual source at his disposal, i.e. the tenth-century Jewish chronicle *Josippon*.¹⁹¹

¹⁸¹ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 160–1.

¹⁸² al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 719, p. 34 (AR), pp. 270–1 (FR): 'wa-ra'aytu fi madīnat Anṭākiyya fi ba'd tawārīkh al-Rūm al-malakiyya...'.
¹⁸³ Ibid., § 726, p. 38 (AR), 272–3 (FR): 'tawārīkh aṣḥāb al-sharā'i' min ahl al-kutub'.

¹⁸⁴ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 154–5, trans. Carra de Vaux, pp. 212–13.

¹⁸⁵ As cited in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. Riḍā, p. 494.

¹⁸⁶ al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, p. 97 (AR): 'naqalāhā min kitāb li-malik al-Rūm', p. 106 (EN).

¹⁸⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 1, pp. 230–43 (Leiden), pp. 323–39 (Beirut). See Chapter 4.2.3.

¹⁸⁸ Gibb, 'Abū l-Fidā' (1960), p. 118.

¹⁸⁹ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 912, p. 146 (AR), p. 344 (FR); al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 567, p. 340; al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. al-Ṭawīl and Hāshim, vol. 15, pp. 222–3.

¹⁹⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, pp. 229, 283. Cf. Issawi, 'Ibn Khaldun' (1998), pp. 51–77, esp. 62–6; Branco, *Storie* (2009), pp. 202–3.

¹⁹¹ Issawi, 'Ibn Khaldun' (1998), pp. 63–4; cf. *Josippon* ed. Flusser.

I have summarized it [the historical narrative] here as I have found it there [in the chronicle], since I have not encountered anything comparable to it. For the people (*al-qawm*) is better informed about its own history, provided that it does not contradict what is preferred to it [i.e. divine revelation]. As he [the prophet Muḥammad], peace be upon him, said: "Do not believe the people of the book." However, he also said: "Do not accuse them of lying". But in spite of this, he himself had recourse to the history of the Jews and the stories of the prophets which contain elements of divine revelation from God. For the latter said afterwards: "Say: We believe in what has been revealed to us and to you." [Sura 29:46] As concerns data on events which have been recorded by an eyewitness (*mustanida ilā l-ḥiss*), one document is sufficient, if its authenticity imposes itself on the intellect. However, it is necessary to link this data with their earlier historical records, to complete our understanding of their affairs from the beginning to the end.¹⁹²

Thus, Ibn Khaldūn justified his use of pre-Islamic and non-Muslim sources by pointing to the prophet's contradictory handling of pre-Islamic material of Jewish and Christian origin and by playing the Qur'ān off against Muḥammad. Ibn Khaldūn again addresses the reliability of non-Muslim sources, when he claims that the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* was more trustworthy than the *Josippon* because two Muslims had translated it.¹⁹³ Considering that preceding historiographers had no qualms to use non-Muslim sources, it is curious that Ibn Khaldūn saw the necessity of defending the use of such sources and of demonstrating the reliability of a translation by pointing to the translator's religious affiliation. Whether this necessity was imagined or real, if it arose from his biography or a general rigidification of Muslim scholarship in the fourteenth century, remains to be clarified.¹⁹⁴ Given that later scholars such as al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) continued to cite non-Muslim sources without any apparent qualms, one should not generalize too quickly.¹⁹⁵

Accessing the pre-Islamic past did not only constitute a challenge because it involved using sources written in other languages than Arabic by non-Muslims. Since the first year of the Islamic calendar is equivalent to the year 622 of the Christian era, Arabic-Islamic historiographers also faced the problem of dating events and periods that did not form part of the Muslim calendar. The resulting difficulties can be elucidated by showing how they dealt with the chronology of Roman history.

¹⁹² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, pp. 134–5: 'fa-lakhkhastuhā hunā ka-mā wajadtuhā fihī li-annanī lam aqif 'alā shay' fihā li-siwāhu, wa-l-qawm a'lam bi-akhbārihim idhā lam yu'ārīqdhā mā yuqaddam 'alayhā. wa-ka-mā qāla ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam: lā tuṣaddiqū ahl al-kitāb. fa-qad qāla wa-lā tukadhdhibūhum. mā'a anna dhālika innamā huwa rajī' ilā akhbār al-Yahūd wa-qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā' allatī kāna fihā al-tanzil min 'inda llāh, li-qawlihi ba'da dhālika: wa-qūlū amannā bi-lladhī unzila ilaynā wa-unzila ilaykum. wa-ammā al-khabar 'an al-wāqī'at al-mustanida ilā l-ḥiss fa-khabar al-wāḥid kāfin fihī idhā ghalaba 'alā l-zann ṣiḥḥatuhu, fa-yanbaghī an nulḥiqa hādhihi al-akhbār bi-mā taqaddama min akhbārihim li-takmul lana aḥwālūhum min awwal amrihim ilā ākhirihī...'.
¹⁹³ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 234.

¹⁹⁴ Lachsassi, 'Ibn Khaldūn' (2002), p. 360, for example, speaks of a 'victorious ultra-orthodoxy' which 'started to take the upper hand in the eighth/fourteenth century'.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. their reception of the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, in *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas (introducción), pp. 77, 79–81.

Al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905) failed to define when Roman imperial rule began and simply divided his list of Roman rulers into two chapters that deal with pagan and Christianized rulers respectively. Each ruler is credited with a certain number of years of rule.¹⁹⁶ The list's chronological position within world history can be understood with reference to the preceding chapter on Ptolemaic rulers as well as to the ensuing chapter on the Persians that occasionally correlates the rule of Persian and Roman rulers. Retrospective calculation from the only chronological point of reference provides the possibility of establishing a very imprecise form of absolute chronology. Dealing with the twenty-nine-year rule of Justin II (*Yūstūs*), al-Ya'qūbī states that Muḥammad was born in this period.¹⁹⁷

The issue of chronology was successfully tackled by al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) who had already complained about the many contradictory specifications of ruling years attributed to Roman emperors in his earlier *murūj al-dhahab*.¹⁹⁸ At the beginning of his list of Roman rulers included in his later *kitāb al-tanbih*, al-Mas'ūdī states that he wrote the lines in question in 345/956 during the rule of the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*Qusṭanṭīn b. Lāwun b. Bāsil*). He then specifies the number of years that have passed since the first Roman ruler, i.e. Caius Iulius Caesar (*Ghā'iyūs Qaysar*), assumed power. According to al-Mas'ūdī, this added up to a number of 966 years and one month. During this period, pagan rulers held power for 374 years and three months while Christianized rulers governed for 591 years and ten months.¹⁹⁹ Whereas the mathematics are correct, the calculation contains historical errors. If al-Mas'ūdī calculated in solar years of approximately 365 days, Caesar would have taken power in the year 10 BCE, i.e. thirty-four years after his death in 44 BCE. Constantine would have accepted Christianity in 365 CE, i.e. twenty-eight years after his death in 337 CE. If he calculated in lunar years of approximately 354 days, Caesar would have taken power in 20 CE, and Constantine would have converted around 392 CE. Although al-Mas'ūdī did not err very much with regard to the chronological framework of Roman history accepted by scholars today, the example serves to elucidate the dimension of the problem faced by Arabic-Islamic historiographers. Al-Mas'ūdī also drew on alternative systems of dating. He states that Jesus was born 5,506 years after Adam and thirty years after the death of Cleopatra,²⁰⁰ and correlates the reigns of Justinian I (*Yūstinūs*) and the Persian ruler Chosroes I (*Anūshirwān*).²⁰¹ He reaches safe chronological ground in the chapter dedicated to 'rulers of *al-Rūm* from the *hijra* to the year 325'.²⁰²

Al-Bīrūnī (d. c.442/1050) sought a systematic solution to the chronological problem. Written around 390/1000, his computational study entitled *Vestiges of the Past* (*al-āthār al-bāqīya*) puts the chronological question at the centre of enquiries.²⁰³ Al-Bīrūnī divides world history into several eras. Roman history is given

¹⁹⁶ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 1, pp. 186–99.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 198.

¹⁹⁸ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 733, p. 40 (AR), p. 274 (FR).

¹⁹⁹ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 123. ²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 124.

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 153. ²⁰² Ibid., p. 156.

²⁰³ al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau; Boilot, 'al-Bīrūnī' (1960), pp. 1273–5.

space in the era of Augustus, the era of Antoninus, and the era of Diocletian.²⁰⁴ In addition, he supplies three lists of Roman rulers that deal with pagan rulers, Christian rulers, and rulers of Constantinople respectively. These lists allow calculating the number of years that have passed since the first ruler in the list.²⁰⁵ Additionally, al-Bīrūnī explains how to calculate dates in different computational systems.²⁰⁶

For other scholars the computational problem was far from solved. Al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), for example, based his chronology of Roman history upon references found in the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* as well as in the writings of Ibn Khurdādhbah, al-Ṭabarī, and al-Maṣ'ūdī. This resulted in a random assortment of relative chronological specifications provided in different unrelated passages and in the following order. Carthage (*Qarṭājina*) was founded seventy-two years earlier than Rome in the era of the Israelite king David. The Messiah was born in the forty-second year of Augustus' reign and 369 years after Alexander the Great. Titus destroyed Jerusalem 1,060 years after its construction. Rome celebrated its thousandth anniversary when Philippus Arabs ruled in his second year. It was founded 400 years before the emperors held power. It was the residence of forty-nine or twenty-nine rulers for 437 years up to the reign of Constantine I, etc.²⁰⁷ One can hardly speak of a systematic chronology.

Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) finally offered a practical solution for those dealing with pre-Islamic chronology by establishing a calculation table made up of several chronological points of reference taken from the Judaeo-Christian and Roman traditions. Situated at the beginning of his universal history, the table allows calculating the time spans between Adam's expulsion from Paradise, the Deluge, Abraham's birth, Moses' death, the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, Darius' defeat at the hands of Alexander, Cleopatra's defeat at the hands of Augustus, Jesus' birth, the reign of Diocletian, and, finally, the *hijra*.²⁰⁸

3.3.2. Gathering Data on Contemporary Affairs

To produce records on the contemporary Latin-Christian sphere, Arabic-Islamic scholars made use of data that had travelled great geographical distances and had traversed various linguistic, ethnic, religious, and social milieus. This distance was more easily overcome in regions bordering on the Latin-Christian sphere. Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286), for example, clearly distinguishes between places 'rarely mentioned among us' (*khāmilat al-dhikr 'indanā*) and places that were 'well-known' (*mashhūra*). He counts localities in the far north and secluded spaces in the interior of Croatia among the former,²⁰⁹ Mediterranean towns such as

²⁰⁴ al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, p. 29 (AR), p. 33 (EN).

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 92–8 (AR), pp. 104–6 (EN).

²⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 29, 93–8, 141 (AR), pp. 33, 104–6, 137 (EN).

²⁰⁷ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 475, p. 303; § 485, pp. 306–7; § 488, p. 308; § 493, p. 310; § 495, p. 310; § 797, p. 474.

²⁰⁸ Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 1, p. 19. A better graphic depiction with a Latin translation in *Abulfedae Historia Anteislamica*, ed./trans. Fleischer, pp. 10–11.

²⁰⁹ Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughbrāfiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, pp. 193, 199; cf. al-Marrākushī, *al-mu'jib*, ed. Dozy, p. 268, on the Christian lands beyond al-Andalus: 'wa-warā' hādhīhi al-mudun mimmā yallī bilād

Genoa, Pisa, Naples, Montpellier, and Brindisi among the latter.²¹⁰ In regions adjacent to each other, information travelled easily, if only in the form of rumours. Many things were certainly 'heard' in the border zones to Latin Christendom.²¹¹ Writing either in Ifrīqiya or in Egypt, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) commented:

It has also reached us now that the philosophical sciences are greatly cultivated in the lands of the Franks belonging to the territory of Rome and along the adjacent northern shore. It is said that they form part of the curriculum again, and are taught in numerous classes. Expositions of them are said to be comprehensive, the people who know them abundant, and the students of them very many. But God knows better what exists there.²¹²

Direct contact between the Latin-Christian and the Arabic-Islamic sphere was not lacking, but did not necessarily involve the active presence of Arabic-Islamic intellectuals.²¹³ The distinction between sedentary and bookish scholars on the one hand, travelling informants on the other hand²¹⁴, is too simple and fails to do justice to the many scholars who travelled extensively for the sake of pious, educational, commercial, or other reasons, mainly within but also at the fringes of the Islamic world.²¹⁵ Particularly from the twelfth century onwards, a certain number of authors made direct contact with the Latin-Christian sphere and ventured to lay down their impressions in writing.²¹⁶

In some cases, Arabic-Islamic scholars were able to lay their hands on textual material pertaining directly from the Latin-Christian world—the Frankish chron-

al-Rūm mudun kathīra lam tashtahir 'indanā li-bu'dihā 'annā; Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 202, on the lands of Germany: 'mu'jamat al-asmā' khāmilat al-dhikr 'indanā'.

²¹⁰ Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, pp. 169 (Genoa, Pisa, Naples), 181 (Montpellier, known because of its rich merchants), 183 (Brindisi, well known among mariners).

²¹¹ Cf. the Andalusian scholar al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1527, pp. 910–11, on the divorce scandal of count Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona, cf. Aurell, *Noes* (1995), pp. 261–78.

²¹² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 1, p. 633: 'ka-dhālika balaghanā li-hādhā al-'ahd an hādhihi al-'ulūm al-falsafīyya bi-bilād al-Ifranja min arḍ Rūma wa-mā ilayhā min al-'udwa al-shamālīyya nāfiqat al-aswāq wa-anna rusūmahā mutajaddida wa-majālis ta'limihā muta'addida wa-dawāwinahā jāmi'a wa-hamlatahā mutawaffira wa-ṭalabatahā mutakaththira, wa-llāhu a'lam bi-mā hunālika'; translation adapted from Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* VI, 18, trans. Rosenthal, vol. 3, pp. 117–18.

²¹³ See Chapter 2.

²¹⁴ Cf. Miquel, 'L'Europe' (1966), p. 1048.

²¹⁵ Cf. Miquel, 'Ibn Ḥawkal' (1971), p. 786; Pellat, 'al-Mas'ūdi' (1991), pp. 784–8; Ben Abdesselem, 'al-Turtūshī' (2000), p. 739; Talbi, 'Ibn Khaldūn' (1971), p. 825.

²¹⁶ Abū Ḥamid al-Gharnāṭī, *tuhfa*, ed. Ferrand, pp. 194–5, visited Hungary in 545/1150. Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188), *al-i'tibār*, ed. Hitti, pp. 132–41, regularly visited localities ruled by the crusaders. Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217), *riḥla*, s. ed., pp. 276–99, used a Genoese ship to return to al-Andalus from Mecca via the crusader principalities and Norman Sicily between 579/1184 and 580/1185. Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298), *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Āshūr, vol. 4, AH 626, pp. 248–51, undertook a diplomatic mission to the court of Manfred of Sicily from Egypt in 659/1252. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770–779/1368–77), *riḥla/Voyages*, ed./trans. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, vol. 2, pp. 254–5, 357, claims to have crossed the eastern Mediterranean on a Genoese ship and to have visited the Genoese colony of Caffa. See Ibn Battuta, *Wunder*, trans. Elger, pp. 216–40, for doubts concerning the authenticity of this travel account. Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 7, p. 551, served as an envoy to the Castilian king Peter I in 765/1364.

icle cited by al-Mas'ūdī in 336/947,²¹⁷ the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* used by several Arabic-Islamic scholars from the tenth century onwards,²¹⁸ the travel account written by Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī as cited by al-Bakrī, al-'Udhri, and al-Qazwīnī,²¹⁹ or the summary of Castilian chronicles related to Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375) by the Jewish scholar and Castilian ambassador to Granada, Yūsuf b. Waqār.²²⁰ The documents included in al-Qalqashandī's (d. 821/1418) manual for chancery secretaries prove that scholars active in the chanceries of Muslim rulers had access to the latter's official correspondence with Latin-Christian rulers as well as to treaties concluded with them.²²¹

In most other cases, Arabic-Islamic scholars relied on others for information. The latter travelled via intermediaries, often Muslims who had been in, or near, Latin-Christian territories. Muslim conquerors returning to the Middle East reported on the downfall of the Visigothic kingdom.²²² The envoy possibly sent to a northern Viking court from ninth-century al-Andalus reported what he had seen to his contemporary, Tammām b. 'Alqama (d. 283/896), whose writings furnished the basis for the only account of this episode in the work of Ibn Diḥya (d. 633/1235).²²³ Asked to pass judgment on the lawfulness of importing Christian cheese, the Mālikī jurisconsult al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520/1126) interviewed Muslims from Sicily and al-Andalus who had observed its production and transport.²²⁴ The geographer Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) questioned a group of blond and fair-skinned Ḥanafī Muslims in Aleppo and found out that they lived in the realm of a Frankish people called 'al-Hunkar'.²²⁵ The jurisconsult al-Wansharīsī (d. 914/1508) reproduced the critical comments of Muslim refugees from al-Andalus who glorified their living-conditions under Latin-Christian rule when faced with the challenges of making a living in North Africa.²²⁶

In other cases, non-Muslims took on the role of transmitters. Monks who stayed in Rome for a year figure as informants in the city's description by Ibn al-Faḥīh (d. after 289–90/901–02).²²⁷ Travelling Jewish merchants seem to have briefed

²¹⁷ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 912, p. 146 (AR), p. 344 (FR); copied by al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 567, p. 340; al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. al-Ṭawil and Ḥāshim, vol. 15, pp. 222–3.

²¹⁸ Badawī, *Urūsyūs* (1982), pp. 21–47; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 67–81 (introducción).

²¹⁹ Miquel, 'L'Europe' (1966), pp. 1049–51.

²²⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-māl al-alām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 322.

²²¹ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, pp. 36, 43, 47, 123, mentions letters sent by the king of France, the pope, the doge of Venice, and 'Frankish' rulers of al-Andalus; vol. 8, pp. 123–5, reproduces two letters sent from Venice and Famagusta; vol. 14, pp. 24, 26, 31, 39, 42, 51, 63, quotes the Arabic versions of several treaties concluded in the thirteenth century by the rulers of Muslim al-Andalus with the crowns of Castile and Aragon, or by Mamluk rulers with crusaders and the Crown of Aragon.

²²² See Chapter 5.1.2. and 5.1.3.

²²³ Ibn Diḥya, *al-muṭrib*, ed. Seippel, p. 20; Ibn Diḥya, *al-muṭrib*, ed. al-Ibyārī et al., p. 146; cf. Jacob, *Berichte* (1927), p. 42.

²²⁴ al-Ṭurṭūshī, *risāla*, ed. al-Turkī, pp. 128–30.

²²⁵ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'Bāshghird', pp. 469–70.

²²⁶ al-Wansharīsī, *asnā al-matājir*, ed. Mu'nis, p. 149; Lagardère, *Histoire* (1995), fatwā no. 182, p. 48.

²²⁷ Ibn al-Faḥīh, *mukhtaṣar*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 149–50.

Ibn Khurdādhbah (d. c.300/911) about trading routes that included a Frankish court.²²⁸ Hārūn b. Yahya, probably a Christian Arab in Byzantine captivity, described Rome to Ibn Rustah (d. after 300/913).²²⁹ Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) mentions merchants, a Jewish traveller, and an undefined group of travellers from Baghdad as sources on the city of Rome.²³⁰ A Genoese dependant of the Mamluk *amir* Bahādūr al-Muʿizzī called Bilbān provided al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) with several pages of data about the political landscape of Latin-Christian Europe.²³¹ Captives and slaves, as mentioned in Ibn Khaldūn's (d. 808/1406) comment on the 'discovery' of the Canaries at the hands of the 'Franks', also transmitted information.²³²

Although Arabic-Islamic scholars had potential access to a wide range of information carriers, their records on Latin-Christian Europe remain fragmentary. This has prompted many scholars to assume that the majority of Arabic-Islamic geographers and historiographers saw no need in understanding what happened north of the Mediterranean.²³³ Indeed, some Arabic-Islamic scholars may have felt such a lack of curiosity. The geographer al-Muqaddasī (d. after 380/990) openly refused to deal with the non-Islamic world.²³⁴ Considering that all other Arabic-Islamic universal historiographers dealt with the Romans, one wonders why the multi-volume historical oeuvre of Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) lacks a chapter on Roman history.²³⁵ However, we should also take into account that Arabic-Islamic scholars did not have unrestricted access to data. As we have seen, each scholar tapped different channels and thus acquired different kinds of information. Their geographical location, their access to transregional networks, their professional contacts, and the time of writing affected what Arabic-Islamic scholars were able to write about the Latin-Christian sphere. The mosaic-like character of Arabic-Islamic records on medieval Western Europe results from this variety of context-dependent perspectives.

²²⁸ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 153–4.

²²⁹ Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-nafisa*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 119–21, 128–32, esp. 129; Lewis and Hopkins, 'Ifrandj' (1971), p. 1044; Izzedin, 'Hārūn b. Yahyā' (1971), p. 232; doubts concerning the story related to Hārūn, in Möhring, 'Konstantinopel' (1989), p. 71 with n. 66.

²³⁰ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 2, lemma 'Rūmiya', pp. 868, 872. Partially copied by al-Qazwīnī, *athār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 399.

²³¹ al-ʿUmarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, p. 1 (AR). Amari may err in his identification of Bahādūr al-Muʿizzī with the Ilkhanid ruler Abū Saʿīd Bahādūr Khān on pp. 3–4 (Introduction). Tsugitaka, 'Proposers' (1998), pp. 89, 92, mentions a Mamluk *amir* in Egypt carrying the same name.

²³² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 68–9: 'wa-qad balaghanā anna safā'in min al-Ifranj marrat bihā fi awāsiṭ ḥādhihi al-mi'ati wa-qatalūhum fa-ghanamū minhum wa-sabū wa-bā'ū ba'd asrāhim bi-sawāḥil al-Maghrib al-aqṣā wa-ṣārū ilā khidmat al-sulṭān fa-lammā ta'allamū al-lisān al-ʿarabī akhbarū 'an ḥāl jazā'irihim...'

²³³ See the literature cited in Chapter 1.3.2.

²³⁴ al-Muqaddasī, *ahsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. de Goeje, p. 9: 'wa-lam nadhkur illā mamlakat al-Islām ḥasab wa-lam natakallaf mamālik al-kuffār li-annahā lam nadkhuḥā wa-lam nara fā'ida fi dhikrihā balā qad dhakarnā mawāḍi' al-muslimīn minhā', trans. Collins and Alta'i, pp. 7–8: 'We only dealt with the realm of Islam; but we have not bothered ourselves with the countries of the unbelievers, because we did not enter them and did not see any use in describing them. Of course, we have mentioned those areas among them where Muslims are settled.'

²³⁵ Ibn Kathīr, *al-bidāya*, ed. al-Turkī, vol. 2, pp. 16–560.

3.3.3. Assessing the Value of Acquired Data

This variety cannot obliterate that Arabic-Islamic sources on medieval Western Europe are often highly repetitive. Data once acquired was often copied from generation to generation, exposing textual filiations and regional information networks that cut across the centuries.²³⁶ The lack of alternative information may account for many a scholar's hesitation to discard data, even if he harboured serious doubts as to its authenticity. Legendary descriptions of Rome,²³⁷ for example, are often accompanied by comments that simultaneously bear witness to scepticism and reluctance to part with inherited knowledge, resulting in apologetic justifications of omissions and abbreviations. Ibn Rustah (d. after 300/913) wrote:

We have omitted mentioning many things, hesitating to put everything down in writing in a manner that may seem immoderate or excessive, since many a thing resembles a lie while other things seem true. However, all of this features in books that circulate among people who have endorsed and accepted this information and have agreed to confirm its authenticity.²³⁸

Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) ended his description of Rome in the following way:

the reader of these pages has surely never seen the like of the many things said about this topic, and God knows best. This may serve as an excuse for my failure to transmit everything that has been said. Rather, I chose to abbreviate a bit.²³⁹

Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), in turn, scoffed at a legend related by al-Mas'ūdī. According to the latter, the inhabitants of Rome extracted their oil from olives that were brought to a statue by sparrows. Ibn Khaldūn commented: 'Look how little this has to do with the normal process of extracting oil!'²⁴⁰ Even in less obvious cases, Arabic-Islamic scholars renounced responsibility for the information received

²³⁶ Compare Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis* II-2, ed. Makki, pp. 130–1; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 2, p. 108; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 22, on a Frankish king who allegedly commissioned a richly adorned picture of Jesus, ordered his people to venerate this image, and then sent it to the 'Lord of the Golden Church'. Also compare Sībī b. al-Jawzī, *mi'rat al-zamān*, ed. facs. Jewett, AH 644, pp. 505–6; al-Dhahabī, *tarikh*, ed. Tadmuri, vol. 47, AH 644, p. 27; Ibn Kathīr, *al-bidāya*, ed. al-Turkī, vol. 14, AH 644, pp. 288–9; Ibn al-Furāt, ed./trans. Lyons, vol. 1, AH 644, p. 11 (AR), vol. 2, p. 9 (EN), on the pope's attempt to murder Frederick II.

²³⁷ Guidi, 'Roma' (1942), pp. 10–21; Nallino, 'Descrizione' (1964), pp. 295–309; Nallino, 'Mirabilia' (1966), pp. 875–93; El-Munajjid, 'Rome' (1968), pp. 51–61; Miquel, *Géographie* (2001), vol. 2, pp. 368–77; Mohring, Konstantinopel' (1989), pp. 73–83; Samir, 'Confusions' (1991), pp. 93–108; Traini, 'Rūmiya' (1995), pp. 612–13; Scarcia, 'Roma' (2002), pp. 129–72; Simone and Mandalà, 'L'immagine' (2002); Penelas, 'De nuevo' (2005), pp. 343–52; Branco, 'Roma' (2006), pp. 312–20; Mandalà, 'Descrizione' (2010), pp. 45–60.

²³⁸ Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-nafisa*, ed. de Goeje, p. 132: 'wa-qad taraknā min dhikr dhālik ashyā' kathira karahnā idā jamī'ihā hādha al-kitāb istisrafan wa-li-annahā bi-l-kadhib ashbah minhā bi-l-sidq wa-in kāna jamī' dhālik mudawwanan fi l-kutub yadūr bayna l-nās qad istaḥsanūhu wa-qabilūhu wa-ttafaqu 'alā l-taṣdiq bihi'.

²³⁹ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 2, lemma 'Rūmiya', p. 872: 'wa-innamā yashkul fihi an al-qārī li-hādha lam yara mithluhu [sic] wa-lāhu a'lam fa-ammā anā fa-hādha 'udhri 'alā innani lam anqul jamī' mā dhukira wa-innamā ikhtaṣartu al-ba'd'.

²⁴⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *tarikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 48: 'wa-unzur mā ab'ad dhālika 'an al-majrā al-ṭabī' fi itikhād al-zayt'.

from others. Frequently, this was done by ending a report with the formula 'wa-llāhu a'lam', 'and God knows best'.²⁴¹

Arabic-Islamic scholars also had to cope with conflicting theories, often juxtaposing various opinions without coming to a conclusion, as in the case of al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956). In an early part of his treatise *murūj al-dhahab*, al-Mas'ūdī claims that a people called 'Ashbān' (*Hispani*) were the ancestors of the pre-Islamic rulers of al-Andalus. According to the most widespread opinion on their origin as formulated by the Muslims of al-Andalus, the last pre-Islamic king Roderic had been of Galician origin.²⁴² In a later part of his book, he points to other theories on the origin of the 'Ashbān', stating that the latter

are one of the ancient peoples who ruled Syria, Egypt, the Maghreb and al-Andalus. People have different opinions about them. In his book *futūḥ al-amṣār* [Conquest of the garrison-cities], al-Wāqidī mentions that their origins lie with the people of Iṣfahān and that they set out from there. This would mean that they preceded the first generation of Persian rulers. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Khurdādhbah states about the same thing, and a group of biographers and scholars support both of them. The most well-known thing about them, however, is that they represent the progeny of Yafeth, the son of Noah, and that they can be identified with the rulers of al-Andalus called the Rodericians (*al-Ladhāriqa*), one of whom was Roderic (*Ludhriq*). Another debate revolves around their religious adherence. Some believe that they adhered to Zoroastrianism (*dīn al-majūsiyya*), others that they adhered to the religion of the Sabeans (*madhhab al-Ṣābi'a*), and others that they venerated idols (*min 'abadat al-awthān*). But as we have said, the most well-known thing about them is that they are the progeny of Yafeth, the son of Noah.²⁴³

This is not the only case where al-Mas'ūdī refrains from final judgement. He also gives two contradictory descriptions of the Franks—a powerful and well-organized people in his earlier *murūj al-dhahab*,²⁴⁴ northern barbarians lacking the intellectual facilities of civilized peoples in his later *kitāb al-tanbih*.²⁴⁵ It is curious that al-Mas'ūdī should have preferred the ancient ethnographic stereotype used

²⁴¹ Cf. the use of this formula in al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 717, p. 34 (AR), p. 270 (FR), to terminate his discussion of the origins of the title 'Caesar' (*qaysar*); in § 715, p. 32 (AR), p. 269 (FR), to end a discussion on the Romans' origins; in Yāqūt, *mujam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 2, lemma 'Rūs', p. 840, to judge Ibn Faḍlān's travel account on the Rūs; in Ibn Khaldūn, *tarikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāḥāda, vol. 2, p. 229, to cast into doubt if Cleopatra had poisoned Augustus; in vol. 1, p. 633, to comment on the cultivation of philosophical studies north of the Mediterranean.

²⁴² al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 398, p. 191 (AR), pp. 145–6 (FR).

²⁴³ Ibid., § 747, p. 49 (AR), p. 280 (FR): 'wa-hiya ba'd al-umam al-sālifa, wa-qad kānat mimman malaka al-Shām wa-Miṣr wa-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus, wa-qad tanāza'a al-nās fihim, fa-dhakara al-Wāqidī fī kitāb futūḥ al-amṣār anna ba'dahum kāna min ahl Iṣbahān wa-annahum nāqila min hunāka, wa-hādha yūjab annahum min qabl mulūk Fāris al-ūla, wa-qad dhakara 'Ubayd Allāh b. Khurdādhbah nahwa dhālik, wa-sā'adahumā 'alā dhālik jamā'a min ahl al-siyar wa-l-akhbār, wa-l-ashhar min amrihim annahum min wuld Yāfith ibn Nūḥ wa-hum mulūk al-Andalus al-Ladhārika, waḥiduhum Ludhriq, wa-qad tanwaza'a fī diyānātihim, fa-minhum man rā'a annahum kānū 'alā dīn al-majūsiyya, wa-minhum man rā'a annahum kānū 'alā madhhab al-Ṣābi'a wa-ghayruhum min 'abadat al-awthān, wa-qad qulnā inna l-ashhar fī ansābihim annahum min wuld Yāfith b. Nūḥ'.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., § 910, p. 145 (AR), p. 343 (FR). See Chapter 6.4.1.

²⁴⁵ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 23–4. See Chapter 6.4.1.

in his later work²⁴⁶ to the earlier and more detailed description taken from a Frankish chronicle. It is not clear if he failed to notice the contradiction or was unable to decide between two incongruent definitions. In other cases, al-Mas'ūdī dared to back a certain opinion. With regard to the origins of the Norman raiders who attacked towns on the Iberian coastline around 300/913, he stated:

the people of al-Andalus claim they are Magians (*al-Majūs*) who appear in this ocean every two-hundred years and who come to their lands via a channel that connects to the surrounding ocean, but which is not the channel featuring the bronze beacon [i.e. the Strait of Gibraltar]. My opinion, but God knows best (*wa-llāhu a'lam*), is that this channel is connected to the Sea of Asov (*baḥr Mayuṭis wa-Niṭas*) and that these people are *Rūs*, whom we have mentioned earlier in this book, because they are the only ones who traverse these seas connected to the surrounding ocean.²⁴⁷

Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) provides another example of an Arabic-Islamic scholar who had problems dealing with conflicting data. His chapter about the nations of the earth and their genealogical relationship begins with a disclaimer that addresses the difficulty of formulating a coherent theory in view of many conflicting opinions.²⁴⁸ Drawing back on a random selection of sources, Ibn Khaldūn mentions several peoples from the northwestern hemisphere including the Franks, the Goths, the 'Burjān', the Spaniards (*al-Ashbān*), the Latins (*al-Laṭīn*), and the Slavs. According to the conflicting theories at his disposal, these peoples stemmed from one of the descendants of Noah. Failing to mention several ethnonyms known to Arabic-Islamic scholars of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries including himself, Ibn Khaldūn does not decide which theory to follow and remains rather non-committal.²⁴⁹ In a later chapter, another effort to clearly distinguish Latin Romans (*al-Laṭīniyyūn*) from the ancient Greeks (*al-Yūnān*), by tracing their genealogical origins, ends with a confused 'wa-llāhu a'lam'.²⁵⁰

Aside from the Persian historiographer Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318),²⁵¹ Ibn Khaldūn is the only medieval Muslim historiographer who mentions events that led up to the foundation of Rome at the hands of Romulus and Remus. According to his first source Orosius, Aeneas (*Anāsh*) had ruled Troy (*Ṭarūba*) at the time of its destruction at the hands of the Greeks (*al-Ghariqīyyīn*). Although this version ignores the dramatic flight from Troy that forms part of Roman tradition, it credits

²⁴⁶ In his chapter on 'The influence of climate upon human character', Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 109, claims that al-Mas'ūdī drew back on Galenus. In his *murūj al-dhahab* (§ 191, § 1319–28), al-Mas'ūdī mentions several Greek scholars of geography, e.g. Ptolemy. For the Greek origin of the theory, see Backhaus, 'Hellenen-Barbaren-Gegensatz' (1976), pp. 170–85; Müller, 'Perspektiven' (1999), p. 57.

²⁴⁷ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 404, p. 193 (AR), p. 147 (FR): 'za'ama ahl al-Andalus annahum umma min al-Majūs tazhar ilayhim fi ḥādhihi al-baḥr fi kull mi'atayn min al-sinīn wa-anna wuṣūlahum ilā bilādihim min khalij ya'tarid min baḥr Uqyānus wa-laysa min al-khalij alladhī 'alayhi al-manār al-naḥās wa-arā wa-llāh a'lam an ḥādḥā al-khalij muttaṣil bi-baḥr Māyūṭis wa-Niṭas wa-an ḥādhihi al-umma hum al-Rūs alladhī qaddamnā dhikrahum fi-mā salafa min ḥādḥā al-kitāb, idh kāna lā yaqta' ḥādhihi al-biḥār al-mutaṣṣila bi-baḥr Uqyānūs ghayruhum'.

²⁴⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 4.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 3–15. ²⁵⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 219.

²⁵¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Frankengeschichte*, trans. Jahn, pp. 45–6.

Aeneas' son Askanios (*Ashkānīsh*) with the foundation of Alba (*Albā*).²⁵² According to his second source Josippon, Romulus' ancestor was a certain 'Şafwā'. The biblical Joseph sent this descendant of Esau to North Africa. He ended up with a people called 'al-Kaytam' who appointed him king over Spain (*Ashbānya*). One of Şafwā's descendants was Romulus.²⁵³ In this context, Ibn Khaldūn asserts that other scholars also believed Esau to be Romulus' ancestor.²⁵⁴ Later, he cites scholars who repudiated the theory of the Romans' descent from Esau (*ʿĪsū*) but confirmed that their genealogy led back to Romulus (*Rūmallus*).²⁵⁵

The same problem of dealing with two or more conflicting sources of information arose in connection with the reign of emperor Diocletian. Ibn Khaldūn's first source, the Coptic chronicler Ibn al-ʿAmīd, mentions an emperor called 'Dīqlādyānūs' while his second source, the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, uses the name 'Diyūqāryān'. Since the activities ascribed to this person were similar, Ibn Khaldūn concluded that both names applied to the same person:

It seems that the ruler called Dīqlādyānūs by Ibn al-ʿAmīd is the one Orosius calls Diyūqāryān, because what is related afterwards is very similar although the names differ. In consequence, it seems appropriate to place the name of the one in the place of the other. But God most high, may he be praised, knows best.²⁵⁶

Here, the conclusion was correct. However, this was not always the case. Moreover, Roman history was not the only topic to confuse Arabic-Islamic historiographers. The Mamluk chancery secretary al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), for example, had problems harmonizing references to the 'lands of Aragon' (*bilād Arghūn*) taken from al-Ḥimyarī (13th–14th cent.), al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), and Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh (fl. 762–78/1361–76). According to al-Ḥimyarī, these lands were ruled by a certain 'Gharsiyya b. Shānja', probably García Sánchez (d. c.1000), count of Aragon and king of Navarre. However, al-Qalqashandī complains, al-Ḥimyarī 'has not mentioned in which sphere (*ḥayyiz*) and in which region (*quṭr*)'. Al-ʿUmarī's work *al-taʿrīf*, al-Qalqashandī continues, mentioned the title 'king of Aragon' (*al-rid Araghūn*) among the honorary titles of the 'master of Constantinople' (*ṣāhib al-Qusṭantīniyya*) while the manual *al-tathqīf* by Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh attributed it to 'Alfonso, the master of Toledo' (*al-Adfūnsh ṣāhib Ṭulayṭula*) in al-Andalus. Al-Qalqashandī concludes that it is 'necessary to verify who of the two rules this petty kingdom (*tāʾifa*)'.²⁵⁷ Al-Qalqashandī's confusion is surprising in view of his

²⁵² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 232; cf. Orosius, *Historiae*, ed. Arnaud-Lindet, lib. I, cap. 18,1, p. 68, who provides less information than Ibn Khaldūn.

²⁵³ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 233.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 233: 'wa-dhahaba jamʿa min al-ikhbāriyyin ilā anna l-Rūm min wuld ʿĪsū b. Ishāq ʿalayhi al-salām...'

²⁵⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 251.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 250: 'wa-yazhar anna hādha al-malik alladhī sammāhu Ibn al-ʿAmīd Dīqlādyānūs huwa alladhī sammāhu Hurūshiyūsh Diyūqāryān, wa-l-khabar min baʿda dhālik mutashābih wa-l-asmaʾ mukhtalifa wa-lā yakhfā ʿalayka waḍʿ kull ism fi makānihi min al-ākhar wa-l-lah subḥānahu wa-taʾālā aʿlam'.

²⁵⁷ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 6, p. 84: 'wa-qad dhakara fi l-rawḍ al-miʿār bilād Araghūn wa-qāla: huwa ism bilād Gharsiya bin Shānja, tashtamil ʿalā bilād wa-manāzil wa-aʿmāl, wa-lam yadhkur fi ayy ḥayyiz hiya wa-lā fi ayy quṭr. wa-qad raʾaytu hādha al-laqaḥ bi l-taʿrīf li-l-maqarr

many references to the 'realm of Barcelona' (*mamlakat Barshalūna*), the 'king of Aragon' (*al-rid Araghūn*, *malik Rāqūn* or *Radarāghūn*), and the 'Catalans' (*al-Kitlān*, *al-Faranj al-Kitlāniyyīn*). These prove that he made use of a respectable amount of information that, presented in chronological order, could have furnished the basis for a short history of this Iberian polity.²⁵⁸

3.4. CONTEXTUALIZING, ORDERING, AND INTERPRETING DATA

Even if they had successfully acquired information and regarded it as sufficiently interesting and reliable to include it in their works, Arabic-Islamic scholars still faced the problem of placing this information into the right context.

3.4.1. Foreign Words and Concepts

Their general lack of Latin language skills not only made Arabic-Islamic scholars dependent on a few translations and hearsay; it can also be held responsible for various difficulties of understanding and contextualizing foreign words and concepts.

In some cases, scholars were just irritated by different forms of spelling, as has been shown in connection with Ibn Khaldūn's problem of dealing with variant transcriptions of the Latin name Diocletian.²⁵⁹ Al-Qalqashandī was confronted with several variants of spelling the Venetian title 'doge' in Arabic, including 'dūqis', 'dūk', and 'dūj'.²⁶⁰ He arrived at the conclusion that the form 'dūk' had been used until recent times and that it was wrong to spell it with the letter 'jim', i.e. 'dūj'.²⁶¹

Lack of knowledge about the rules of Latin onomastics raised further problems that Mayte Penelas has already addressed in her comparison of Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos* with its Arabic version, the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*. The translators apparently failed to understand that Roman names were tripartite and consisted of a *praenomen*, a *nomen gentile*, and a *cognomen*. As a result, they created several persons from one single composite name and occasionally even established family relations between these fictitious persons.²⁶² Such errors could lead to chronological chaos and confusion, e.g. about the correct sequence of Roman emperors. Ibn al-Athīr, Abū l-Fidā', and Ibn Khaldūn, for example, wrote passages on Roman history in

al-Shihābī b. Fadl Allāh fī alqāb šāhib al-Quṣṭanṭīniyya wa-fī l-tathqīf li-Ibn Nāzīr al-Jaysh, wa-fī alqāb al-Adfūnsh šāhib Ṭulayṭula min al-Andalus, wa-yahtāj ilā taḥqīq man yamluk hādhihi al-ṭā'ifa minhumā fa-yaktub bihi ilayhi'.

²⁵⁸ See Chapter 8.3.4.

²⁵⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 250.

²⁶⁰ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, pp. 401–2, 404; vol. 6, pp. 178; vol. 8, pp. 47, 123.

²⁶¹ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 485.

²⁶² See *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 45–6 (Introduction).

which the emperor Augustus is not preceded by one ruler with one name (e.g. *Qayṣar*, *Yūlyus*, *Jūlyūs*, *Yūlyus*, *Būlus*) or two names (e.g. *Jāyūs Yūlyūs*, *Ghāyūs Yūlyūs*, *Yūlyush Qayṣar*),²⁶³ but by two distinct rulers whose existence was inferred from Caesar's *praenomen* and *nomen gentile*. In these versions of imperial history, the emperor 'Caius' (*Ghālyūs*, *Ghānyūs*, *Aghānyūs*) was succeeded by the emperor 'Julius' (*Yūlyūs*).²⁶⁴

Lack of linguistic skills also prevented Arabic-Islamic scholars from understanding concepts and institutions characteristic of the Latin-Christian sphere, i.e. the medieval emperor. In Arabic, the term 'al-anbarādhūr' or 'al-anbarāṭūr', often reproduced in its spoken version 'al-anbarūr', is distinct from the word 'qayṣar', the Arabic version of 'caesar'. Already known from pre-Islamic poetry, the title 'qayṣar' generally features in connection with Roman and Byzantine emperors,²⁶⁵ but is only rarely applied to medieval European rulers.²⁶⁶ The Arabic equivalent to the Latin 'imperator' first appeared in the eleventh century and is then attested mainly in connection with Frederick II and his sons. Scholars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries define the emperor as the 'ruler of Germany' (*malik al-Lamāniya*) or 'ruler of the Franks' (*malik al-Faranj*) and translate the title as 'king of kings' (*malik al-mulūk*) and, in one case, as 'the crowned one' (*al-mutawwaḡ*).²⁶⁷ To medieval Latin Christians, the title 'emperor' evoked the prestige of the Roman past and served to legitimize a specific form of medieval rule in central Europe.²⁶⁸ Arabic-Islamic scholars, in turn, seem to have regarded the term as a medieval title. Ignorant of the term's Roman origins, they failed to understand an important aspect of medieval Europe's political culture, namely the conscious political use of the Roman legacy.²⁶⁹

²⁶³ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muhannā, pp. 186–7: 'Jālyūs al-aṣghar'; al-Ṭabarī, *tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 579: 'Jāyūs Yūlyūs'; al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 717, p. 33 (AR), p. 270 (FR), opposes 'Ghāyūs Yūlyūs' to 'Yūlyus'; al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, p. 92 (AR), p. 103 (EN): 'Ghāyūs wa-huwa bi-l-Rūmiyya Ayūlyūs wa-ma'nāhu malik al-'ālam' [Caius, which corresponds to Julius in the language al-Rūmiyya and which means 'ruler of the world']; al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen, Ferré, § 1513, pp. 902–3: 'Yūlyush Qayṣar'.

²⁶⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Törnberg, vol. 1, pp. 206–7 (Leiden), p. 292 (Beirut): 'Jāyyūs Yūlyūs' as opposed to pp. 230–1 (Leiden), p. 324 (Beirut): 'Ghālyūs' followed by 'Yūlyūs'; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Frankengeschichte*, trans. Jahn, p. 46; Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 1, p. 83: 'Ghānyūs' followed by 'Yūlyūs'; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāḥāda, vol. 2, p. 147: 'Yūlyās' with the cognomen 'qayṣar', p. 225: 'qayṣar Yūlash', p. 229: 'Aghānyūs' followed by 'Yūlyūs', p. 233: 'qayṣar Yūlish b. Ghayūsh', p. 236: 'Būlus/Yūlus b. Ghāyush', pp. 236–7: 'Aghānyūs' followed by 'Yūlyūs'.

²⁶⁵ *Diwān of 'Abid Ibn al-Abras of Asad*, carmen IV, v. 19, in: *Diwāns*, ed./trans. Lyall, p. 22 (AR), p. 25 (EN). Cf. Fischer et al., 'Qayṣar' (1978), pp. 871–3. See Chapter 4.

²⁶⁶ Frederick II used the title 'qayṣar' in his official Arabic correspondence, cf. Mandalà, 'Prologo' (2007), p. 29. Al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 6, p. 176, applies the title 'remnant of the ancient Caesar' (*baqiyyat salaf qayṣar*) to 'Alfonso, master of Toledo and Seville' (*al-Adfūnsh ṣāhib Ṭulayṭula wa-Ishbīliya*), maybe Alfonso VI of León and Castile.

²⁶⁷ See Chapter 8.2.2.

²⁶⁸ On the medieval concept of 'translatio imperii', see Kowalewski, *Theorie* (1923); Guldensfels, *Translatio* (1950); Goetz, *Translatio* (1954); Baar, *Lehre* (1956); Schramm, *Kaiser* (1957); Wetzstein, 'Doctrine' (2008), pp. 185–221.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), p. 272.

3.4.2. Evoking the Correct Context

Technical terminology was only fully understood if it had been properly contextualized. Difficulties of contextualization appear in connection with the ethnonym 'al-Rūm', the language 'al-Rūmiyya', and the corresponding adjectives 'rūmī/rūmiyya'. These terms generally applied to the ancient Roman and to the medieval Byzantine sphere.²⁷⁰ Drawing on the travel account of Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī, al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) was confronted with another Roman/Byzantine ruler in the far north. Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb had travelled to the eastern Frankish realm in the tenth century²⁷¹ and had made the personal acquaintance of Otto I (*Hūtuh*) in Magdeburg. Although he defines Otto I as a 'ruler of the Romans/Byzantines' (*malik al-Rūm*),²⁷² al-Bakrī does not mention him in his chapter on Roman-Byzantine rulers²⁷³ and fails to explain why Otto should have ruled the Romans/Byzantines. He did not understand that the eastern Frankish realm regarded itself as the successor to imperial Rome.

A similar problem of contextualization existed in connection with the ethnonym 'al-Majūs', a term commonly used by Arabic-Islamic scholars to define the Vikings. The high mobility, different spheres of activity, and varying self-descriptions of the Vikings are reflected in medieval Arabic terminology which classifies them as Magians (*al-Majūs*), Varangians (*al-Warank*), Rus (*al-Rūs*), Normans (*al-Arman*), and even as Norman Magians (*al-Majūs al-Urdumāniyyūn*) according to context.²⁷⁴ Due to this terminological variety, earlier Arabic-Islamic scholars were uncertain about how to classify these groups.²⁷⁵ The fact that the Arabic term 'al-Majūs' covers a wide semantic field caused further distortions. Al-Bakrī, for example, used the terms 'al-Majūs' and 'al-Majūsiyya' for paganism in general, for Zoroastrianism, for religious cults practised in India, among the Alans, the pre-Christian Romans, the pre-Christian Franks, the Pechenegs, for the king of the Khazars before his conversion to monotheism, the people 'al-Burjān', the eponym of Crete, as well as the non-Muslim populations of Sudan and Ghana.²⁷⁶ Arne Melvinger proposed that the Vikings were classified as 'Majūs' not only because they were not yet Christianized, but also because they cremated their dead, a practice known from Zoroastrianism.²⁷⁷ It seems more convincing, however, that, because of their indiscriminate use of the term, Arabic-Islamic scholars erroneously ascribed practices to the Vikings which they had come to know in other contexts. Ibn Dihya (d. 633/1235), for example, reproduced well-established topoi of

²⁷⁰ See Chapters 3.2. and 4. ²⁷¹ Miquel, 'L'Europe' (1966), pp. 1048–64.

²⁷² al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 550, 552, pp. 334–5.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, § 485–515, pp. 306–19.

²⁷⁴ Melvinger, 'al-Madjūs' (1986), p. 1118; Seippel, *Rerum normannicarum fontes* (1928), pp. 1–37. The term 'al-Majūs' is used by all Arabic-Islamic authors cited in this collection of sources. However, the other names appear as well.

²⁷⁵ An uncertainty expressed by al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 404, p. 193 (AR), 147 (FR). See Chapter 3.3.3.

²⁷⁶ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 5, p. 51; § 43, p. 66; § 72, p. 80; § 175, p. 136; § 227, p. 170; § 241, p. 176; § 365, p. 248; § 401, p. 265; § 490, p. 308; § 567, p. 340; § 750, p. 445; § 752, pp. 446–7; § 759, p. 450; § 811, p. 482; § 1449, p. 868; § 1459, p. 873.

²⁷⁷ Melvinger, 'al-Madjūs' (1986), p. 1118.

'pagan' behaviour rather than empirical observations of Viking rituals when he stated that:

today they profess the faith of the Christians after leaving behind the cult of fire and the religion they followed. They converted to Christianity except for the people inhabiting a few of their islands that lie isolated in the midst of the sea, who still retain the old religion – the cult of fire, the marriage of mother and sister as well as other disgraceful acts.²⁷⁸

Ibn Khaldūn provides an example of a scholar who, due to lack of sufficient background knowledge, failed to reconstruct the correct historical context of an individual, in this case the Roman emperor Theodosius I. Arabic-Islamic historiography contains about a dozen different transcriptions of the emperor's name.²⁷⁹ Notwithstanding, Ibn Khaldūn was able to identify this ruler correctly as the father of Arcadius. He erred, however, when he tried to establish the name of Theodosius' predecessor. Theodosius' reign was preceded by the joint rule of Valens, Valentinianus, and Gratian (375–78) and the joint rule of Valentinianus II and Gratian (378–83). Theodosius then entered the game in 379.²⁸⁰ Although he seems to have been aware that the simultaneous rule of several emperors was the norm in the second half of the fourth century,²⁸¹ Ibn Khaldūn explained:

It appears from what Orosius says that Ṭūdūshīsh is the same as Tāwdāsīyūs mentioned by Ibn al-'Amīd because they both agree on the fact that Arcadius (*Arkādīyūs*) is his son and because the length of each reign is similar. So maybe Valentinianus (*Walītānush*) who is mentioned by Orosius is Gratianus (*Aghrādyānus*) mentioned by Ibn al-'Amīd.²⁸²

Another problem arose when Arabic-Islamic scholars failed to contextualize data in terms of chronology, thus creating the impression of writing about a contemporary situation, while in fact they were describing bygone realities. Ibn Rustah (d. after 300/913), for example, mentions the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy, a political constellation characteristic of Britain in the seventh and eighth centuries, that is around

²⁷⁸ Ibn Dihya, *al-muṭrib*, ed. Seippel, p. 15; Ibn Dihya, *al-muṭrib*, ed. al-Ibyārī et al., pp. 140–1: 'wa-hum al-yawm 'alā dīn al-naṣrāniyya wa-qad tarakū 'ibādat al-nār, wa-dīnahum alladhī kānū 'alayhi, wa-raja'ū naṣārā illā ahl jazā'ir munqa'i'a lahum fi l-baḥr hum 'alā dīnihim al-awwal min 'ibādat al-nāi, wa-nikāh al-umm wa-l-ukht wa-ghayr dhālik min aṣnāf al-shanār'; cf. Jacob, *Berichte* (1927), p. 38; Christys, 'Vikings' (2012), pp. 447–58.

²⁷⁹ E.g. *Ṭidūsūs al-akbar*, *Ṭiyādāsīs al-akbar*, *Ṭudūsīs al-akbar*, *Thāwudūsīyūs al-kabīr*, *Thidūs*, *Ṭadūsh*, *Ṭidāsīs al-akbar*, *Ṭadūs al-kabīr*, *Thādhūsīyūs al-kabīr*, *Thāwdāsīyūs*, *Tāwdāsīyūs* or *Ṭūdūshīsh*, cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muhannā, p. 196; al-Ṭabarī, *tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 608; al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 747, pp. 48–9 (AR), p. 280 (FR); al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, pp. 95, 97 (AR), pp. 105–6 (EN); al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 502, p. 313; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 1, pp. 229, 236 (Leiden), pp. 323, 331 (Beirut); Rashīd al-Dīn, *Frankengeschichte*, trans. Jahn, p. 67; Abū l-Fida', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 1, p. 87; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 255–6.

²⁸⁰ Leppin, *Theodosius* (2003), pp. 35–44.

²⁸¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 254; see Chapter 4.2.3.

²⁸² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 256: 'wa-yazhar min kalām Hurūshiyūsh anna Ṭūdūshīsh huwa Tāwdāsīyūs alladhī dhakarahu Ibn al-'Amīd, li-annahumā muttafiqān fi anna ibnahu Arkādīsh wa-mutaqāribān fi l-mudda, fa-la'alla Walītānush alladhī dhakarahu Hurūshiyūsh huwa Aghrādyānūs alladhī dhakarahu Ibn al-'Amīd'.

one and a half centuries before Ibn Rustah wrote his geography. Notwithstanding, he did not hesitate to use the present tense, claiming that the 'city of Britain' (*madīnat Bartīniya*) is 'a big city on the shore of the western ocean, and seven kings rule over it'.²⁸³ In the second half of the eleventh century, al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) partially copied a list of Frankish kings recorded by al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) around one century earlier. Without identifying his source, al-Bakrī reproduced the phrase in which al-Mas'ūdī assigned a certain king to his own lifetime verbatim, i.e. 'now, in the year 332/943, their king is Louis, the son of Charles'.²⁸⁴ The Persian cosmographer al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283) drew much of what he knew about the Frankish realm and central Europe from the tenth-century travel account by Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī. Because it had become available to him in an eleventh-century version written by the Andalusian author al-'Udhri (d. 478/1085), al-Qazwīnī names al-'Udhri as his main source but fails to clarify that Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb and al-'Udhri were informants who had lived more than two centuries earlier. In this way, al-Qazwīnī creates the impression of reproducing quasi-contemporary information on the Frankish sphere. Only when he clarifies that the Franks have only recently occupied parts of the Syrian coast, he insinuates that he has been writing about the Frankish past.²⁸⁵ In these cases, the author himself may have been aware of describing bygone phenomena. However, in failing to communicate this information to his readers, he contributed to blurring their chronological conception of the Latin-Christian sphere.

3.4.3. Ordering and Interpreting

Where an Arabic-Islamic scholar treated a certain aspect of Latin-Christian Europe in his work depended not only on his knowledge of contexts but also on his decision about how to present a certain topic. This could make it more difficult for readers to understand a specific historical constellation.

Near the beginning of his work, al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) introduces his readers to Roman history in a way that is also known from other Arabic-Islamic works of historiography. Preceded by an exposition of the deeds of Alexander the Great and the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt, the chapter entitled 'Rulers of the Romans/Byzantines' (*mulūk al-Rūm*) features an account based on a list of Roman emperors from Augustus to the Byzantine era. However, al-Bakrī also made use of information on pre-imperial Roman history, i.e. the republican system of rule as well as the Punic Wars. Rather than using this material as an introduction to his chapter on the imperial era, al-Bakrī placed it in his geographical chapter on the Maghreb,²⁸⁶ far

²⁸³ Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥḥiyya*, ed. de Goeje, p. 130: 'wa-hiya madīna kabīra 'alā sāhil baḥr al-Maghrib wa-yatamallak 'alayhā sab'a min al-mulūk...'

²⁸⁴ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 567, p. 340: 'wa-malikuhum al-ān sanat ithnatayn wa-thalāthīn wa-thalāthami'a Ludhriq b. Qārlah...'. Al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 914–16, pp. 147–8 (AR), pp. 344–5 (FR), ends: 'thumma waliya ba'dahu Ludhriq b. Qārlah wa-huwa malik al-Ifranja ilā hādha al-waqt...'

²⁸⁵ al-Qazwīnī, *āḥḥār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 334, 387–8, 404, 409, 413, 415, esp. 334; Jacob, *Berichte* (1927), pp. 21–31, esp. 31.

²⁸⁶ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1177, p. 701.

away from the earlier chapter on Roman emperors, which does not refer to the republican period once.²⁸⁷ Instead of presenting the rise of the Roman Empire from its beginnings to the Byzantine era, al-Bakrī interpreted the Punic Wars as part of the regional history of North Africa. Other historiographers chose alternative forms of presenting Roman history. In the extant fragments of his history of al-Andalus, Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) included data about the republican phase, the Punic Wars, and the abolition of the republican system at the hands of Julius Caesar in a chapter on the local history of Toledo, thus reducing the description of Roman activities outside the Iberian Peninsula to a minimum.²⁸⁸ Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) eventually provided an extensive exposition of these topics, this time in chronological order.²⁸⁹

The manual for Mamluk chancery secretaries written by al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) confronts its readers with similar challenges of reconstructing contexts which the author had either neglected or not understood. Al-Qalqashandī wrote extensively on the offices and titles held by foreign rulers, including the doges of Venice. This also involved understanding the doge's role within the Venetian constitution. In the fifth volume of his work, in a chapter dedicated to Byzantine history after the rise of Islam, al-Qalqashandī mentions that a certain 'dūqīs al-Banādiqa' played a leading role in the conquest of Constantinople in 1204.²⁹⁰ A few pages later, he provides a short introduction to the realm of the Venetians (*mamlakat al-Banādiqa*) on the basis of Abū l-Fidā' and Ibn Sa'īd, claiming that they were a Frankish people in a part of Lombardy whose capital was a city called 'al-Bunduqiyya'. The Venetians, al-Qalqashandī asserts, were ruled by a certain 'dūk'.²⁹¹ In the sixth volume, in a section dealing with titles, al-Qalqashandī mentions a number of ways to address the doge of Venice. Aside from listing several honorary titles, he defines the doge either as 'dūk al-Bunduqiyya' or as 'dūk al-Bunduqiyya wa-l-Mānsiyya' without mentioning when the respective title was held.²⁹² The eighth volume finally contains specimens of letters exchanged between Muslim rulers and the doge of Venice. A letter written in Rajab 767/March–April 1366, addresses the doge as 'dūj al-Bunduqiyya wa-l-Mānsiyya'.²⁹³ Yet another letter, undated but probably written after 1204 because of the reference to Constantinople/Iṣṭanbūl, addresses him as 'dūk al-Banādiqa, wa-Diyāriqa, wa-l-Rūsā wa-l-Iṣṭanbūliyya'.²⁹⁴ In the ensuing comment, al-Qalqashandī expresses his irritation about the fact that the doge is credited with different titles and even questions if the doge had to be regarded as the real ruler (*malik*) of Venice:

[The] necessary [conclusion to be drawn] from what he [al-Qalqashandī's source] has mentioned concerning all these issues is that the Doge (*al-dūk*) is not the ruler (*al-malik*) himself... even though it has been mentioned in the passages concerning

²⁸⁷ Ibid., § 485–515, pp. 306–19.

²⁸⁸ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis* V, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, pp. 272–4.

²⁸⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāḥāda, vol. 2, pp. 233–6.

²⁹⁰ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-āshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, pp. 401–2.

²⁹¹ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 404, 485.

²⁹² Ibid., vol. 6, p. 178.

²⁹³ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 47. In a letter sent by the doge (vol. 8, p. 123) the spelling 'dūj' is also used.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., vol. 8, pp. 47–8.

the routes and realms in the sections dedicated to Venice (*al-Bunduqiyya*) and transmitted from Ibn Sa'īd, that the ruler of Venice (*malik al-Bunduqiyya*) is called "Doge" (*al-dūk*), [spelt with] an unnecessary doubling of the [letter] *dāl*, the [letter] *wāw* and the [letter] *kāf* at the end. This is something that needs to be investigated, for if the Doge was the ruler, then the manner of writing to him should differ as the circumstances demand or according to the objectives of the writers. It seems evident that there is a lack of information concerning the correct address and that everyone has always stuck to what he has been told by others.²⁹⁵

Being a secretary intent on providing practical information, al-Qalqashandī failed to consider that the doge of Venice may have changed his titles in line with the Republic's changing political status. His manner of describing the Mamluks' diplomatic and commercial partners by providing a superficial historical overview in volume five, a discussion of titles in volume six, and a commented copy of relevant documents in connection with these titles in volume eight, prevented him from drawing historical conclusions and from gaining a fuller understanding of his subject.²⁹⁶

Arabic-Islamic scholars also subjected the information at their disposal to excessive and creative interpretation. This could result from the effort to make up for the paucity of material by inference and deduction. According to al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892) and al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), the historiographer al-Wāqidi (d. 207/822) proposed that the pre-Islamic population of the Iberian Peninsula originally hailed from the Persian city of Isfahan.²⁹⁷ Ibn Ḥabīb and Ibn Khurdādhbah in the ninth century and al-Bakrī in the eleventh explained the Visigoths' origins in the same way.²⁹⁸ This theory seems to be based on an erroneous etymology of the ethnonym 'Ashbān'. Often used to define the pre-Islamic population of al-Andalus, this term obviously derives from the Latin ethnonym 'Hispani'. Juxtaposing the ethnonym 'Ashbān' and the toponym 'Iṣbahān', Arabic-Islamic historiographers apparently detected phonetic similarities and concluded that the ethnonym derived from the toponym. Al-Mas'ūdī questioned this for the first time in the tenth century. He commented that, according to the people of al-Andalus, the last Visigothic king Roderic (*Lūdhriq*) was not of Persian but of Galician origin, a kind of Frankish people living in the Christian north of the Iberian Peninsula.²⁹⁹ But although he questioned the established theory on the Visigoths' origins, al-Mas'ūdī was not better informed about them in every respect. As opposed to the earlier histori-

²⁹⁵ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 48: 'wa-muqtaḍā mā dhakarahu min jamī' dhālika anna l-dūk ghayr al-malik nafsihi. . . . 'alā annahu qad taqaddama fi l-kalām 'alā l-masālik wa-l-mamālik 'inda dhikr al-Bunduqiyya naqlan 'an Ibn Sa'īd anna malik al-Bunduqiyya yuqāl lahu al-dūk bi-ḡamm al-dāl al-muhmala wa-wāw wa-kāf fi l-ākhir, wa-hādha mimma yahtāj ilā taḥrīr, fa-in kāna al-dūk huwa al-malik fa-takūn al-mukātaba ilayhi ikhtalafat bi-khtilāf al-ḥāl, aw bi-khtilāf gharāq al-kuttāb, aw 'adam iṭṭilā'ihim 'alā ḥaqīqat al-aqdār wa-l-wuqūf ma'a mā yulqā ilayhim min al-muzāhima fi kull waqt wa-huwa al-zāhir'.

²⁹⁶ See Chapter 8.

²⁹⁷ al-Balādhurī, *futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, § 269, p. 230; al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 747, p. 49 (AR), p. 280 (FR).

²⁹⁸ Ibn Ḥabīb, *tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, § 397, p. 138; Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 156–7; al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 505, p. 314.

²⁹⁹ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 398, p. 191 (AR), pp. 145–6 (FR).

ographers Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/853) and al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905), he did not use an Arabic transliteration of the ethnonym 'Goths', i.e. 'al-Qūṭ' or 'al-Qūṭīyyūn',³⁰⁰ but took the liberty of inventing an ethnonym. He formed the plural of the Arabicized version of the royal name 'Roderic' (*Lūdhriq*), thus creating the ethnonym 'Rodericians' (*al-Ladhāriqa*) which he then applied to the population of the pre-Islamic Iberian Peninsula.³⁰¹

3.5. OBSTACLES OF TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION

Arabic-Islamic scholars produced records on Latin-Christian Europe within a greater framework of transmission and reception. The objective of the present chapter has been to discuss the many, not necessarily ideological factors that influenced when, where, and how records came into being and to point to the various obstacles of transmission and reception.

In this context, it is important to consider that the absorptive capacities of the Arabic-Islamic sphere varied with regards to time and space. Producing records on the Latin-Christian sphere became possible as soon as the Middle Eastern heartlands of Islam used the necessary intellectual resources at their disposal. Within emerging institutions of patronage and learning, early Arabic-Islamic scholars in the Middle East developed methods of historical enquiry, recorded Islam's foundation narrative, and gained access to older geographical and historiographical material. Only then were they able to enquire about what lay beyond the Muslim community. These processes were delayed in the western territories that came under Muslim rule more than half a century later than the Middle East and only developed a sufficient degree of cultural autonomy in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries. Consequently, the initial contribution of the Muslim West to recording material on the Latin West was rather small. This disequilibrium between east and west largely accounts for the lack of contemporary Arabic-Islamic records on the early medieval Latin West. Only when the new geopolitical order brought about by the Arabic-Islamic expansion reached a certain degree of stability around the end of the ninth century, was the groundwork laid for a more thorough documentation of the northwestern hemisphere. Notwithstanding, records were mainly produced in the well-protected urban centres of Islamic culture, not in the volatile border zones to the Latin-Christian sphere. Al-Andalus holds a special position because its Christian population had access to the Latin-Christian heritage, because it witnessed the relative stability of Umayyad rule in the ninth and tenth centuries, and because it represents the only border zone up to the crusading period that featured

³⁰⁰ Ibn Ḥabīb, *tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, § 397, p. 138; al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 2, p. 207; Carra de Vaux (Maçoudi, *Livre de l'avertissement*, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 429) believes that the ethnonym 'Ghūṭash' used by al-Mas'ūdi (*al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 332) applies to the Goths, but does not consider that it is never used in the few passages on Gothic history in al-Mas'ūdi's work.

³⁰¹ al-Mas'ūdi, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 474, p. 226 (AR), p. 171 (FR); § 701, p. 25 (AR), p. 263 (FR). This plural is created in the same way as the plural of the Arabic word for 'pupil' (sgl. *tilmidh*, pl. *talāmidha*), see Fischer, *Grammatik* (1987), § 96, p. 56.

centres of Islamic scholarly activity. The shift of border zones in response to Latin-Christian expansionism then increased the direct involvement of scholarly centres of production in North Africa and the Middle East.

In this evolving geopolitical landscape, many factors influenced how much and what kind of data was available to Arabic-Islamic scholars. Even if they did make use of large quantities of data on the Latin-Christian orbit, there were still several obstacles to overcome. Linguistic barriers were mainly surmounted with the aid of oral intermediaries and a handful of translations. Apart from the occasional exception, Arabic-Islamic scholars used non-Muslim sources without apparent ideological qualms. To reconstruct the pre-Islamic past, they were dependent on collective memories, archives, and computational systems of dating that reached back to the period before the rise of Islam. To record what happened in the contemporary Latin West, Arabic-Islamic scholars mainly depended on what was reported to them by a large variety of Muslim and non-Muslim informants, to a lesser degree on their own experience.

Having acquired data, Arabic-Islamic scholars faced the challenge of comprehending, contextualizing, evaluating, and interpreting the latter. This involved dealing with legendary, doubtful, or contradictory material, understanding foreign terminology and concepts, contextualizing peoples, persons, and events, and, finally, presenting this data in an organized form and in accordance with the dictates of genre and literary conventions. In view of these difficulties, Arabic-Islamic scholars occasionally failed to contextualize, misunderstood, or over-interpreted their sources. How all this influenced their understanding of certain facets of the Latin-Christian sphere will be shown in the following case studies.

Discovery of the Roman West

Roman civilization provided large parts of Western Europe with a physical infrastructure in the form of roads and urban settings. It laid the foundations of a system of administration, which was adapted to new circumstances in the period of the so-called 'great migrations', and eventually exported to regions beyond the original sphere of Roman influence. Moreover, it provided medieval Western European societies with the religious orbit of Christianity and a written culture in Latin.

If Arabic-Islamic scholars were to understand the historical roots of Latin Christendom, they had to form an understanding of its Roman past. Since the general features of the Arabic-Islamic vision of Roman history have already been analysed by Marco di Branco,¹ the present chapter focuses on what knowledge medieval Arabic-Islamic scholars acquired about the western dimension of Roman rule.

4.1. DISCLOSURE OF IMPERIAL HISTORY (5TH–10TH CENTURIES)

From the first century BCE onwards, the vast expanses of the Arabian Peninsula were encircled by Roman provinces.² Spread all over the Middle East, Arab groups of diverse lifestyle were in regular contact, if not part of the Roman cultural orbit, at the latest from the second century CE onwards. They were involved in imperial affairs, regularly collaborated with imperial administrators, provided auxiliary forces to the empire's eastern armies, participated indirectly in commercial exchange with the northwestern shores of the Mediterranean, may even have set foot on Western European soil in some cases, and probably encountered the occasional 'Westerner' in a Middle Eastern context. As long as the northwestern and the southeastern peripheries of the Mediterranean still belonged to one political entity, regular exchange very likely acquainted Arab groups of the second to the early fifth centuries with the fact that the Roman Empire extended far to the northwest.³

4.1.1. The Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Period

Political developments during the two centuries preceding the rise of Islam were crucial in the formation of Arabic-Islamic perceptions of the Roman Empire. The

¹ Branco, *Storie* (2009).

² Cf. Millar, *East* (1993), pp. 27–99, esp. 93–6; Bowersock, *Arabia* (1994), pp. 76–90.

³ See the beginning of Chapter 2.1. and Chapter 2.1.1.

western and eastern halves of the empire drifted apart at the latest from the end of the fourth century onwards. In addition, so-called 'barbarian' elites began to assume power in all parts of the west. Consequently, the flux of people, goods, and ideas characteristic of the preceding centuries decreased considerably. Justinian's efforts at restoring the former unity of the empire by campaigning against Vandals in North Africa, Ostrogoths in Italy, and Visigoths in the Spanish Levant in the middle of the sixth century, (re-)established Roman-Byzantine hegemony in the Mediterranean. This created a buffer as well as an intermediary between the emerging post-Roman polities in the West and the Arab sphere. When Muḥammad began preaching the message of Islam, Byzantium represented the Roman Empire.⁴

This geopolitical constellation characteristic of the sixth and early seventh centuries is reflected in pre-Islamic and early Islamic written sources. Contemporary epigraphic material and pre-Islamic prose texts on papyri do not lend themselves to a reconstruction of how Arab groups in the sixth century perceived the Roman Empire.⁵ However, pre-Islamic Arabic poetry as well as later historiographical accounts dealing with the pre-Islamic period contain enough references to the empire as to facilitate analysis. The Qur'ān as well as later Muslim historiography about the early formative period of Islam provide the material to reconstruct how the early Muslims perceived the Roman Empire before they began to control large parts of the Mediterranean from the 630s onwards.

Insofar as they can be regarded as authentic expressions of a pre-Islamic world-view, given that they were only put down in writing later,⁶ pre-Islamic sources of the sixth century refer to the Roman Empire in the terms 'Caesar' (*qaysar*) and 'Romans/Byzantines' (*al-Rūm*). It is portrayed as a hegemonic power meddling in Arab affairs that forces the latter to position themselves either with or against it. In a poem probably composed in the first half of the sixth century, the poet 'Abīd b. al-Abrāṣ al-Asadī criticizes his contemporary Imru l-Qays b. Ḥujr for having demanded imperial support, implicitly denigrating those who bowed to imperial power, i.e. 'the Syrians':

Didst thou say that thou wouldst seek to Caesar (*qaysar*) for help? – then shalt thou surely die a Syrian (*Shāmī*) [i.e. a subject to the empire!]⁷

In a poem dated around 550 CE,⁸ the poet al-Akhnās b. Shihāb al-Taghlibī lashes out against the Banū Ghassān for drawing back on imperial support, since this proved that they were not able to fight for themselves:

And Ghassān – their strength, all know, is other than in their kin – for them fight the legions and the squadrons.⁹

⁴ See Chapter 2.1.1. and 2.1.2.

⁵ Cf. Hoyland, *Arabia* (2003), p. 202; Beeston, 'Background' (1983), p. 23.

⁶ See Chapter 2.1.2.

⁷ *Diwān* of 'Abīd Ibn al-Abrāṣ of Asad, carmen IV, v. 19, in: *Diwāns*, ed./trans. Lyall, p. 22 (AR): 'az'amta annaka sawfa ta'ti qaysaran fa-latahlikanna idhan wa-anta Shāmī', p. 25 (EN).

⁸ *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed/trans. Lyall, vol. 2, p. 149.

⁹ al-Akhnās b. Shihāb al-Taghlibī, poem XLI, v. 14, in: *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed./trans. Lyall, vol. 1, p. 416 (AR): 'wa-Ghassān ḥayyun 'izzuhum fī siwāhumu / yujālidu 'anhum miqnabun wa-katā'ibu', vol. 2, p. 150 (EN). See Lyall (vol. 2, pp. xv, 152 with n. 14) on the verse's vocalization and a later commentary

Rome represented more than a political force. The conversion of several Arab groups, in particular the Banū Ghassān and the Banū Lakhm, was the result of missionary efforts emanating from the empire's provinces.¹⁰ It created ecclesiastical ties with the empire's Christian infrastructure and forced Christianized Arab groups to position themselves vis-à-vis Byzantium's religious policy.¹¹ Conversion entailed the adoption of a Christian collective memory that assigned an important role to the Roman Empire. Christian scripture even mentions the Roman West, e.g. the emperor Augustus in the gospels or Roman Spain in Paul's letter to the congregation of Rome.¹² Pre-Islamic Christianized Arabs could not have ignored that the early history of Christianity had unfolded within a wider Roman Empire.

To a certain extent, this also applies to the early Muslims whose environment was exposed to Christian influences. An Arabic idiom for the preaching of the gospel, created by Christian Arabs in direct contact with both Byzantium and the early centres of Islam,¹³ ensured that, by the sixth century, Christianity had penetrated the Arabian Peninsula.¹⁴ Admittedly, Qur'ānic references to Christianity are completely devoid of historical information. Jesus never appears in a historical, i.e. Roman, context.¹⁵ The *sūra* dedicated to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos (*sūra* 18: *ahl al-kahf*), identified in Christian sources as seven Christians fleeing Roman persecution under the emperor Decius,¹⁶ only refers to their plight and an ensuing miracle without providing any indications as to the place, time, or historical circumstances of the event.¹⁷ However, Qur'ānic allusions to the past generally lack historical context and require that listeners and readers reconstruct the historical framework of a particular episode.¹⁸ Muslim tradition as represented by Ibn Hishām's (d. 213/828 or 218/833) biography of Muḥammad or the sayings and deeds of the prophet collected by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), claims that contemporaries considered Muḥammad's relative Waraqa b. Nawfal an expert on Jewish and Christian scripture.¹⁹ It seems plausible that Muslim addressees with a thorough knowledge of Christianity would be able to contextualize Qur'ānic allusions to Jesus and to place early Christian protagonists within

(vol. 1, p. 416) that explicitly connects this verse to 'al-Rūm': 'yaqūl hum mulūkun wa-lam yakūnū kathīran: wa-kānat al-Rūm tuwalihum wa-tuqātilu 'anhum fa-'izzuhum fī ghayrihim'.

¹⁰ Cf. Trimmingham, *Christianity* (1979); Hainthaler, *Araber* (2007).

¹¹ Hainthaler, *Araber* (2007), pp. 67–80.

¹² Luke 2:1 (Augustus); Romans 15:24 and 15:28 (Spain).

¹³ Kassiss, 'We' (2006), pp. 67–8. However, according to Graf, *Literatur* (1905), pp. 10–12, the earliest Arabic translations of the gospels and the Pauline letters date from the eighth and ninth centuries; cf. Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 1 (1944).

¹⁴ Trimmingham, *Christianity* (1979); Hainthaler, *Araber* (2007).

¹⁵ Qur'an 2:87, 116, 136, 253; 3:3, 45–52, 55, 59, 84; 4:157, 163, 171–2; 5:17, 46, 72–3, 75, 78, 110–18; 6:85; 9:30–31; 10:68; 17:111; 18:4; 19:30–35, 88, 92; 21:26–27; 23:50, 91; 25:2; 33:7; 37:151–52; 39:4; 42:13; 43:57, 61, 63, 81; 57:27; 61:6, 14; 72:3.

¹⁶ Heinzelmänn, 'Réécriture' (2003), pp. 59–68, with further literature.

¹⁷ Qur'an 18:9–26; cf. Jourdan et al. (eds), *Tradition* (2001).

¹⁸ Donner, *Narratives* (1998), p. 95, speaks of a 'moral, ahistorical vision of the world'; cf. Neuwirth, 'Qur'an' (2003), pp. 14–16.

¹⁹ Ibn Hishām, *al-sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqā et al., vol. 1, pp. 222, 238; al-Bukhārī, *ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Pabiot, trans. Houdas and Marçais, vol. 1, cap. 3, pp. 8–9.

a historical setting. Notwithstanding, historical information on the Roman context of Christianity—as opposed to its theological message—was certainly of secondary importance to the early Muslim audience of the Qurʾān.²⁰

How to judge the Byzantine Empire from a religious point of view is a recurrent topic in sources on the early formative period of Islam.²¹ The Qurʾān contains a complete *sūra* entitled ‘al-Rūm’ (*sūra* 30), which dates from the Meccan period (610–22 CE) and contains two passages of interest. At the beginning, the *sūra* reads:

(2) The Rūm have been vanquished (*ghulibat*) / (3) in the lands nearby, but after their defeat they will be victorious again (*sa-yaghlibūna*) / (4) in a few years – command is due to God before and after, and on this day the believers (*al-muʾminūn*) will rejoice / (5) in God’s help, he gives victory to whom he wills.²²

The majority of later Muslim commentators claim that these verses reacted to the Byzantine defeat after the Persian conquest of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt in the second decade of the seventh century. It predicted a future Byzantine victory over the Persians and defined such a victory as a cause for joy. Regardless whether the term ‘believers’ applies to Byzantines or Muslims,²³ the verses in question would express early Muslim sympathy for the cause of ‘al-Rūm’, a people spiritually akin, whose victory, in the words of Nadia El Cheikh, ‘signifies the triumph of the Book over polytheism’.²⁴

Alternative readings of the *sūra* feature the verb forms ‘ghalabat’ (instead of ‘ghulibat’) and ‘sa-yughlabūna’ (instead of ‘sa-yaghlibūna’), thus producing the following translation:

(2) The Rūm have been victorious (*ghalabat*) / (3) in the lands nearby, but after their victory they will be defeated (*sa-yughlabūna*) / (4) in a few years – command is due to God before and after, and on this day the believers (*al-muʾminūn*) will rejoice / (5) in God’s help, he gives victory to whom he wills.²⁵

Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), one of the most comprehensive and influential commentators, regards this reading as false, but provides supporting material nevertheless. According to the latter, the verses predict the Muslim conquest of Byzantine territory and assure the Muslims of God’s support.²⁶ Rudi Paret and Nadia El Cheikh both believe that the second reading developed from the first reading, thus docu-

²⁰ König, ‘Christianisation’ (2009), pp. 438–49; Neuwirth, *Koran* (2010), pp. 182–234.

²¹ On parallel trends of religious thought as well as the flow of information from the Byzantine Empire to the Arabian Peninsula of the early seventh century, see Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses* (2010), pp. 445–8.

²² Qurʾān 30:2–5: ‘(2) ghulibat al-Rūm (3) fī adnā l-arḍi wa-hum min baʿdi ghalabihim sa-yaghlibūna (4) fī biḍʿi sinīna li-llāhi l-amru min qablu wa-min baʿdu wa-yawmaʿidhin yafraḥu al-muʾminūna (5) bi-naṣri llāhi yaṣṣuru man yashāʾu wa-huwa l-ʾazīzu l-raḥīmu’; Paret, *Übersetzung* (1989), p. 282. Cf. Beck, ‘Sure’ (1944), pp. 334–55; Beck, ‘Sure’ (1945), 118–42; Götz, ‘Hintergrund’ (1968), pp. 111–20.

²³ Paret, *Kommentar* (2005), p. 388.

²⁴ El Cheikh, *Byzantium* (2004), p. 29 (quote), cites many relevant sources on pp. 24–9; Paret, *Kommentar* (2005), p. 388.

²⁵ Paret, *Übersetzung* (1989), p. 282.

²⁶ Paret, *Kommentar* (2005), p. 388.

menting a shift in the Muslim perception of the Byzantines from brothers in faith to spiritual and military rivals.²⁷

Several verses later in the same *sūra*, an invective against those who promote religious factionism may refer to Christianity in the Byzantine Empire of the early seventh century,²⁸ warning the early Muslims not to be divided in religious matters:

(31) and fear Him, perform the ritual prayers and do not be like those who ascribe partners unto Him (*al-mushrikīn*), (32) who have divided their religion, thus becoming various sects, every faction rejoicing in what it has.²⁹

Later Arabic-Islamic historiographers stress the prophet's links to the divine sphere and position themselves vis-à-vis the theological and sociopolitical currents of their lifetime. It is unclear what they really knew about Byzantine-Arab relations in the early period of Islam. However, in the absence of alternative sources, such works as al-Wāqidi's (d. 207/822) *kitāb al-maghāzī* and Ibn Sa'd's (d. 230/845) *kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*³⁰ may shed some light on what the Byzantine Empire meant to the early Muslims a few years before the expansion.

Byzantium certainly demanded respect. According to al-Wāqidi, the early Muslims were well aware of Byzantium's power. They had been able to estimate Byzantine strength during commercial travels, feared this enemy and kept informed about affairs in Byzantine Syria:

The *Sāqiya*, that is the Nabateans (*al-Anbāt*), used to come to al-Madīna with fine flour and oil in the times of ignorance (*al-jāhiliyya*) as well as after the conversion to Islam. Consequently and because of the great number of Nabateans coming, news from Syria was available to the Muslims every day . . . Thus, news arrived. They reported that the *Rūm* had assembled their troops in Syria, that Heraclius had provisioned his companions for the period of one year and that he brought the tribes Lakhm, Judhām, Ghassān and 'Āmila with them, that they had approached and brought their vanguard to al-Balqā' and camped there, whereas Heraclius had been kept behind in Ḥims. This was not true, however, but something that had been said to them and that they had passed on. However, there was no enemy feared more by the Muslims, this because of what they had seen regarding their numbers, their equipment and their arms when they had set foot in their territory as traders.³¹

²⁷ Ibid. According to El Cheikh, *Byzantium* (2004), pp. 30–3, this new way of viewing the Byzantines became predominant in the course of the eleventh century.

²⁸ Cf. Haldon, *Byzantium* (1997), pp. 281–323.

²⁹ Qur'ān 30:31–2: '(31) wa-ttaqūhu wa-aqīmū l-ṣalawata wa-lā takūnū mina l-mushrikīna (32) mina l-ladhīna farraqū dinahum wa-kānū shi'ā'an kullu ḥisbi bi-mā ladayhim fariḥūna'.

³⁰ According to Fück, 'Ibn Sa'd' (1971), p. 922, Sachau's edition reproduces a version made by Ibn Ḥayyawayh (d. 381/991).

³¹ al-Wāqidi, *al-maghāzī*, ed. Jones, vol. 3, pp. 989–90: 'kānat al-Sāqiya—wa-hum al-Anbāt—yaqdamūna al-Madīna bi-l-darmak wa-l-zayt fi l-jāhiliyya wa-ba'd an dakhala al-islām, fa-innamā kānat akhbār al-Shām 'inda l-muslimīn kull yawm, li-kathrat man taqadama 'alayhim min al-Anbāt, fa-qadamat qādima fa-dhakarū anna l-Rūm qad jama'at jumū'an kathīratan bi-l-Shām, wa-anna Hiraql qad razaqa aṣḥābihi li-sana, wa-ajlabat ma'ahu Lakhm, wa-Judhām, wa-Ghassān, wa-'Āmila. wa-zahafū wa-qaddamū muqaddimātihim ilā l-Balqā' wa-'askarū bihā, wa-takhallafa Hiraql bi-Ḥimṣ. wa-lam yakun dhālika, innamā dhālika shay'in qīla lahum fa-qālūhu. wa-lam yakun 'aduw akhawf

The early Muslims also knew that Byzantine culture was more developed materially. According to Ibn Sa'd, the future caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644) contrasted the prophet's modest furnishings—a simple floor mat and a leather cushion filled with fibre—to the silk and brocade used by the rulers of Byzantium and Persia.³²

Several anecdotes deal with the reactions of Byzantines and Byzantine allies to the message of Islam as presented in letters sent by the prophet.³³ The emperor Heraclius (*qaysar*, *Hiraql*) allegedly summoned Roman grandees in a church of Emesa/Himṣ to adopt the religion of 'this Arabian prophet'. Following the latter, Heraclius stated, would be true to the message of Jesus and guarantee divine guidance, stability, and prosperity to the empire. In view of the grandees' unfavourable reaction to his request, Heraclius declared that he had only wanted to test their religious steadfastness.³⁴ The Ghassanid ruler Ḥārith b. Abī Shamr in Damascus is said to have accorded friendly treatment to the prophet's messenger only when he received corresponding orders from the emperor.³⁵ Farwa b. 'Amr al-Judhāmī, the emperor's governor in 'Ammān allegedly converted to Islam without having been invited to do so,³⁶ while the Ghassanid ruler Jabala b. al-Ayham is said to have converted and then to have apostatized.³⁷ The sources even deal with the reactions on the part of a Byzantine subject (*Rūmī*) of inferior status: Murī, gatekeeper to the Ghassanid ruler in Damascus, reportedly cried when he heard Muḥammad's message, identifying him with the prophet announced in the gospels.³⁸

Ibn Sa'd also describes how tribesmen from the Arabian Peninsula regarded Byzantium. A certain Qays b. Nusaybah of the Banū Sulaym praised the superiority of Muḥammad's message to everything he had heard among 'al-Rūm', the Persians etc., and decided to preach Islam to his tribe.³⁹ More materialistic is the reaction of a certain Tamīm, a convert to Islam from the delegation of the Dāriyyīn, seemingly a Christian subgroup of the Banū Lakhm from Palestine.⁴⁰ On the prophet's

'inda l-muslimīn minhum, wa-dhālika li-mā 'āyanū minhum—idh kānū yaqdimūna 'alayhim tujjāran—min al-'udad wa-l-'udda wa-l-kurā'; Wellhausen, *Muhammed* (1882), p. 391.

³² Ibn Sa'd, *al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Sachau et al., vol. 8, p. 136; Ibn Sa'd, *Women*, trans. Bewley, p. 139; cf. El Cheikh, *Byzantium* (2004), pp. 54–6, 224.

³³ On their authenticity, see the controversy recorded by Ḥamīdullāh, 'Lettre' (1955), pp. 97–110; Ḥamīdullāh, *Originaux* (1985), pp. 149–72; Serjeant, 'Prose' (1983), pp. 141–2; El Cheikh, *Byzantium* (2004), pp. 43–4.

³⁴ Ibn Sa'd, *al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Sachau et al., vol. 1, part 2, p. 16, trans. Moinul Haq and Ghazanfar, vol. 1, parts 1–2, pp. 305–6. Cf. Leder, 'Heraklios' (2001), pp. 1–42; El Cheikh, *Byzantium* (2004), pp. 38–54.

³⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Sachau et al., vol. 1, part 2, p. 17, trans. Moinul Haq and Ghazanfar, vol. 1, parts 1–2, pp. 307–8.

³⁶ Ibn Sa'd, *al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Sachau et al., vol. 1, part 2, pp. 18, 83, trans. Moinul Haq and Ghazanfar, vol. 1, parts 1–2, p. 309.

³⁷ Ibn Sa'd, *al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Sachau et al., vol. 1, part 2, p. 20, trans. Moinul Haq and Ghazanfar, vol. 1, parts 1–2, p. 313.

³⁸ Ibn Sa'd, *al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Sachau et al., vol. 1, part 2, p. 17, trans. Moinul Haq and Ghazanfar, vol. 1, parts 1–2, p. 308.

³⁹ Ibn Sa'd, *al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Sachau et al., vol. 1, part 2, p. 49, trans. Moinul Haq and Ghazanfar, vol. 1, parts 1–2, pp. 360–3.

⁴⁰ Lecker, 'Tamīm al-Dārī' (2000), p. 176.

return from a campaign to Tabūk in 9/630, he asked the latter to confer two Byzantine villages called Ḥibra and Bayt ‘Aynūm on him as soon as Syria had been conquered.⁴¹ Muḥammad may have occasionally incited such an attitude. According to al-Wāqidi, he tried to convince a certain Abū Wahb al-Jadd b. Qays to join the raid to Tabūk, asking him if he did not wish to acquire some Byzantine girls (*banāt al-Aṣfar*).⁴²

This sketchy and fragmentary overview cannot but convey an impression of what the pre-Islamic Arabs of the sixth century, as well as the first Muslims of the early seventh century, may have seen in the polity and society represented by the terms ‘qayṣar’ and ‘al-Rūm’. More systematic research could enlarge the spectrum of perceptions, elaborate on nuances, and subject the above-mentioned texts, which all date from later periods, to rigorous criticism. For the time being, they provide an idea of how the Arab sphere of the sixth and early seventh centuries acted and reacted in the shadow of its giant neighbour.

In short, these texts suggest that the pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabs’ knowledge about the Roman Empire was limited to their immediate experiences with Byzantium. Historical knowledge about the Byzantine neighbour—as opposed to the Arabs’ much longer tribal memory⁴³—was largely restricted to the collective memory of a few generations. Apart from a few references to the life of Jesus and the persecution of Christians in the Qur’ān, the extant sources primarily refer to contemporary issues and never mention events of the distant (as opposed to the very recent) past. It is noteworthy that Arab experiences with the Byzantine orbit are always shrouded in implicit poetical allusions or prose anecdotes. Arab groups of this period were accustomed to dealing with the neighbouring empire. Notwithstanding, their intellectual preoccupation with it was obviously not as systematic as is the case in later Arabic-Islamic historiography of the ninth century. As will be shown, these earliest systematic treatments of Roman history depend on sources provided by Oriental Christians, Jews, and other groups, not on the collective memory of pre-Islamic Arabs.⁴⁴

The above-mentioned sources also suggest that the Roman West was non-existent in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arab collective memory of the sixth and early seventh centuries. Knowledge, which may have been available thanks to Roman–Arab relations before the fifth century or to Arab groups in touch with Constantinople, does not seem to have survived the transition from a pre-Islamic Arab to a specifically Arabic-Islamic collective memory.⁴⁵ From an Arabic-Islamic perspective, Rome as a historical category of, geographically speaking, Euromediterranean dimensions only seems to have emerged forcefully as soon as the expansion led the Muslims westwards.

⁴¹ Ibn Sa’d, *al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Sachau et al., vol. 1, part 2, p. 75.

⁴² al-Wāqidi, *al-maghāzī*, ed. Jones, vol. 3, p. 992; Wellhausen, *Muhammed* (1882), p. 392. On the term ‘Banū l-Aṣfar’ for the Byzantines, see Goldziher, ‘Aṣfar’ (1960), pp. 687–8; Branco, *Storie* (2009), pp. 110–12.

⁴³ Cf. Hoyland, *Arabia* (2003), pp. 198–247.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 4.1.2. and 4.1.3.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 2.1.1. and 2.1.2.

4.1.2. Earliest Expositions of Roman History

Active confrontation with the western hemisphere in combination with the development of imperial concepts and a proliferous written culture during the late seventh and eighth centuries gave rise to a new understanding of the Roman Empire. This transformative period facilitated the transition from a rather diffuse, self-centred, and associative understanding of the Roman-Byzantine Empire to a systematic and intellectualized conception of Roman-Byzantine history. Whereas the former lacked historical depth and was reduced to the remembrance of quasi-contemporary events, the latter resulted from the effort to understand historical developments that did not touch directly upon Arab and Arabic-Islamic collective identity. On these foundations, Arabic-Islamic scholars from the ninth century onwards were increasingly able to develop a systematic conception of world history and to define the Roman Empire's place in the history of humankind. Only then, it became possible to assess the empire's relevance for the emerging societies of the medieval Latin West.

Such a systematic and intellectualized approach to Roman history developed gradually and already before the ninth century. The historiographer al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) claims that the early Muslim traditionist Ibn Ishāq (d. c. 150/767) had recourse to the testimony of Christians in his description of the Passion of Christ and the ensuing fate of the apostles.⁴⁶ According to Ibn Khaldūn's (d. 808/1408) citation of Ibn Ishāq, the latter also mentioned the Roman authorities in this context.

Ibn Ishāq said: Then the Jews assaulted the remaining disciples, tormenting and aggravating them. The emperor (*qaysar*) heard about this because his governor Pontius Pilatus (*Filāṭush al-Bunṭī qā'iduhu*) wrote to him about the events and the miracles [he had witnessed]. The Jews became aggressive against him as they had become against John before, so that he ordered them to refrain from doing so.⁴⁷

Although these later citations do not focus on the Romans, they do suggest that very early Arabic-Islamic scholars showed interest in the origins of Christianity and related aspects of Roman history.⁴⁸

The earliest Arabic-Islamic work of universal history at our disposal still ignores the Romans. Written by the Andalusian scholar Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/853), it begins with the Creation, reproduces biblical narratives from the Old and the New Testaments, dedicates some space to the history of the pre-Islamic Arabs, provides

⁴⁶ al-Ṭabarī, *tārikh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 602: "an Ibn Ishāq: wa-l-naṣārā yaz'amūna . . .".

⁴⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 173: 'qāla Ibn Ishāq: thumma wathaba al-Yahūd 'alā baqīyyar al-hawāriyyīn yu'adhdhibūnahum wa-yaftinūnahum, wa-sama'a qaysar bi-dhālika wa-kataba ilayhi Filāṭush al-Nabaṭī qā'iduhu bi-akhbārihi wa-mu'jizātihi wa-baḡhi al-Yahūd 'alayhi wa-'alā Yuhannān qablihi, fa-amarahum bi-l-kaff 'an dhālika'. The edition gives 'Filāṭush al-Nabaṭī', i.e. 'Pilatus, the Nabatean', instead of 'Filāṭūs al-Bunṭī', i.e. 'Pilatus, the Pontian'. This seems to be a spelling error by the copyist or the editors who confused the letters 'bā' (ب) and 'nūn' (ن). That the Arabic transcription of Pilatus begins with the letter 'fā' instead of the letter 'bā' may point to a Syriac source of information, since the Syriac letter 'pē' resembles the Arabic letter 'fā', cf. Reynolds, *Theologian* (2004), p. 74 with n. 274, p. 201.

⁴⁸ See Anthony, 'Composition' (2010), pp. 164–202, on the purposeful manipulation of historical knowledge on early Christianity in the late eighth century.

context to Qur'ānic narratives, and then focuses on the prophet and the succeeding caliphs up to the reign of al-Walīd, which witnessed the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula.⁴⁹ In contrast, works of universal history and geography written in the Middle East of the late ninth century contain entire chapters or at least several passages on the history of 'al-Rūm'.⁵⁰

Dealing with the most ancient rulers of the world, Ibn Khurdādhbah's (d. c.300/911) *Book of Routes and Realms* leads the Romans' genealogy back to the mythical Persian ruler Afrīdūn.⁵¹ The oldest fact on Roman history concerns the Roman destruction of Jerusalem.⁵² A short passage on the historical geography of the Roman Empire refers to some of its western domains. According to Ibn Khurdādhbah, the empire originated in the city of Rome (*Rūmiyya*) and on the island of Sicily (*Siqilliya*). Rome was the residence of twenty-nine rulers. After this period, two rulers resided in Nicomedia (*Nuqumūdiya*), followed by two rulers in Rome. Constantine the Great (*Qustantīn al-akbar*) then moved to Byzantium (*Bizantiya*) which he named Constantinople (*Qustantīniyya*) and surrounded with fortifications.⁵³ A description of Constantinople⁵⁴ is followed by references to Cyprus, Crete, Sicily, and a portrayal of Rome. This large fortified city surrounded by stylites on pillars contained markets and churches, including a huge and magnificent church that harboured the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul.⁵⁵ The city's construction allegedly took 300 years. Its fortifications and beacon were so bright that its inhabitants, including 600,000 Jews, were forced to wrap a dark cloth around their head for a period of seventy years.⁵⁶ Ibn Khurdādhbah also claims that the Romans had been active in North Africa and had once ruled Egypt and the 'people of the West' (*ahl al-Maghrib*).⁵⁷ After the death of Goliath at the hands of David, Berber tribes had migrated to the west and settled in North Africa, forcing the local Romans to leave their cities and to seek refuge in Sicily until a peace settlement had been concluded. Since the Berbers did not wish to settle in the cities, the Romans and Africans (*al-Afāriqa*) returned to their cities on the North African coast and lived there up to the Muslim conquest.⁵⁸

Ibn Khurdādhbah combined data from different Middle Eastern milieus with knowledge acquired during the Muslim conquest of North Africa. The mythical ruler 'Afrīdūn' is of Persian origin. Jewish tradition is the probable source of information on the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem as well as on the number of Jews residing in ancient Rome, here probably mistaken for Alexandria. Mentioned in the work's Introduction, Ptolemaic geography may have served to depict the

⁴⁹ Ibn Ḥabīb, *tārīkh*, ed. Aguadé; Pons Boigues, *Historiadores* (1898/1972), pp. 32–4.

⁵⁰ In contrast, historiographical works with a specific focus, such as writings on the Arabic-Islamic expansion, i.e. the so-called *futūḥ*-literature, only mention the 'Rūm' in direct contact with the Muslims without referring to their history.

⁵¹ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 15.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 118. According to Ibn Khurdādhbah, this event led to the dispersion of the Jews as had been predicted to Isaac's son Jacob by God. Furthermore, it provoked God's wrath with the consequence that, from this time on, at least one Roman was led into captivity by neighbouring peoples every day.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 103–5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 113–15.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 91–2.

empire's historical geography.⁵⁹ His comments on the shift of the empire's centre from Rome to Constantinople, as well as the ensuing description of the empire, focus on the eastern Mediterranean and betray very limited knowledge about the empire's western extension. The description of Rome mainly conveys a sense of awe vis-à-vis the city's architectural grandeur and the luxurious interior of its churches. References to religious monuments and phenomena are dominant, suggesting that he relied on a Christian source of information. His reference to the Berber migration and settlement in North Africa probably dates from the period when the expanding Muslims became acquainted with the ethnic landscape of the region.⁶⁰ Other data may be of contemporary origin, e.g. the indication that the ruler of 'al-Rūm' is commonly called either Caesar (*qaysar*) or Basileus (*bāsil*).⁶¹ Even if the exact origins of his data remain a matter of speculation, nothing indicates that Ibn Khurdādhbah made use of western sources.

This equally applies to the universal history of al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905), the earliest Arabic-Islamic work to feature a self-contained and well-informed chapter on the Romans. In the tradition of Arab genealogists, al-Ya'qūbī leads their genealogy back to a certain 'Rūm b. Samāhīr b. Hūbā b. 'Alqā b. 'Iṣū b. Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm', a descendant of the biblical Esau ('*Iṣū*'), but also proposes that the ethnonym 'al-Rūm' may derive from the toponym Rome.⁶² Roman history begins with the decline of the Greeks (*al-Yūnāniyyūn*), represented culturally by the Greek sciences⁶³ and politically by Alexander and his Ptolemaic successors in Egypt.⁶⁴ A brief comment on the Roman annexation of Egypt⁶⁵ is followed by a list of Roman rulers divided into two chapters.

The first chapter ranges from Caius Julius Caesar (*Jālyūs al-aṣghar*) to the post-tetrarchian rulers Constantin I and Maxentius (*Qusṭanṭīn wa-Makniyūs*). Aside from several emperors and the length of their reign, it mentions the birth of Jesus under Augustus (*Aghuṣṭus*), the cult of emperors under Vespasian (*Iṣfasyānūs*), the destruction of Jerusalem and the eruption of Mount Vesuvius (*jabal Ubrumūr*) under Titus (*Ṭiṭūs*), Apollonius of Tyana, the murder of Domitian (*Dūmityānūs*) as well as a Jewish rebellion against Hadrian (*Adriyānūs*).⁶⁶ A lengthy digression about pre-Christian religiosity presents different religious schools of thought relevant to Greek and Roman rulers, including the Sabeans, the Sophists, the Atheists, and the Peripatetics.⁶⁷

The second chapter deals with the Roman rulers who adopted Christianity, beginning with Constantine's vision that made him decorate his lance with the sign of the cross before an important battle.⁶⁸ The topic of Christianity pervades the whole chapter. It contains the story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos, several short explanations of the dogmatic decisions taken at various ecumenical councils as well

⁵⁹ See his references to Ptolemy in *ibid.*, pp. 3, 5.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 91–2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶² al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 1, p. 186: 'wa-intasabū ilā l-Rūmiyya'.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 126–82.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 184–6.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 186.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 186–8.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 188–94; cf. Branco, *Storie* (2009), pp. 112–14.

⁶⁸ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 1, p. 194.

as an Arabic translation of the Nicene Creed.⁶⁹ It also lists Christian emperors up to the joint rule of the Byzantine emperor Leo IV and his son Constantine VI (*Alyūn wa-Qusṭanṭīn ibnuhu*) in the late eighth century.⁷⁰ The chapter ends with a short presentation of the Roman calendar and a few lines on the extension of the Roman-Byzantine Empire. Here al-Ya'qūbī mentions the territorial losses suffered due to the Muslim expansion and claims that the empire originally extended to the lands of the Slavs and the Franks, unfortunately without clarifying if it included or only bordered on these regions. In line with Ibn Khurdādhbah, he only mentions two western toponyms, Rome and Sicily.⁷¹

To al-Ya'qūbī, Roman history was a history of imperial continuity from Caius Julius Caesar up to the Byzantine emperors of the eighth century. Although he refers to the joint rule of Constantine and Maxentius,⁷² he does not mention that Theodosius' sons Honorius and Arcadius ruled in Rome and Constantinople respectively. He thus ignored that the late antique empire split into an eastern and a western half.

Moreover, al-Ya'qūbī's Roman Empire is clearly centred on the Middle East. Important events in the West, i.e. Constantine's vision before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, or emperors who ruled from a western location such as Valentinian (*Wālantiyānūs*), are not linked to a toponym.⁷³ Since the eruption of Vesuvius is not localized, al-Ya'qūbī's narrative is devoid of western toponyms with the exception of Rome and Sicily. Eastern toponyms, in turn, feature often, i.e. Jerusalem under Titus and Hadrian, the cities accommodating the ecumenical councils, finally the imperial capital of Constantinople.

All this is not surprising, if one considers the sources at al-Ya'qūbī's disposal. His impressive knowledge of Greek science⁷⁴ and Hellenistic philosophy⁷⁵ suggests that he moved in intellectual circles fascinated by the ancient Greek heritage. The latter had become accessible to Muslim intellectuals thanks to translations from Greek and Syriac to Arabic during the eighth to tenth centuries.⁷⁶ The dominance of data about Christianity, including a description of Constantine's conversion that largely resembles the corresponding passage in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*⁷⁷ as well as various details about the formation of early Christian dogma, suggests

⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 194–8, mentions the condemnation of Arius in Nicaea under Constantine (pp. 194–5); a declaration of faith allegedly issued in Constantinople under Theodosius I, which actually represents an exact translation of the Nicene Creed that only omits one phrase (p. 196); the condemnation of Nestorius in Ephesus under Theodosius II and Valentinian (pp. 196–7); the condemnation of the Jacobites in Constantinople under Marcian (p. 197); a fifth council dealing with the corporality of the Messiah, and a sixth council. The latter two councils took place in an unnamed city under Anastasius and Heraclius respectively. Cf. Branco, *Storie* (2009), pp. 114–15; König, 'Christianisation' (2009), pp. 439–40.

⁷⁰ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 1, pp. 186–98.

⁷¹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 199.

⁷² Ibid., vol. 1, p. 188.

⁷³ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 194, 196.

⁷⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 126–82, deals with Hippocrates, Galen, Pythagoras, Euclid, Nichomachus the Pythagorean, Aristotle, and Ptolemy.

⁷⁵ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 188–94.

⁷⁶ Gutas, *Thought* (1998).

⁷⁷ Compare al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 1, p. 194, to Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. Cameron and Hall, book 1, § 27–41, pp. 80–6. Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* had been available in Syriac since, at least, the fifth century, cf. *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Wright and McLean, p. v (Introduction).

that al-Ya'qūbī had access to data provided by Christians. Since he refers to Nestorius' flight to Iraq and the ensuing establishment of a local Nestorian ecclesiastical structure,⁷⁸ we may surmise that al-Ya'qūbī gained access to corresponding data with the help of Nestorians, who participated actively in the above-mentioned process of translation.⁷⁹ All this suggests that the transmission of the so-called Greek sciences was closely associated with a parallel transmission of knowledge on the first five centuries of the history of Christianity.⁸⁰

4.1.3. Development of an Early Standard Narrative

Although direct connections do not seem to have existed, several features of al-Ya'qūbī's exposition of Roman history can also be found in three Arabic-Islamic works written in the Middle East of the tenth century. These are the *History of Prophets and Kings* by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), the geo-, ethno-, and historiographical work *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems* by al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), and a computational work entitled *Vestiges of the Past* by al-Bīrūnī (d. c.442/1050). All three authors name their sources, which are all of Middle Eastern origin.

Al-Ṭabarī fails to mention Latin or Greek written sources and does not seem to have drawn on Ibn Khurdādhbah or al-Ya'qūbī. He made use of Arab traditionists and genealogists such as Ibn Ishāq, Wahb b. Munabbih, and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib to define the 'Rūm' as descendants either of Esau or of one of Noah's sons.⁸¹ He adopted the basic features of this genealogy from Jews under Islamic rule.⁸² In addition, he refers to 'experts on the deeds and sciences of the ancients',⁸³ 'experts on Persian history',⁸⁴ as well as Jews and Christians under Islamic rule, termed 'scholars among the people of the book in Palestine'.⁸⁵ His list of 'who among the Romans ruled Syria' is based on 'the testimony of Christians'.⁸⁶

Al-Mas'ūdī's basic geographic outlook seems to derive from Ptolemy.⁸⁷ The Torah and other books of the Hebrews served as sources on the Romans' origins.⁸⁸ He fails to mention al-Ya'qūbī, but praises Ibn Khurdādhbah for having compiled

⁷⁸ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 1, p. 197.

⁷⁹ Gutas, *Thought* (1998), pp. 13–14; O'Leary, *Thought* (1923/2003), pp. 31–55; Teixidor, 'Antioche' (2001), pp. 249–62.

⁸⁰ Against Rosenthal, *Heritage* (1975), p. 10; Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), pp. 8–9. Al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 1, p. 183, mentions Ptolemy's *Qanūn* as a source on the father of Alexander the Great.

⁸¹ al-Ṭabarī, *tārikh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, pp. 201, 209–10, 577, summarizes them under the term 'ahl al-ansāb'.

⁸² Ibid., vol. 1, p. 210: 'ahl al-tawrah'.

⁸³ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 540: 'ahl al-akhbār wa-l-'ilm bi-umūr al-awā'il', p. 574: 'ahl al-'ilm bi-akhbār al-awwalin', p. 580: 'ahl al-'ilm bi-akhbār al-mādī'.

⁸⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 581: 'ahl al-'ilm bi-akhbār al-Fāris'.

⁸⁵ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 540: 'qawm min 'ulamā' ahl al-kitāb min ahl al-Filasṭīn'.

⁸⁶ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 606: 'dhikr man malaka min al-Rūm arḍ al-Shām ba'da raf al-masīh 'alayhi al-salām ilā 'ahd al-nabī šalla llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam fī qawl al-našārā'.

⁸⁷ al-Mas'ūdī, *muriḥ*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 191, p. 101 (AR), p. 76 (FR).

⁸⁸ Ibid., § 715–16, pp. 32–3 (AR), pp. 269–70 (FR).

much historical data in a work no longer extant.⁸⁹ The number of emperors who ruled from Rome before the imperial capital shifted to Constantinople, has a parallel in Ibn Khurdādhbah's *Book of Routes and Realms*.⁹⁰ Although al-Mas'ūdī refers to al-Ṭabarī,⁹¹ a comparison of their respective lists of emperors shows that al-Ṭabarī mentions more emperors than al-Mas'ūdī and often spells their names differently. In addition, al-Mas'ūdī's chapter on Roman history lists several Christian sources. Aside from an obscure reference to 'another copy',⁹² he mentions a chronicle of the 'Rūm' from the 'church of Qusyān' in Antioch⁹³ as well as the 'histories of Jewish and Christian legal authorities'.⁹⁴ He admits that he was only able to reproduce oral sources since most history books were in the language 'al-Rūmiyya', and refers his readers to the Melkite Christian chronicles for further information.⁹⁵

In one of his prefatory explanations, al-Bīrūnī refutes 'historians' who related that Jesus was born in the forty-third year of Augustus' reign.⁹⁶ His second list of Christian emperors entitled 'the rulers of Constantinople' (*mulūk Qusṭantiyya*) is based on the report of Ḥamza al-İṣfahānī on the authority of al-Wakī' al-qāḍī who 'took them from a book that belonged to the ruler of the Rūm', i.e. the Byzantine emperor.⁹⁷

All three scholars used a different mixture of 'primary' and 'secondary' sources. Although none of them seems to have exploited al-Ya'qūbī's universal history, their exposition of Roman history shows remarkable parallels with al-Ya'qūbī's work. All chapters are written around a list of emperors. Additional facts are written into this list, most commonly the number of years an emperor ruled.

The most basic form is provided by al-Ṭabarī. He begins with Tiberius and ends with Heraclius, restricting himself to emperors who ruled Syria after Jesus' Ascension up to the era of Muḥammad. His list is not divided into different sections. It consists of the respective emperor's name, introduced by the phrase 'Then ruled...' followed by the number of years he ruled.⁹⁸

Al-Bīrūnī provides three more elaborate lists. The first list is devoted to pagan Roman rulers, beginning with Augustus' conquest of Ptolemaic Egypt and ending

⁸⁹ Ibid., § 9, p. 14 (AR), p. 5 (FR). On the lost work, see Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. x (Introduction).

⁹⁰ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 104, states that twenty-nine emperors ruled in Rome, two in Nicomedia and two in Rome before Constantine. Al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 733, p. 40 (AR), p. 274 (FR), fails to mention Nicomedia and states that forty-nine emperors ruled before Constantine.

⁹¹ Ibid., § 10, pp. 14–15 (AR), p. 7 (FR).

⁹² Ibid., § 717, p. 33 (AR): 'nuskha ukhrā', p. 270 (FR).

⁹³ Ibid., § 719, p. 34 (AR), pp. 270–1 (FR). The church of St Peter in Antioch was called 'Qusyān', cf. Gabrieli, *Historians* (1984), p. 8 n. 2.

⁹⁴ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 726, p. 38 (AR): 'tawārikh aṣḥāb al-sharā'ī' min ahl al-kutub', pp. 272–3 (FR).

⁹⁵ Ibid., § 733, p. 40 (AR), p. 274 (FR): 'wa-aktharuhā bi-l-Rūmiyya fa-ḥakaynā min dhālik mā ta'attā lanā waṣfuhu'.

⁹⁶ al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, p. 29 (AR), p. 33 (EN): 'aṣḥāb al-akhbār'.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 97 (AR): 'naqalahā min kitābin li-malik al-Rūm', p. 106 (EN) cf. Branco, *Storie* (2009), pp. 131–2, on these persons.

⁹⁸ al-Ṭabarī, *tārikh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, pp. 606–8; cf. Branco, *Storie* (2009), pp. 117–18.

with Carus and Carinus. The second list is dedicated to Christian Roman emperors, beginning with Diocletian and ending with Basilius the Slavonian, allegedly 'the last of their kings'. The third list registers the rulers of Constantinople. It begins with Constantine I, ends with Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and is clearly marked as being of Byzantine origin.⁹⁹

In contrast, al-Mas'ūdī's list is embedded into an elaborate tripartite prose chapter. Reflections on the Romans' origins are followed by an elaborate account of the pagan Roman emperors. Starting points are the rule of Julius Caesar and Augustus' conquest of Ptolemaic Egypt. This first subchapter ends with the reign of Constantine.¹⁰⁰ The second subchapter begins with Constantine's foundation of Constantinople as well as his conversion to Christianity and reaches up to the reign of Heraclius.¹⁰¹ The third subchapter, dedicated to Byzantine rulers after the appearance of Islam, discusses during whose reign Muḥammad was born. The list leads up to the times of al-Mas'ūdī, i.e. the joint rule of Romanos I, Constantine, and Stephanos.¹⁰²

Thus, Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars of the late ninth to the early eleventh centuries displayed a well-founded notion of Roman imperial history, especially if one considers that the respective passages never contain all the information available to the respective scholar. Al-Ṭabarī mentions further aspects of Roman history in chapters dedicated to the history of the Israelites¹⁰³ and the Diadochi.¹⁰⁴ Al-Mas'ūdī discusses aspects of Roman history in chapters dealing with the Sasanid Persians,¹⁰⁵ the Ptolemaic dynasty,¹⁰⁶ the Roman measurement of time,¹⁰⁷ as well as important religious buildings.¹⁰⁸

Notwithstanding, all lists are deficient in that their version of Roman history only begins with the Roman intrusion into the Middle East. All scholars reckoned with a pre-imperial Roman past. Al-Ṭabarī touches upon the Romans' origins in chapters dealing with the post-diluvian population of the earth, the first rulers of the world, and the descendants of Abraham.¹⁰⁹ Al-Mas'ūdī states that Rome already existed 400 years before Julius Caesar assumed power.¹¹⁰ In line with al-Ya'qūbī, al-Bīrūnī defines the Romans as the progeny of Esau.¹¹¹ But what happened between these illustrious but ill-defined origins and the conquest of the Middle East remains obscure. The scholars' chronological horizon was clearly

⁹⁹ al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, pp. 97–8 (AR), p. 106 (EN).

¹⁰⁰ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 715–33, pp. 32–40 (AR), p. 269–74 (FR).

¹⁰¹ Ibid., § 734–54, pp. 41–52 (AR), pp. 275–82 (FR).

¹⁰² Ibid., § 755–72, pp. 53–64 (AR), pp. 283–91 (FR).

¹⁰³ al-Ṭabarī, *tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, pp. 540–1.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 581–2. Al-Ṭabarī, pp. 575–8, also counts Alexander among 'al-Rūm'.

¹⁰⁵ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 605–06, pp. 298–9 (AR), pp. 226–7 (FR).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., § 699–714, pp. 24–31 (AR), pp. 263–8 (FR).

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., § 1297, pp. 341–2 (AR), p. 494 (FR), on the names of Roman months.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., § 1382, p. 386 (AR), p. 530 (FR); § 1385, p. 388 (AR), p. 531 (FR). The author ascribes pagan religious architecture to the Greeks and Romans that is not necessarily of Roman origin, such as the temple of Carthage. Christian architecture is not mentioned.

¹⁰⁹ al-Ṭabarī, *tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, pp. 201, 208, 209–10, 214, 318.

¹¹⁰ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 717, pp. 33–4 (AR), p. 270 (FR).

¹¹¹ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 1, p. 186; al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, p. 93 (AR), p. 104 (EN).

limited. They lacked knowledge on Rome's foundation, its early kings, and its republican phase, i.e. the early period of Roman history that mainly took place in the West.¹¹²

Consequently, their geographical horizon was also reduced in scope. All scholars dealt with so far mentioned the city of Rome. Ibn Khurdādhbah, al-Mas'ūdī, al-Ṭabarī, and al-Bīrūnī asserted that several emperors resided there before the imperial capital was transferred to Constantinople.¹¹³ Ibn Khurdādhbah referred to the 'people of the west' (*ahl al-Maghrib*) under Roman rule,¹¹⁴ while al-Ya'qūbī's Roman Empire extended up to, maybe even into the lands of the Franks.¹¹⁵ Al-Mas'ūdī even knew that Theodosius I was from the Iberian Peninsula, claiming that he belonged to a people called 'Ashbān', a people he defined rather vaguely as 'one of these old nations that have ruled over Syria, Egypt, the Maghreb and al-Andalus'.¹¹⁶ Notwithstanding, they all failed to bring into prominence that, before its acquisition of eastern possessions and the shift from Rome to Constantinople, Rome constituted the largest and most powerful polity in the western Euromediterranean.

Moreover, they all ignored that the empire irrevocably split up under the sons of Theodosius I. In al-Ṭabarī's list, the latter's seven-year rule is followed by the twenty-year joint rule of Arcadius and Honorius, the sixteen-year rule of Theodosius II and Valentinian, as well as the seven-year rule of Marcian. Nothing indicates that Honorius and Valentinian only ruled the western half of the empire.¹¹⁷ Al-Mas'ūdī even suppresses the phenomenon of joint rule and focuses on eastern emperors. In his account, Theodosius I is followed by Arcadius who is replaced by Theodosius II.¹¹⁸ Al-Bīrūnī does the same in his second list of Christian rulers. Only his third list of rulers who resided in Constantinople features the joint rule of Gratian and Valentinian, but fails to point to their western sphere of activity or to the empire's division.¹¹⁹ All versions ignore the establishment of Romano-Germanic successors in the West as well as Justinian's 'reconquest' of Vandal North Africa, Ostrogothic Italy, and parts of Visigothic Iberia.¹²⁰

Thus, many features are common to the accounts of Roman history written by al-Ya'qūbī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas'ūdī, and al-Bīrūnī, four scholars of Middle Eastern

¹¹² Cf. Branco, *Storie* (2009), p. 108: 'Come nella maggior parte delle cronache bizantine, la Roma monarchica e repubblicana è completamente ignorata . . .

¹¹³ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 104; al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 715–33, pp. 32–40 (AR), pp. 269–74 (FR); al-Ṭabarī, *tārikh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 581; al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, p. 93 (AR), p. 104 (EN).

¹¹⁴ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 83, 103–4.

¹¹⁵ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 1, pp. 186–7, 199.

¹¹⁶ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 747, p. 49 (AR): 'wa-hiya ba'd al-umam al-sālifa, wa-qad kānat mimman malaka al-Shām wa-Miṣr wa-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus', p. 280 (FR). On the 'Ashbān', see Chapter 5.1. and 5.2.1.

¹¹⁷ al-Ṭabarī, *tārikh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 608.

¹¹⁸ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 748, p. 49 (AR), p. 280 (FR).

¹¹⁹ al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, pp. 92–8 (AR), pp. 103–6 (EN).

¹²⁰ Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 1, p. 198; al-Ṭabarī, *tārikh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 608; al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 753, p. 51 (AR), p. 281 (FR); al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, pp. 95–8 (AR), pp. 105–6 (EN).

origin who never seem to have set foot on territory farther west than Egypt.¹²¹ More organized than Ibn Khurdādhbah's fragmentary exposition, their ordered narrative builds on a repertoire of elements that constitute what we could call an early standard narrative. Based on Middle Eastern sources of mainly Christian, but also of Jewish and Persian origin, this standard narrative is made up of several theories on the Romans' genealogical origins, neglects the period of the Roman republic, but features substantial lists of emperors of varying content and quality. Although it betrays an awareness of the Roman Empire's western origins, it focuses on Middle Eastern events, ignores the empire's territorial extensions in Spain, Gaul, Britain, etc., and rarely mentions western toponyms. By leading Roman history from its origins to the present Byzantine ruler in Constantinople, it reproduces a rather 'Byzantine' interpretation of Roman history. Its range of vision is centred on the Byzantine sphere that, this should be noted, still included North Africa up to the Muslim conquest in the late seventh century, Rome up to the papal alliance with the Carolingians in the middle of the eighth century, and Sicily up to the Muslim conquest in the ninth century.¹²²

4.2. EXPLAINING THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN WEST (10TH–15TH CENTURIES)

While the early standard narrative came into being, developed and diffused in the course of the tenth century, certain Arabic-Islamic scholars also received access to additional information about the Roman Empire's western dimension.

4.2.1. Middle Eastern Theories

Some scholars of the tenth-century Middle East were aware of a close relationship between Byzantium and certain peoples of the northwestern hemisphere. Although unable to provide historical background information, al-Iṣṭakhri (10th cent.) and Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 378/988) included the Franks and the Galicians in their description of Byzantine territory (*balad al-Rūm*), claiming that all three peoples formed a united realm (*wa-l-mamlaka wāḥid* [sic]) and practised the same religion, even though they differed in language.¹²³

The earliest firm evidence for a remarkable surplus of historical information on the Roman West is found in a universal history written by none other than al-Mas'ūdi,

¹²¹ Cf. Zaman, 'Ya'kūbī' (2002), p. 257; Bosworth, 'al-Ṭabari' (2000), p. 11; Pellat, 'al-Mas'ūdi' (1991), p. 786; Boilot, 'al-Birūnī' (1960), pp. 1273–5.

¹²² Cf. Kaegi, *Expansion* (2010); Hartmann, *Hadrian I* (2006); Metcalfe, *Muslims* (2009), pp. 7–16.

¹²³ al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 9; and Ibn Ḥawqal, *ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, p. 14, compare this constellation with the Islamic world of their times where there existed different languages but only one ruler. Miquel, *Géographie* (2001), vol. 1, p. 269, points out that this description does not correspond to the political situation of the Islamic world in the tenth century. While Miquel suggests that both authors did not wish to face reality, one should also consider if they wished to propagate the utopian vision of a unified Islamic world or to point to existing religious, economic, and cultural ties.

presented above as one of the exponents of the early standard narrative. After completing the above-mentioned treatise *Meadows of Gold* (*murūj al-dhahab*) in 336/947,¹²⁴ he finished a historiographical work entitled *Book of Instruction and Supervision* (*kitāb al-tanbih wa-l-ishrāf*) in 345/956.¹²⁵ This work structures Roman history in line with the early standard narrative, with a first chapter on the pagan rulers of Rome,¹²⁶ a second chapter on the Christianized rulers after Constantine's conversion—either a consequence of his cure from leprosy or a vision in the sky,¹²⁷ and a third chapter on the rulers after the rise of Islam.¹²⁸ The general mixture of information does not differ considerably from the earlier *murūj al-dhahab*. Again, al-Mas'ūdī combines efforts to reconstruct the Romans' genealogy with a chronological overview. His narrative begins with Augustus' predecessor and the Roman conquest of the east, and addresses imperial activities, Persian–Roman relations, and issues linked to Christian dogmatic and ecclesiastical history. The *kitāb al-tanbih* contains less anecdotes, more facts, and a list of emperors that is more complete than the one in the *murūj al-dhahab*. In this sense, however, it is not original. What is new is that it contains considerably more data on the western dimension of the Roman Empire. Among the earliest Arabic-Islamic works to mention Rome's foundation by Romulus and Remus,¹²⁹ it also conveys a 'Frankish' dimension to Roman history.

On the one hand, this 'Frankish' dimension of Roman history is expressed in linguistic terms. In the *murūj al-dhahab*, the standard term for the language spoken and written by 'al-Rūm' or Roman emperors is 'al-Rūmiyya'.¹³⁰ In the *kitāb al-tanbih*, al-Mas'ūdī introduces the linguistic term 'al-Ifranjīyya al-ūlā', that is 'archaic Frankish'. This term is used to explain the imperial title 'Caesar' (*qaysar*), which, according to al-Mas'ūdī, allegedly derived from the fact that Augustus entered the world thanks to a Caesarean section.¹³¹ On the other hand, this 'Frankish' dimension becomes manifest in passages which unambiguously define the 'lands of the Franks' (*bilād al-Ifranja*) and the Iberian Peninsula (*al-Andalus*) as territory under Roman rule. In a chapter on the provinces of the empire (*bunūd al-Rūm*), al-Mas'ūdī explains that, in ancient times, the Romans (*al-Rūm*) had taken control of the Greek provinces (*diyār al-Yūnāniyyīn*):

¹²⁴ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 30, p. 29 (AR), p. 19 (FR); cf. § 3628, pp. 282–3 (AR).

¹²⁵ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 2, 6, 123.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 122, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 172.

¹²⁷ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 137–8, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 189; cf. Branco, *Storie* (2009), pp. 138–40.

¹²⁸ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 156, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 214.

¹²⁹ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 123.

¹³⁰ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 127, p. 73 (AR), p. 54 (FR); § 712, p. 30 (AR), p. 267 (FR); § 733, p. 40 (AR), p. 274 (FR).

¹³¹ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 123. Compare the same anecdote in al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 717, pp. 33–4 (AR), p. 270 (FR), where he fails to name the language. Further references to the language of 'al-Rūm' in the work are indefinite. Al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 123, 129, refers to 'this language' (*hādhibi al-lugha*) or 'their language' (*bi-lughatihim*) without defining it. On the etymology of the title Caesar cf. Caius Plinius secundus, *Naturalis historia*, ed. Mayhoff, vol. 2, lib. VII, cap. 9, § 47; Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De verborum significatu*, ed. Lindsay, p. 50, 50L.

We have already stated in the chapter on the ancient Greeks included in the *Book on the Arts of Knowledge and What Happened in the Era of the Ancients* that the nine provinces adjoining Islamic territory (*arḍ al-Islām*) today, constituted the domains of the ancient Greeks up to the straits (*al-khalij*) and several days beyond them, while the lands and seas that stretch out beyond these confines beyond the lands of Rome (*bilād Rūmiyya*) and the territories of the Franks (*arḍ al-Ifranja*), which extend up to the surrounding Ocean and the lands of the Iberian Peninsula (*bilād al-Andalus*) and add up to around 500 parasang, constituted the domains of the Romans (*diyār al-Rūm*).¹³²

Dealing with the late antique tetrarchy, al-Mas'ūdī claims that Maximian and Maxentius ruled the empire jointly, but eventually fought about it.¹³³ In this situation, Maxentius asserted his power 'in the city of Rome and the adjacent lands of the Franks'.¹³⁴ Explaining how Constantine I divided the empire among his sons, al-Mas'ūdī states that Constantine's son Constans (*Qustūs*) received 'the city of Rome and the lands of the Franks, the Slavs and other peoples that lie behind it'.¹³⁵ In spite of these clear statements concerning the western and northern extension of late antique Roman rule, al-Mas'ūdī fails to acknowledge that the empire fell apart in Late Antiquity. In the *kitāb al-tanbih*, Theodosius I is succeeded by Arcadius and Theodosius II with no reference to developments in the Roman West,¹³⁶ not even in connection with Justinian.¹³⁷

Notwithstanding, al-Mas'ūdī knew that the empire's western half eventually became independent from the imperial centre in the east. A curious anecdote explains how this took place—not in Late Antiquity, but in his own lifetime. It forms part of a subchapter attached to his list of Roman rulers and dedicated to the provinces of the empire (*bunūd al-Rūm*). According to al-Mas'ūdī, the city of Rome had already been subject to Constantinople before the rise of Islam (*qabla zuhūr al-islām*). In this period, the city's ruler (*ṣāhib Rūmiyya*) was dependent on (*munqādan ilā*) and obedient to (*muṭī'an lahu*) the ruler of Constantinople (*ṣāhib al-Qusṭantīniyya*) and neither had the right to wear a crown nor to hold the title of king (*malik*). Around 340/951–52, he felt strong enough to usurp these insignia of power. The troops sent out to quell this rebellion by the ruling emperor, Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*Qusṭantīn b. Alyūn*) were defeated. The

¹³² al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 182: 'wa-qad dhakarnā fi akhbār al-Yūnāniyyīn min kitāb funūn al-ma'ārif wa-mā jarā fi l-duhūr al-sawālif an hādhihi al-bunūd al-tis'a allati talī arḍ al-islām fi hādihā al-waqt kānat diyār al-Yūnāniyyīn fa-ilā warā' al-khalij bi-ayyām wa-kānat diyār al-Rūm mā warā' dhālika ilā warā' bilād Rūmiyya wa-arḍ al-Ifranja barran wa-baḥran wa-dhālika naḥwa min khams mi'at farsakh ilā an tattaṣil bi-baḥr Ūqyānus al-muḥīṭ wa-bilād al-Andalus...', trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 247.

¹³³ In this context, al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 136, refers to an earlier book of his entitled 'akhbār al-zamān', where he claims to have treated these wars extensively. If one can believe that the edition by 'Ubayd Allāh al-Šawī (Beirut: dār al-Andalus, 1996) represents this work, one should note that its chapter on the Romans (pp. 99–100) is extremely short and does not deal with the period before the rule of Constantine I.

¹³⁴ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 136: 'madīnat Rūmiyya wa-mā itṭaṣala bihā min bilād al-Ifranja'.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 145: 'madīnat Rūmiyya wa-mā yaliḥā min bilād al-Ifranja wa-l-Ṣaqāliba wa-ghayrihim min al-umam', trans. Carra de Vaux, pp. 199–200.

¹³⁶ Ibid., ed. de Goeje, pp. 147–8, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 204.

¹³⁷ Ibid., ed. de Goeje, p. 152, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 209.

latter was forced to plead for peace. Before peace was concluded, the ruler of Rome married his daughter to Constantine's son, Romanos, who honoured his new wife and endowed her with precious gifts. In this context, al-Mas'ūdī claims that:

all other Frankish peoples, that is the Galicians, the people of Jáca, the Basques, the *Armanjas* [Germans?], most of the Slavs, the Bulgars and other peoples, adhere to Christianity and recognize the authority of the ruler of Rome. Rome is and has always been the capital of the realm of great Francia (*dār mamlakat al-Ifranjiyya al-'uẓmā*).¹³⁸

Seen in combination with his earlier statements, this passage proves that al-Mas'ūdī was aware of the northern and western dimensions of Roman rule. The Roman Empire as presented in the *kitāb al-tanbih* is a Roman-Frankish empire that started out in the city founded by Romulus and Remus, and eventually included great parts of Western Europe. Thanks to the conquests of Augustus and his successors, it also incorporated the Middle East. The 'Frankish' and 'Slavic' sphere were still part of the empire in the period of the tetrarchy. Constantine then moved the empire's capital to Constantinople and allotted Rome with its hinterland to one of his sons. This part of the empire was subject to Constantinople until it successfully seceded in 340/951–52.

In comparison to previous works of Arabic-Islamic scholarship, the exposition of Roman history in the *kitāb al-tanbih* thus represents a significant step ahead. Can this be explained by the fact that al-Mas'ūdī had access to western sources? By defining Rome as the historical centre of Frankish rule, al-Mas'ūdī proffered a distorted Arabic-Islamic version of the medieval Latin-Christian concept of *translatio imperii*, the idea that the polities ruled by the eastern Franks represented a continuation of the Roman Empire.¹³⁹ However, al-Mas'ūdī also characterizes the Roman ruler's behaviour vis-à-vis Constantinople as an act of usurpation and secession, thus reproducing a perspective of events that has a decidedly 'Byzantine flavour'.¹⁴⁰ Al-Mas'ūdī claims that he acquired his knowledge about the Frankish-Roman connection from a letter written by Aristotle to Alexander the Great.¹⁴¹ In this letter, Aristotle allegedly exhorted Alexander to wage war against the Persian ruler Darius:

You, O King, have seen the signs of victory when you first ventured into the Frankish sphere (*ilā l-Ifranjiyya* [sic]). When you approached them, their elders, who were at the borders of their lands, abandoned the border zones and fled to their great city Rome.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 181–2: 'wa-sā'ir ajnās al-ifranjiyya min al-Jalāliqa wa-l-Jāsaqas wa-l-Washkans wa-Armānjas wa-akthar al-Ṣaqāliba wa-l-Burghar wa-ghayrihim min al-umam fa-dā'inūn bi-l-naṣrāniyya munqādūn ilā ṣāhib Rūmiyya wa-Rūmiyya dār mamlakat al-Ifranjiyya al-'uẓmā [sic] qadiman wa-ḥadīthan', trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 246. Cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Moravcsik and Jenkins, cap. 26, fol. 115 Be, p. 108 (EL): 'μεγάλην Φραγγίαν', p. 109 (EN): 'great Francia'.

¹³⁹ This concept is based on an interpretation of the Book of Daniel (chs 2 and 7), cf. Kowalewski, *Theorie* (1923); Guldenfels, *Translatio* (1950); Goez, *Translatio* (1954); Baar, *Lehre* (1956); Schramm, *Kaiser* (1957); Thomas, 'Translatio' (1997), pp. 944–6.

¹⁴⁰ See König, 'Ausstrahlung' (2012), pp. 214–15, as well as Chapter 6.4.1.

¹⁴¹ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 182: 'wa-qad dhakara dhālika Aristāṭālis fī risālatihī ilā l-Iskandar'.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 182: 'innaka ayyuhā al-malik qad ra'ayta amārāt al-zafar 'inda masīrak awwalan ilā l-Ifranjiyya fa-inna mashāyikhahum alladhīna kānū 'alā tukhūm bilādihim lammā danwata minhum aslamū aṭrāf bilādihim wa-iltaja'ū ilā madīnatihim al-'uẓmā Rūmiyya.'

A kind of 'mirror for princes' written in the form of a correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander the Great, this letter addresses various topics. Such literature had already been translated from Greek to Arabic in the Umayyad period and was developed and enriched in the subsequent period.¹⁴³ If al-Mas'ūdī's indication of the source is correct, he must have used a text that drew on and enlarged a textual tradition made available thanks to the translation of Greek and Syriac texts into Arabic between the eighth and the tenth century. Fortunately, al-Mas'ūdī is also quite explicit as regards the origins of his other data on the Roman Empire in the *kitāb al-tanbih*. He made use of a large array of Christian scripture including the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline epistles.¹⁴⁴ He mentions texts that form part of the known corpus translated from Greek via Syriac to Arabic, including works by Marinus of Tyre, Ptolemy, and Galen as well as a table of Roman rulers written by Theon, one of the late exponents of Roman paganism at the Museion of Alexandria in the late fourth century.¹⁴⁵ In addition, he discusses several works written in Arabic by contemporary Christian scholars:

One of the adherents to Maronite Christianity known as Qays al-Mārūnī, has written a good book on history including the Creation, the prophets, the books, the cities, the peoples, the rulers of *al-Rūm* and others that ends in the caliphate of al-Muktafi. Among the Maronites I have not seen a comparable book, whereas a number of earlier or later Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites have written numerous books. The best Melkite book I have seen so far on the history of rulers, prophets, peoples and countries etc., is the book by Maḥbūb Ibn Qusṭanṭīn al-Manbajī, as well as the book by Sa'id b. al-Baṭriq, the patriarch in Alexandria on the chair of Marcus who is known as Ibn al-Farrāsh the Egyptian and whom we have seen in the Egyptian town of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, which ends with the caliphate of al-Rāḍī, as well as the book of the Egyptian monk Āthanāyūs in which he deals with the lives and activities of the rulers of *al-Rūm* and other nations from Adam to Constantine, the son of Helena. Among the Ibadites in the East, I have seen the book by the scribe Ya'qūb b. Zakariyyā' al-Kaskarī. It fell into my hands in Iraq and Syria and it encompasses various branches of sciences of this genre, excelling in this in comparison to other books of the Christians. Then there is a Jacobite book, which deals with the lives and activities of the rulers of *al-Rūm* and the ancient Greeks (*al-Yūnāniyyīn*) as well as their philosophers. It was written by Abū Zakariyyā' Dankha, the Christian. He was very apt at dialectic and analytic philosophy, and several discussions took place between me and him on the trinity and other topics in the quarter Umm Ja'far in the western part of Baghdad as well as in a church in the city of Tikrīt known as al-Khaḍra'.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Gutas, *Thought* (1998), p. 23. On the career of the pseudo-Aristotelian 'Secret of Secrets' (*sirr al-asrār*), see Forster, *Geheimnis* (2006), pp. 11–112.

¹⁴⁴ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 160–1, trans. Carra de Vaux, pp. 220–1.

¹⁴⁵ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 127, 129, 131, 136, trans. Carra de Vaux, pp. 178, 180–1, 183, 193.

¹⁴⁶ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 154–5: 'wa-li-ba'd muttabi'ihī min al-mārūniyya wa-yu'raf bi-Qays al-Mārūnī kitāb ḥasan fi l-tārīkh wa-ibtidā' al-khalīqa wa-l-anbiyā' wa-l-kutub wa-l-mudun wa-l-umam wa-mulūk al-Rūm wa-ghayrihim wa-akhbārīhim intahā bi-taṣnīfihi ilā khilāfat al-Muktafi wa-lam ara li-l-mārūniyya fi ḥadhā al-ma'nā kitāban mu'allafan ghayrihi wa-qad allafa jamā'a min al-malakiyya wa-l-naṣṭūriyya wa-l-ya'qūbiyya kutuban kathīratan mimman salafa wa-khalafa minhum wa-aḥsan kitāb ra'aytuhi li-l-malakiyya fi tārīkh al-mulūk wa-l-anbiyā' wa-l-umam wa-l-buldān wa-ghayr dhālik kitāb Maḥbūb Ibn Qusṭanṭīn al-Manbajī wa-kitāb Sa'id b.

Thus, when writing the *kitāb al-tanbīh*, al-Mas'ūdī had access to an impressive variety of texts on the history of the Roman Empire. None of these texts was of western origin. Most of them had been written by Eastern Christians of different sectarian affiliation, some of whom he even knew personally. Given this large number of sources, it is highly probable that some of these texts were of high quality and elaborated more on western affairs than the sources used by al-Mas'ūdī in his *murūj al-dhahab* or by his earlier or contemporary Arabic-Islamic peers. Moreover, we can assume that al-Mas'ūdī read the available texts more attentively and with an eye to western affairs. The accounts of Frankish, Lombard, and Galician history in his *murūj al-dhahab* attest to this scholar's interest in the history of Western Europe.¹⁴⁷

4.2.2. Muslim al-Andalus and its Roman Past

While Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars were copying and occasionally developing the early standard narrative in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries, scholars from al-Andalus began to acquire new information on the history of the Roman Empire. Living in a region that featured various vestiges of the Roman past, Andalusian Muslims could hardly ignore the Iberian Peninsula's Roman heritage.¹⁴⁸

Andalusian interest in the Roman past did not only become manifest in casual encounters with the Roman heritage, but also in the translation of relevant Latin works into Arabic. Primarily, this concerns the *Historiae adversus paganos*, written by the presbyter Orosius of Braga (d. c.417). Its Arabic version, the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, was produced in late ninth- or tenth-century al-Andalus¹⁴⁹ and consists of a reworked Arabic translation of Orosius' Latin text. It contains translated excerpts of other Latin works, including the cosmography of Julius Honorius (fl. 4th–5th cent.), the *Chronica*, the *Etymologiae*, and the *Historia Gothorum* of Isidore of Seville (d. 636) as well as one or several of his continuators.¹⁵⁰ This work's importance for the disclosure of western Roman history cannot be overesti-

al-Baṭrīq al-ma'rūf bi-lbn al-Farrāsh al-Miṣrī baṭrīk kursī Mārquṣ bi-l-Iskandariyya wa-qad shāhadnāhu bi-Fuṣṭāṭ Miṣr intahā bi-taṣnīfihi ilā khilāfat al-Rāḍī wa-kitāb Athanāyūs al-rāhib al-miṣrī rattaba fīhi mulūk al-Rūm wa-ghayrihim min al-umam wa-siyarihim wa-akhbārihim min Ādam ilā Quṣṭanṭīn b. Hīlānī wa-ra'aytu li-ahl al-mashriq min al-'ibbād kitāban li-Ya'qūb b. Zakariyyā' al-Kaskarī al-kātib wa-qad shāhadnāhu bi-arḍ al-'Irāq wa-l-Shām yashtamil 'alā anwā' min al-'ulūm fī hādhihi al-ma'ānī yazīd 'alā ghayrihi min kutub al-naṣārā wa-kitāb al-ya'qūbiyya fī dhikr mulūk al-Rūm wa-l-Yūnāniyyīn wa-falāsafatihi wa-siyarihim wa-akhbārihim allafahu Abū Zakariyyā' Dankhā al-Naṣrānī wa-kāna mutafalsifan jadīlan nazzāran jarat bayni wa-baynahu munāzarāt kathīra bi-Baghdād fī l-jānīb al-gharbi bi-qaṭ'at Umm Ja'far wa-bi-madinat Tikrit fī l-kanisa al-ma'rūfa bi-l-khaḍrā' fī l-thālūth wa-ghayrihi . . .', trans. Carra de Vaux, pp. 212–13.

¹⁴⁷ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 910–22, pp. 145–52 (AR), pp. 343–8 (FR).

¹⁴⁸ See the beginning of Chapter 2.2.1.

¹⁴⁹ Levi della Vida, 'Traduzione' (1954), pp. 260–2; Badawī, *Ūrīsyūs* (1982), pp. 10–14; Molina, 'Orosio' (1984), pp. 66–71; Penelas, 'Author' (2001), pp. 113–35; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 27–42 (introducción); Penelas, 'Traducciones' (2009), pp. 223–51; Branco, *Storie* (2009), pp. 143–58.

¹⁵⁰ *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, p. 16 (AR), pp. 47–66, 99–119 (introducción); Daiber, 'Orosius' (1986), pp. 202–49; Penelas, 'Islamization' (2006), p. 106 with n. 17.

mated. It provided Arabic-Islamic scholars with the transcription of various Latin names, the translation of various Roman concepts as well as a terminological alternative to the ethnonym 'al-Rūm'. It now offered the possibility of distinguishing between 'Romans of the past' (*al-Rūmaniyyūn*) and 'Romans of the present', i.e. Byzantines (*al-Rūm*).¹⁵¹

The *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* may have served the Andalusian historiographer Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955). However, definite evidence is hard to come by, given that his work can only be reconstructed on the basis of passages cited in later Arabic-Islamic historiography as well as a fourteenth-century Castilian chronicle entitled *Crónica del moro Rasis*.¹⁵² Its exact relation to the *Classes of Physicians and Wise Men* (*ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā wa-l-ḥukamā*) by the Andalusian scholar Ibn Juljul (d. after 284/994) is difficult to define.¹⁵³ It was certainly used—directly or indirectly—by later Arabic-Islamic historiographers, ranging from al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) in al-Andalus, al-Ḥimyarī (13th–14th cent.) in the Maghreb, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) in the Maghreb and later in Egypt, and to al-Qalqashandī (821/1418) and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) in Egypt.¹⁵⁴ However, information on the Roman Empire may also have become available to Andalusian scholars from other sources.

The works of three Andalusian scholars with a completely different approach to Roman history provide an impression of how much information was available about the Roman history of the Latin West in al-Andalus of the eleventh century. The historiographical compendium *al-muqtabis* by Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076), for example, contains two chapters dedicated to the Roman and Visigothic history of Toledo. Since not all volumes of his oeuvre are extant, it is difficult to assess if these two chapters are representative of his entire knowledge on Roman history. Notwithstanding, they provide insight into how a historiographer interested in the history of a specific locality approached the Roman past of al-Andalus. The chapter on Roman history is based on the account of ʿĪsā, the son of the aforementioned Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī, and thus reproduces data already available in the tenth century. It contains substantial information about Roman Hispania 'before the rule of the Caesars' (*qabla dawlat al-qayāsira*). It refers to the beginnings of the Roman expansion to the Iberian Peninsula, opposing 'the leaders of Rome' (*quwwād Rūma*) to 'the Africans' (*al-Afāriqa*) in an abbreviated description of the Punic Wars.¹⁵⁵ It describes the Lusitanian rebellion against Roman rule led by

¹⁵¹ The *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, fol. 52v/110, p. 162, and fol. 83v/166, pp. 241–2, also uses the term 'al-Rūm' for ancient Greeks such as the Lacedaemonians, specifying them as 'al-Rūm al-ghariqiyyin'.

¹⁵² *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 70–1 (introducción). See Chapter 5.2.2.

¹⁵³ On the basis of references to Orosius, Isidore of Seville, and possibly Jerome, Fuʿād Sayyid (Ibn Juljul, *ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sayyid, p. 3, pp. 36, 41) claims that Ibn Juljul was the first scholar to have made use of the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*. Mayte Penelas (*kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 71–2) is more reserved given the lack of definite textual parallels. But see Ibn Juljul's evaluation of the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* as recorded by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*, ed. Riḍā, p. 494.

¹⁵⁴ *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 73–81.

¹⁵⁵ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, p. 272.

Viriatus (*Barbāt*).¹⁵⁶ Finally, it mentions the abolition of the Roman republic at the hands of Julius Caesar, claiming that he was 'the first of the emperors who abolished the names of the leaders'.¹⁵⁷ All these topics are also treated in the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*.¹⁵⁸ Ibn Ḥayyān's account, however, focuses on the local history of Toledo and is much shorter. The fact that Ibn Ḥayyān uses a different orthography for Roman names suggests that he did not have direct access to the parallel accounts in the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*.¹⁵⁹

A different abbreviation of Roman history is provided by Ṣā'id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) in a treatise entitled *Classes of Nations* (*ṭabaqāt al-umam*) that classifies peoples of the world according to their intellectual achievements.¹⁶⁰ On the one hand, Ṣā'id al-Andalusī drew on information known from the developed variant of the early standard narrative. Copying al-Mas'ūdī's *kitāb al-tanbih*, he claims that the Romans (*al-Rūm*) belonged to the third of, all in all, seven primeval peoples, made up of Greeks, Romans, Franks, Slavs, and others, who lived in the north-western quadrant of the inhabited world.¹⁶¹ On the other hand, he provides a concise macro-historical overview on Roman history. Although its ethno- and geographic terminology may seem confusing to the modern reader, it not only fully acknowledges the role played by the Roman West, but also clearly distinguishes between 'ancient Romans' alias 'Latins' (*al-Laṭīniyyūn*) and 'modern Romans' alias 'Byzantines' (*al-Rūm*).

As concerns the fifth nation [to have cultivated science], these are *al-Rūm*. This is a people of great power and glorious kings; their territory neighboured the territories of the ancient Greeks (*al-Yūnāniyyūn*), but their languages differed completely: the language of the Greeks was Greek (*al-Ighriqiyya*) while that of *al-Rūm* was Latin (*al-Laṭīniyya*). To the south, the lands of *al-Rūm* bordered on the Mediterranean (*baḥr al-Rūm*), which extends longitudinally from east to west, between Tangier and Syria (*al-Shām*). To the north, they bordered on some of the polities of the northern peoples such as the *Rūs*, the Bulgarians and others, as well as on a segment of the great western sea known by the name *Uqyānus*. To the east, they bordered on the lands of the Greeks, and to the west, at the extreme end of al-Andalus, they bordered on the western sea known as *Uqyānus*. This polity consisted of three parts that differed from one another; the first was to the east, close to the Greek and Armenian territories, in the middle were the lands of France (*Ifransa*), and the last was al-Andalus, which is to the extreme west, at the end of the inhabited world. The capital of this entire kingdom was the great city of Rome in the territory of *Almānia*. It was founded by Romulus the Latin (*Rūmānush al-laṭīnī*) and was named after him. He was the first known Roman

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 272–3.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 274: 'awwal al-qayāsira alladhī qaṭa'a asma' al-quwwād'.

¹⁵⁸ *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, fol. 162–4, pp. 239–41 (Punic Wars), fol. 174–6, pp. 254–6, and fol. 203, p. 296 (Viriatus), fol. 115r/223, p. 327 (Caesar).

¹⁵⁹ Viriatus, for example, is transcribed 'Furyāt' in the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, p. 296, and 'Barbāt' in Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis* V, ed. Chalmers and Corriente, p. 273. In this case, however, orthographic changes could also be due to a scribal error, i.e. the exchange of 'bā' (ب) for 'fā' (ف) and 'bā' (ب) for 'yā' (ي).

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Martínez-Gros, 'Histoire' (1991), pp. 200–17.

¹⁶¹ Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Bu 'Alwān, p. 38; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 77.

ruler. Rome was built some 754 years before the birth of the Messiah. The realm of the Latins (*mulk al-Laṭīniyyīn*) was confined to this limited sovereign territory (*mamlaka*) for 725 years following the construction of Rome, that is, until the advent of Augustus, the first of the emperors (*mulūk al-qayāsira*). Then this Augustus seized power over the Greeks and joined their territory to his own, thus forming a single and great polity. Its length from east to west, that is, from Armenia to the end of al-Andalus, amounted to about one hundred days journeys. Rome became the capital of these two adjoined empires (*mamlakatayn*) and remained as such for 335 years, until Constantine, the son of Helena (*Qusṭanṭīn b. Hilānī*), embraced Christianity, rejected the Sabeian religion, and built a city on the bay that bears his name and is known as Constantinople, right in the middle of the lands of the Greeks. He settled in this city which, from this time on, was the capital of the rulers of *al-Rūm* until the present.¹⁶²

Thus, Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī described the rise and fall of an originally western empire defined as 'Latin', which incorporated the 'Greek' sphere in the times of Augustus, shifting its centre of power to the east in the times of Constantine I. In his interpretation, the polity of the 'Rūm' emerges from the fusion of the Greek and Latin spheres.

Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī does not mention his sources. It is clear, however, that the term 'Latins' did not yet figure in Middle Eastern texts, but was still confined to the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* and dependent Andalusian historiography when he wrote his treatise. Other facts, e.g. Augustus' eastern conquests as well as the foundation of Rome at the hands of Romulus, he already knew from al-Masʿūdī's *kitāb al-tanbīh*. Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī describes the separation of the Roman Empire into an eastern and a western half in similar terms, dating it, as does al-Masʿūdī, to the year 340/951–52. Again, a governor of Rome dares to wear royal insignia, thus provoking an armed reaction on the part of the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII

¹⁶² Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Bū ʿAlwān, pp. 96–8: 'wa-ammā al-umma al-khāmisa wa-hiya al-Rūm fa-umma ḡakhmat al-mamlaka fakhamat al-mulūk; wa-kānat bilāduhum mujaʿwira li-bilād al-Yūnāniyyīn wa-lughatuhum mukhālifa li-lughatihim: fa-lughat al-Yūnāniyyīn al-Ighriqiyya wa-lughat al-Rūm al-Laṭīniyya. wa-kāna ḥadd bilād al-Rūm min jihat al-janūb al-baḥr al-rūmī al-mumtadd ṭulan min al-maghrib ilā l-mashriq mā bayna Ṭanja ilā l-Shām, wa-ḥadduhā min jihat al-shamāl baʿd mamālik al-umam al-shamāliyya min al-Rūs wa-l-Burghar wa-ghayrihim maʿa ṭāʿifa min al-baḥr al-maghribī al-aʿẓam al-muḥīṭ al-maʿrūf bi-Uqyānus. wa-ḥadduhā min jihat al-mashriq tukhūm bilād al-Yūnāniyyīn, wa-ḥadduhā min jihat al-maghrib fi aqṣā al-Andalus al-baḥr al-maghribī al-maʿrūf bi-Uqyānus. wa-kānat ḥādhihi al-mamlaka thalāth qitāʿa tatamayyaz baʿduhā min baʿd: fa-awwaluhā min jihat al-mashriq mimma yutākhīm bilād al-Yūnāniyyīn bilād A[l]māniya. fa-min awṣaṭihā bilād Ifransa thumma ākhiruhā bilād al-Andalus fi aqṣā al-maghrib wa-ṭaraf al-maʿmūr. wa-kānat qāʿidat ḥādhihi al-mamlaka kulluhā madinat Rūmiyya al-ʿuzmā min bilād A[l]māniya, wa-kāna bānihā Rūmānush al-Laṭīnī wa-ilayhi nusibat, wa-huwa awwal mashhūr min mulūk al-Rūm. wa-kāna bunyān Rūmiyya qabla mawlid al-masīḥ bi-sabaʿa miʿat sana wa-arbaʿa wa-khamsīn sana, fa-itṭaʿala mulk al-Laṭīniyyīn fi ḥādhihi al-mamlaka al-maḥdūda baʿda bunyān Rūmiyya bi-sabaʿa miʿat sana wa-khamsan wa-ashrin sana ilā qiyām Aghustus, awwal mulūk al-qayāsira, thumma taghallaba Aghustus ḥādha ʿalā mulk al-Yūnāniyyīn wa-aḍāfa mamlakatahum ilā mamlakatihi fa-ṣārat mamlaka wāḥida rūmiyya ʿazīma al-shaʿn ṭuluḥā min al-mashriq ilā l-maghrib naḥwa miʿat marḥala mā bayna tukhūm bilād Armīniya ilā aqṣā bilād al-Andalus fi l-maghrib. wa-ṣārat Rūmiyya qāʿidat ḥāṭayn al-mamlakatayn maʿan wa-makathat ka-dhālik thulthumiʿat sana wa-khamsa wa-thalāthīn sana ilā an qāma Qusṭanṭīn b. Hilānī bi-dīn al-masīḥ wa-rafaḍa dīn al-Ṣāʿiba, wa-banā madīna ʿalā khalīj al-mansūba ilayhi al-maʿrūfa bi-l-Qusṭanṭīniyya fi waṣaṭ bilād al-Yūnāniyyīn, wa-istawṭanahā, fa-ṣārat min ḥīnaʾidhin qāʿidat mulk al-Rūm ilā waqīnā ḥādha.' Adapted from *Science in the Medieval World*, trans. Salem and Kumar, p. 31.

Porphyrogenetos, who is eventually forced to accept the facts. Nonetheless, Šā'id al-Andalusī introduced important modifications. Whereas al-Mas'ūdī credits 'the Franks' with this 'secession', Šā'id al-Andalusī credits 'the Latins'. Whereas al-Mas'ūdī does not address events that led up to the secession, Šā'id al-Andalusī explains that it constituted the last of several secessions from Constantinople, during which peoples such as the Slavs, the 'Burjān', and others became powerful enough to found independent polities. In this way, he betrays a diffuse understanding of the early medieval period of migrations. Moreover, Šā'id al-Andalusī is more explicit as concerns the secession's effects. From this time on, he claims, the kingdom of the Latins developed independently from its Greek counterpart whose western borders were pushed close to Constantinople. Eventually, the two territories were separated by hordes of Turks (*firaq al-Turk*) who reduced communications between Constantinople and Rome to sea transport.¹⁶³ In this way, Šā'id al-Andalusī synthesized material taken from Andalusian and Middle Eastern sources, proffering a clear-cut macro-historical narrative, which—because of its synoptic character—is decidedly original.

The Andalusian scholar al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) provides a third approach to Roman history in his *Book on Routes and Realms* (*kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*). Since this genre is characterized by a mixture of geo-, ethno-, and historiographical information,¹⁶⁴ al-Bakrī's account conflates numerous traditions and is much less coherent than the examples dealt with so far. Instead of merging data on the Roman Empire into a single straightforward narrative, he dispersed it all over his work.

In line with the early standard narrative, al-Bakrī supplies data about the Romans' genealogical origins in several chapters about the biblical fathers Noah and Esau.¹⁶⁵ Two chapters dealing with Persian¹⁶⁶ and Greek rulers,¹⁶⁷ respectively, provide more information. His main treatment of Roman history takes place in a chapter dedicated to the rulers of the 'Rūm'.¹⁶⁸ This chapter begins with Augustus' conquest of Ptolemaic Egypt and reproduces data known from earlier texts written by Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars. Al-Bakrī obviously has recourse to Ibn Khurdādhbah, when he claims that Rome had been the residence of twenty-nine rulers, was then abandoned for Nicomedia by the two following rulers, who were succeeded by two other rulers, who again resided in Rome.¹⁶⁹ He cites al-Mas'ūdī when he states that Rome was founded 400 years before the rule of its first king.¹⁷⁰ But as opposed to earlier Arabic-Islamic lists of Roman emperors produced in the Middle East, the narrative is not divided into chapters and, even more important, contains additional data taken from the *kitāb*

¹⁶³ Šā'id al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Bū 'Alwān, pp. 98–9; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 181–2, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 246.

¹⁶⁴ On this genre, see Miquel, *Géographie* (2001), vol. 1, pp. 85–92, 267–85.

¹⁶⁵ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 89, p. 88; § 121–2, p. 108.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., § 442, p. 285; § 451, p. 291.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., § 476, p. 303; § 479–80, p. 303; § 484, p. 306.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., § 485–515, pp. 306–19.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., § 797, p. 474; cf. Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 104.

¹⁷⁰ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 495, p. 310; cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *muriḥ*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 717, p. 34 (AR), p. 270 (FR).

Hurushiyush, a work cited repeatedly in various contexts.¹⁷¹ Al-Bakrī mentions the thousandth anniversary of the city of Rome during the reign of the emperor Philippus.¹⁷² He reproduces the story of Constantine's vision already known to the Middle Eastern scholar al-Ya'qūbī. Like al-Mas'ūdī, he also relates that Constantine may have converted under the influence of a Roman bishop who cured him of leprosy.¹⁷³ Moreover, al-Bakrī provides new details on the reign of Theodosius I who, because of his Hispanic origin, carries the sobriquet 'al-Andalusī'. He mentions the emperor's victory over Roman usurpers with the miraculous help of the wind,¹⁷⁴ as well as the conflictual relationship between Goths and Romans, the ensuing sack of Rome at the hands of Alaric, and the Visigoths' settlement in Gaul and Spain.¹⁷⁵ Following this digression, and without mentioning the emperors in between, al-Bakrī jumps to the reign of Heraclius, which is correlated with the history of early Islam.¹⁷⁶ He then leads the chapter up to his own time around the year 458/1065–66 without attaching much importance to a complete documentation of Byzantine emperors.¹⁷⁷

In the geographical sections of his book dedicated to North Africa and the city of Carthage,¹⁷⁸ al-Bakrī provides an account of the Punic Wars, which also contains a description of the Roman republic's form of government. According to al-Bakrī, the Romans (*ahl Rūma*) were not ruled by a sovereign during this period, but appointed seventy nobles (*ṣabʿ in rajulan min kabāʾ irihim*) to administer their affairs. These elders appointed twelve leaders (*qāʾidan*) every year who divided the various territories held by Rome among themselves by casting lots.¹⁷⁹ An abbreviated account of the Punic Wars leads up to the destruction of Carthage: Hannibal (*Anbil*) had defeated the Romans (*al-Rumāniyyun*) several times in different places,

¹⁷¹ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, pp. 18–23 (Introduction), e.g. § 812, p. 482; *kitab Hurushiyush*, ed. Penelas, pp. 73–4 (introduction).

¹⁷² al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 493, p. 310, cf. *kitab Hurushiyush*, ed. Penelas, fol. 122v/244, p. 361; Orosius, *Historiae*, ed./trans. Arnald Linder, lib. VII, cap. 20.1, p. 55.

¹⁷³ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 498, p. 312; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 137–8, cf. *kitab Hurushiyush*, ed. Penelas, fol. 128r/249, p. 369, and pp. 60–1 (introduction), see Leeming, *Constantinilegende* (2009), pp. 339–73, on other Arabic-Islamic sources dealing with this conversion narrative.

¹⁷⁴ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 502, p. 313, cf. Orosius, *Historiae*, ed./trans. Arnald Linder, lib. VII, cap. 17–20, pp. 67–71. The part of the *kitab Hurushiyush* on Theodosius is not extant. According to late antique Roman sources, Theodosius won the so-called 'Battle of the Fildes' against the pagan commander Eugenius thanks to the miraculous help of the wind, cf. Cameron, *Pagan* (2011), pp. 112–17.

¹⁷⁵ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 502–03, pp. 313–14. This data on the Goths also seems to be based on the *kitab Hurushiyush*. Unfortunately, the corresponding passages are lost. The only extant manuscript breaks off in the period of Valens' death in connection with the Goths and their conversion to Arian Christianity, see *kitab Hurushiyush*, ed. Penelas, fol. 192v/254, p. 377. However, given the fact that Orosius' original work reached to the sack of Rome at the hands of the Goths under Alaric, this event is already mentioned by the way in earlier passages, cf. fol. 45r/87, p. 129, fol. 52r/109, p. 159, etc. See Chapter 5.2. and 5.3.1.

¹⁷⁶ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 507, p. 315.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., § 507–16, pp. 315–19.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., § 1176–8, pp. 700–2.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., § 1177, p. 701. The *kitab Hurushiyush* deals with the republican system several times, cf. *kitab Hurushiyush*, ed. Penelas, fol. 3r/5, p. 13, in particular fol. 50v/100, p. 147 (fragmentary), fol. 81v/162, pp. 236–7, fol. 110r/207, p. 302, but – at least in these passages – not in the exact terms used by al-Bakrī.

killing their nobles (*ashrāf*) and leaders (*quwwād*). Fighting in Italy for sixteen years, he seriously threatened the city of Rome and its surroundings.¹⁸⁰ The Roman leader Scipio (*Shibyūn*) amassed troops in Sicily and crossed the sea to Africa (*Ifriqiya*), leaving Hannibal stuck around Rome (*balad Rūma*). When Scipio roamed pillaging through Africa, the population of Carthage sent messengers to Hannibal who came to the conclusion that the divine being in heaven (*ilāh al-samāʾ*) did not approve of his effort to extirpate the Roman name. On his return to Africa, Scipio defeated Hannibal in several battles. Finally, the people of Rome destroyed the city of Carthage.¹⁸¹

In the geographical section dedicated to the Iberian Peninsula, al-Bakrī addresses Constantine's provincial reorganization of the Iberian Peninsula, thereby mentioning the seven cities of the Roman province of Septimania and an Arabic term for 'Gaul' (*Ghālīsh*).¹⁸² Supplemental information about Roman Spain features in chapters dealing with Seville and Toledo. Concerning Seville, al-Bakrī does not only draw on the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*. In accordance with the latter, he credits Octavian (*Uktabyān*) with the foundation of the city,¹⁸³ but also mentions that others ascribed its origins and many of its buildings to the initiative of Julius Caesar (*Yūlyūsh qaysar*). Moreover, he cites 'experts of the Latin language' (*ahl al-ʿilm bi-l-lisān al-laṭīnī*) who claimed that the city's name derived from a legendary figure called 'Ishbāl' and meant 'the gay city' (*al-madīna al-munbaṣīṭa*).¹⁸⁴ Such experts must also have informed him about the 'Latin' pronunciation of 'Toledo' (*mā nā Ṭulayṭula bi-l-laṭīnī Ṭulāzū*), a city said to have been built by the Caesars.¹⁸⁵

Up to the twelfth century, no other extant work of Arabic-Islamic scholarship can rival al-Bakrī's description of the Roman West. It brings together information from three narrative traditions, i.e. the early standard narrative, a narrative based on the Latin sources of the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, and finally the knowledge of 'local experts' on the history of the Iberian Peninsula. However, al-Bakrī's exposition of Roman history has the 'flaw' that it forces readers to piece together a coherent narrative from numerous fragments dispersed in various parts of the work. Notwithstanding, al-Bakrī manages to convey an understanding of Rome's western origins as well as its impact on the western Mediterranean.

In conclusion, the availability of new data, in particular the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* and local sources, allowed Arabic-Islamic scholars from al-Andalus to draw an enlarged picture of Roman history which included data on Rome's republican past, the Punic Wars, as well as the empire's western extension. This new data was employed according to context, to provide the basis for local and regional history in the extant fragments of Ibn Ḥayyān's work, a macro-historical approach consid-

¹⁸⁰ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1177, p. 701, MS : 'muḏayyiqan 'alayhā wa-'alā nawāḥihā'. According to the other MS, Hannibal was only active around the city of Rome.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., § 1177–8, pp. 701–2. As to be expected, the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, fol. 73r/145–fol. 87r/173, pp. 211–52, is much more elaborate on the topic.

¹⁸² al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1488, p. 891; cf. Vallvé Bermejo, *División* (1986), pp. 210–23.

¹⁸³ *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, fol. 116r/225, p. 330.

¹⁸⁴ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1513, pp. 902–3.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., § 1521, p. 907.

ering the major developments in the Mediterranean basin of Antiquity in the treatise of Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, or a chronologically and geographically enlarged version of the early standard narrative in al-Bakrī's version. All three works prove that Arabic-Islamic scholars from eleventh-century al-Andalus had clearly understood essential trends of Roman history from the beginnings up to the period of Late Antiquity.

4.2.3. Compilations of the 13th and 14th Centuries

In the Muslim West of the following centuries, this knowledge was not lost, but not particularly cherished either.

Some scholars continued to display a fair understanding of the Iberian Peninsula's Roman history. The anonymous author of the geo- and historiographical treatise *dhikr bilād al-Andalus* (14th–15th cent.), for example, correctly claims that 'the realm of Rome and al-Andalus were one' at the time of the destruction of the second temple in Jerusalem.¹⁸⁶ Following this statement, the treatise provides various details on the rule of a people called 'al-Ashbān' that are difficult to place within a historical framework. However, the ensuing passages feature an elaborate exposition of the conflict between Hannibal (*Antil*) and Scipio (*Shibyūn*) in the second Punic War as well as a largely correct description of the end of Roman rule and the Visigothic takeover on the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁸⁷

In other cases, however, the Roman heritage fell into neglect. Many Andalusian and North African historiographers, including al-Marrākushī (d. after 621/1224), Ibn 'Idhārī (d. after 712/1312–13), and Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375) chose to focus on the Muslim history of the western Mediterranean. Even if they dedicated some space to the period preceding the Muslim expansion such as Ibn 'Idhārī, they only proffered slimmed down versions of Roman history. Ibn 'Idhārī's exposition, for example, lacks new data and contains contradictory, even incomprehensible elements. Ibn 'Idhārī contextualizes the Roman history of the Iberian Peninsula in the following manner:

After this an African people (*qawm min al-Afāriqa*) whom the master of Ifrīqiya had driven away because of a famine, entered it [the Iberian Peninsula]. When they settled al-Andalus, they found that it was full of rivers and ruled it for about 150 years. The number of their kings was eleven, and the capital of their realm was Italica (*Tāliqa*). Then the Spaniards (*al-Ishbāniyya*) defeated them and ousted them from power. Thus rule went over to them, and Seville, which they built and settled, was named after them, while Italica was destroyed. Then the foreigners of Rome (*'ajam Rūma*) attacked and became kings until the *Bashtarlaqāt* came upon the Romans (*al-Rūmāniyyīn*). God had sent the Messiah—peace be upon him—and he sent the apostles out to all countries. Christianity appeared and was victorious. The *Bashtarlaqāt* had entered from the direction of Rome. They used to rule the Frankish region and sent their

¹⁸⁶ *dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed./trans. Molina, p. 89: 'mulk Rūma wa-l-Andalus kāna fī dhālik al-waqt wāḥidan . . . '.

¹⁸⁷ *dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed./trans. Molina, pp. 89–91.

governors to her [the Iberian Peninsula], and their capital was Mérida. The number of their kings amounted to seventeen.¹⁸⁸

Because it mentions the succession of several kings ruling from Mérida, Ibn 'Idhārī's reference to the 'Bashtarlaqāt' cannot apply to the Vandals' short-term sojourn on the Iberian Peninsula. Neither can he have meant the Visigoths. Following a short digression on a legendary founding figure called 'Ishbāl', Ibn 'Idhārī continues:

Then the Goths (*al-Qūt*) entered al-Andalus, and God deprived Rome of its rule. The number of kings of the Goths amounted to sixteen, the last one being Roderic (*Ludhriq*), who was defeated by the Muslims.¹⁸⁹

Although he occasionally employed the correct terminology provided by earlier Andalusian scholars, e.g. the ethnonyms 'Romans' (*al-Rūmāniyyūn*) and 'Goths' (*al-Qūt*), Ibn 'Idhārī did not exhibit the same understanding of Roman history as his earlier Andalusian peers treated above. He was not able to identify Italica as a Roman foundation and was not too clear about who preceded and who replaced the Romans as rulers of the Iberian Peninsula.

Similar problems are apparent in the geographic encyclopaedia of al-Ḥimyarī (13th–14th cent.). According to the lemma on al-Andalus, the Iberian Peninsula was first ruled by 'Spaniards' (*al-Ashbān*). During the lifetime of Jesus, a people hailing from Rome called 'al-Shabūnqāt' took over. This people was replaced by the Goths (*al-Qūt*) who deprived the master of Rome (*ṣāhib Rūma*) of rule over the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁹⁰

In comparison to the writings of their Andalusian peers of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the works of late medieval scholars from the Muslim West suggest that the history of the Roman West was less relevant to them, had ceased to be a subject of active research, and was compiled by drawing on various distorted historiographical traditions that often failed to concur.

In the Middle East, reception of the body of knowledge acquired by Andalusian historiographers of the tenth and eleventh centuries was not any better initially. Middle Eastern scholars do not seem to have become aware of the wealth of information in the works of the aforementioned Andalusian scholars until the late twelfth or the early thirteenth century. As late as the fourteenth century, scholars

¹⁸⁸ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 2, pp. 1–2: 'thumma dakhalaḥa ba'da dhālik qawm min al-Afāriqa, ajlāhum ṣāhib Ifriqiya min al-jū', fa-lammā nazalū al-Andalus, wajaḍū anḥārīhā qad jarrat fa-malakūhā naḥwa mi'a wa-khamsīn sana. wa-'adad mulūkihim aḥad 'ashar malikan. wa-dār mulkihim madīnat Ṭāliqa. thumma ghalabat 'alayhim al-Ishbāniyya, ḥattā akhrajūhum 'an al-mulk. wa-kānu al-mulk ilayhim, wa-bihim summiyat Ishbīliya, fa-banūhā wa-sakanūhā, wa-kharibat Ṭāliqa. wa-hajama 'ajam Rūma, fa-kānu mulūkan, ḥattā dakhala al-Bashtarlaqāt 'alā l-Rūmāniyyīn, wa-qad ba'atha Allāh al-masiḥ—'alayhi al-salām—fa-ba'atha al-ḥawāriyyīn ilā l-buldān kullihā, wa-ḥazara dīn al-naṣrāniyya wa-ghalaba. thumma kāna dukhūl al-Bashtarlaqāt min Rūma. wa-kānu yamlikūna Ifranja wa-yab'athūna 'ummālahum ilayhā wa-dār mulkihim Mārīda, fa-kānat 'iddat mulūkihim saba'a wa-'ashrīn malikan'.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 2: 'thumma dakhala al-Qūt al-Andalus, wa-qata'a Allāh mulk Rūma minhā. wa-'iddat mulūk al-Qūṭiyyīn sittat 'ashar malikan, akhrihum Ludhriq alladhī dakhala 'alayhi al-muslimūn'.

¹⁹⁰ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'al-Andalus', p. 34.

chose to reproduce the early standard narrative in its 'classical' form. Al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), for example, copied his exposition of Roman history from al-Mas'ūdī's *murūj al-dhahab*, only adding an extensive passage on the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos.¹⁹¹

Other Middle Eastern scholars understood that the early standard narrative only partially covered Roman history. The universal history of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) represents an interesting case, in that it reproduces a variant of the early standard narrative, only to criticize its deficiencies and to provide a more developed alternative. In the early chapters of his chronicle, Ibn al-Athīr follows the model provided by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). He discusses the Romans' (*al-Rūm*) genealogical origins in chapters dealing with the early post-diluvian peoples, Abraham, and other biblical figures.¹⁹² Other aspects of early Graeco-Roman history are addressed in chapters dedicated to the history of the Israelites,¹⁹³ the Persians,¹⁹⁴ as well as Alexander and the Diadochi.¹⁹⁵ Further information is supplied in a chapter on Jesus and the apostles.¹⁹⁶ This gives way to a chapter on the Roman emperors who ruled Syria between the Messiah's Ascension and the lifetime of Muḥammad, i.e. the period spanned by the reigns of Tiberius and Heraclius. This chapter faithfully reproduces al-Ṭabarī, mentioning him as the main source.¹⁹⁷ At the end of the chapter, Ibn al-Athīr asserts that other historiographers produced lists of emperors that differed considerably from the one presented by al-Ṭabarī¹⁹⁸ and proceeds with a better informed variant of Roman history.

Comparison with the elaborated version of the early standard narrative in al-Mas'ūdī's *kitāb al-tanbīh* shows that the latter served as Ibn al-Athīr's primary source. Both scholars divide the rulers of 'al-Rūm' into three classes (*ṭabaqāt*). The first category comprises the pagan rulers up to Constantine; the second category lists the Christianized rulers up to Heraclius; the third category deals with the emperors after the rise of Islam up to the time of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, the emperor who ruled during al-Mas'ūdī's lifetime. As regards content, the parallels between both accounts are obvious. Al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn al-Athīr mention the foundation of Rome at the hands of Romulus and Remus long before the first Roman ruler took power, but fail to provide data on the Roman republic.¹⁹⁹ They use the same wording, first in connection with the late antique usurper Maxentius who asserted his power 'in the city of Rome and the adjacent lands of the Franks',²⁰⁰ then in connection with Constantine I who divided the empire

¹⁹¹ al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. al-Ṭawīl and Ḥāshim, vol. 15, pp. 204–7, 213–20.

¹⁹² Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 1, pp. 55, 58, 89 (Leiden), pp. 78, 81, 126 (Beirut).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 190 (Leiden), p. 271 (Beirut).

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 181, 196–7, 208–9 (Leiden), pp. 258, 279–80, 295–6 (Beirut).

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 198–200, 206–7 (Leiden), pp. 280, 282–4, 291–2 (Beirut).

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 222, 228 (Leiden), pp. 312, 320–1 (Beirut).

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 228–30 (Leiden), pp. 322–3 (Beirut); cf. al-Ṭabarī, *tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, pp. 606–8.

¹⁹⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 1, p. 230 (Leiden), p. 323 (Beirut).

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 230 (Leiden), p. 324 (Beirut); al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 123.

²⁰⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 1, p. 234 (Leiden), p. 329 (Beirut): 'Rūmiyya wa-mā itṭaṣala bihā min arḍ al-Faranj'; the same wording in al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 136.

and allotted the city of Rome with its 'Frankish' and 'Slavic' hinterland to one of his sons.²⁰¹ Both ignore the empire's division under the Theodosian dynasty, thus relating a history of unbroken continuity from the founders of Rome to the emperors of Byzantium.²⁰² Both lists of Roman emperors end with the 'secession' of the city of Rome from Constantinople in 340/951–52, mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī and, in his wake, by Ṣā'id al-Andalusī.²⁰³ As opposed to Ṣā'id al-Andalusī and in line with al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn al-Athīr does not credit the 'Latins', but the 'Franks' with this secession.²⁰⁴

Ibn al-Athīr did not only copy al-Mas'ūdī's developed version of the early standard narrative, enlarging it at the end to make sense of recent historical events. In his chapter on the Muslim conquest of al-Andalus, Ibn al-Athīr also mentions the Visigoths' sack of Rome, their settlement in Roman Gaul (*Ghālīsh*), and their replacement of Roman rule on the Iberian Peninsula, data not available to al-Mas'ūdī.²⁰⁵ This data, Ibn al-Athīr explains, became available to him when he turned to sources of Andalusian origin after noticing that al-Ṭabarī proved insufficient with regards to the history of the Iberian Peninsula.²⁰⁶ Ibn al-Athīr failed to correlate the data contained in the chapters on Roman emperors and the history of al-Andalus respectively. He seems to have written his chapter on the rulers of the 'Rūm' (vol. 1), and then ventured to do research on the chapter about the Muslim conquest of al-Andalus (vol. 4). Although he came to understand that Andalusian sources were able to provide him with further facts on the Romans, he refrained from rewriting his earlier chapter on 'al-Rūm'.

Dealing with the Romans both in the general Introduction (*al-muqaddima*) as well as in the second volume of his universal history, the *kitāb al-'ibar*, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) provides the most elaborate and accurate account of Roman history in medieval Arabic-Islamic historiography. The *muqaddima* addresses the Roman subjection of the 'Greeks' (*al-Yūnāniyyūn*),²⁰⁷ the Israelites,²⁰⁸ and the Copts of Egypt²⁰⁹ as well as the Roman context of early Christianity.²¹⁰ It also defines the language of the Romans as Latin (*al-Laṭīnī*).²¹¹ However, when writing the *muqaddima*, Ibn Khaldūn does not yet seem to have acquired the vast knowledge that

²⁰¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 1, p. 236 (Leiden), p. 331 (Beirut): 'Rūmiyya wa-mā yaliḥā min bilād al-Faranj wa-l-Ṣaqāliba'; the same wording in al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 145.

²⁰² In both versions, Theodosius I is followed by Arcadius who, in turn, is succeeded by Theodosius II, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 1, p. 237 (Leiden), pp. 331–2 (Beirut); al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 147–8.

²⁰³ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 181–2, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 246; Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Bū 'Alwān, pp. 98–9.

²⁰⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 1, pp. 242–3 (Leiden), pp. 338–9 (Beirut). As opposed to al-Mas'ūdī who wrote in the middle of the tenth century, Ibn al-Athīr's choice of ethnic terminology was clearly influenced by the crusades. See Chapter 6.4.2.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 441–4 (Leiden), pp. 558–61 (Beirut).

²⁰⁶ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 439–40 (Leiden), p. 556 (Beirut).

²⁰⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 1, p. 183.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 207, 289, 442–3.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 462.

²¹⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 289–92, 442–3.

²¹¹ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 730–1.

figures in the second, fourth, and fifth volumes of his universal history.²¹² He generally employs the ethnonym 'al-Rūm', instead of using the alternative term 'al-Rūmāniyyūn', introduced to Arabic-Islamic historiography by the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*. Moreover, he still believes that the 'Franks' (*al-Ifranja*) ruled North Africa in Antiquity.²¹³

In the *kitāb al-ibar*, Ibn Khaldūn deals with the Romans in several passages preceding his actual exposition of Roman history. In a chapter on the nations of the world and their genealogy, he traces the 'Rūm' back to a certain 'Kaytam', allegedly one of the four sons of 'Yūnān', i.e. one of the seven sons ascribed to Noah's son Yafeth by the Torah.²¹⁴ The ensuing chapters on the history of Jerusalem between its first destruction at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar and its second destruction at the hands of the emperor Titus,²¹⁵ the history of the Hasmoneans and their successors,²¹⁶ the life of Jesus²¹⁷ as well as Persian history,²¹⁸ supply details on the Roman entanglement in the Middle East. Following these context-dependent references to imperial Rome, Ibn Khaldūn delves into the beginnings of Roman history in a chapter dealing with the early Greeks, the Macedonian Empire, and the Diadochi.²¹⁹ This leads up to the chapters that are entirely dedicated to Roman history.

Here his approach is very methodical, in that he systematically juxtaposes different sources. These are the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*; the medieval Jewish chronicle *Josippon*, originally written around 953 in southern Italy but wrongly identified with the work of the Jewish-Roman historian Flavius Josephus (*Yūsuf b. Kriyūn*) by Ibn Khaldūn; and finally the Coptic chronicler Ibn al-'Amid (d. 672/1273).²²⁰ Additional sources provide further material. The chapter entitled 'The history of the Latins (*al-Laṭīniyyīn*) who are the Kaytam and known as al-Rūm' features a genealogy taken from the Arabic-Islamic scholar al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1065), cites the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* on the Romans' alleged Trojan origin and the foundation of Rome at the hands of Romulus and Remus, and provides an alternative theory of origin based on the *Josippon*. The latter traces Romulus' genealogy back to a certain Ṣafwā, a grandchild of Esau. Sent to North Africa by the biblical Joseph after a confrontation between the latter and Esau's family (*banū 'Īsū*), Ṣafwā is said to have taken power over a people on the other side of the sea called 'al-Kaytam' and eventually ruled over the lands of Spain (*bilād Isbānya*). Ten kings succeeded him. His progeny produced Romulus, the founder of Rome.²²¹

Reading and understanding Ibn Khaldūn's exposition of Roman history is extremely tiring because he constantly juxtaposes different and conflicting sources to the detriment of a coherent narrative. This method is characteristic of all ensuing chapters on Roman history. In consequence, Ibn Khaldūn pro-

²¹² According to Issawi, 'Ibn Khaldun' (1998), pp. 51–77, esp. 61–2, the *muqaddima* was written at a time when Ibn Khaldūn had no library at hand, so that data about the Romans in the *muqaddima* often contradicts the information given in the second book of the *kitāb al-ibar*.

²¹³ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 1, p. 463.

²¹⁴ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 3–4, 11–12, 251. ²¹⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 134–44.

²¹⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 144–52, 152–67. ²¹⁷ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 167–80.

²¹⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 197–8, 205–6. ²¹⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 218–32.

²²⁰ On the use of these sources, see Issawi, 'Ibn Khaldun' (1998), pp. 62–6.

²²¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 2, pp. 232–3. See Chapter 3.3.3.

duced probably one of the richest but also the most incoherent and contradictory accounts of Roman history in medieval Arabic-Islamic historiography. Since it is not possible to deal with every detail of, all in all, forty-eight densely printed pages in the edition of Zakkār and Shaḥāda, the following summary will focus on those parts of the account that deal with the Roman West.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Romans, 'one of the most famous peoples of the world',²²² ruled great parts of the inhabited world, including the west. He furnishes two definitions of the republican system. According to Orosius, the early monarchy gave way to the rule of seventy elected consuls (*qanshalush*). This political system lasted around 700 years until Julius Caesar (*qayṣar Yūlish b. Ghāyush*) abolished it.²²³ According to the *Josippon*, Romulus was succeeded by five kings, the last of whom took advantage of a woman [i.e. Lucretia], who then committed suicide. In consequence, the people of Rome decided to abolish the rule of kings and to be ruled by 320 elders (*shuyūkh*).²²⁴ The ensuing subchapter is dedicated to the Punic Wars (*fitnat al-Kaytam mā'a ahl al-Ifriqiya*).²²⁵

The traditional list of emperors, here in an extended version comprising the conflicting statements of various sources, begins with a summary of the Roman expansion. It refers to the wars of Julius Caesar (*Būlus b. Ghāyush*) against the Franks (*al-Ifrañj*) and the Galicians (*al-Jalāliqa*) as well as his conquests of Britain (*Bartānya*) and Lisbon (*Ishbūna*).²²⁶ The western extension of the empire is again addressed in connection with the pagan emperors. According to Orosius, a rebellion among the people of Britain (*ahl Bartānya*) in the times of Nero (*Nirūn*) was quelled during the succeeding reign of Vespasian (*Yashbashyān*).²²⁷ Domitian (*Dūstyālūs, Dūmaryān*) died in wars against the Franks (*al-Ifrañj*).²²⁸ Trajan (*Tiryānus*) is said to have been from Málaga (*Māliqa*).²²⁹ Wars against the Franks (*al-Ifrañj*) caused the ascent to power of Maximinus Thrax (*Makhshimyān b. Lūjiyya*).²³⁰ In the passages dedicated to tetrarchian rule, Ibn Khaldūn mentions that Constantius Chlorus (*Qustantīsh*) ruled over the Far West (*aqṣā al-maghrib*).²³¹ He refers to rebellions in the lands of the Franks (*bilād al-Ifrañja*), the Iberian Peninsula (*al-Andalus*), North Africa (*Ifriqiya*), and Egypt (*Miṣr*) during the reign of Diocletian (*Dyūqāryān*) who appointed Maximian Hercules (*Makhshimyān Harkūrīsh*) to re-establish law and order in the lands of the Franks. As soon as his companions killed an Andalusian rebel, who had managed to rule Britain (*Bartānya*) for seven years, Britain also returned to Diocletian's domains. Constantius, in turn, succeeded in defeating the Germans (*al-Limāniyyīn*) near the lands of the Franks after years of arduous warfare.²³² Maximian then set out to fight the Franks in Gaul (*ahl Ghālīsh min al-Ifrañja*). When Diocletian and Maximian abdicated, they left the realm to Maximus Galerius (*Makhshimus Ghalāryus*) and Constantius Chlorus (*Qustantīsh b. Walitānūsh*) who divided the realm among them, Constantius receiving the western part including Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, and the lands of the Franks. When he died in Britain, his son Constantine (*Qustantīn*) took over.²³³

²²² Ibid., vol. 2, p. 232: 'min ashhar umam al-'ālam', pp. 233, 235.

²²³ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 233.

²²⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 236.

²²⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 242.

²³² Ibid., vol. 2, p. 249.

²²⁴ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 233–4.

²²⁷ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 240.

²³⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 245.

²³³ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 250.

²²⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 234–5.

²²⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 241.

²³¹ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 248.

Ibn Khaldūn highlights that the Christian emperors (*al-qayāsira al-mutanaṣṣara min al-Laṭīniyyīn*) ruled a territory stretching from al-Andalus to the East²³⁴ and credits several Christian emperors with activities in the west. Often in Rome, Constantine appointed his third son Constans (*Qasṭūs*, *Qisṭūs*) to rule from this city,²³⁵ while Valentinian I (*Balansyān b. Qusanṭush*) waged several wars against the Goths (*al-Qūṭ*) and the Franks (*al-Ifranj*).²³⁶ Ibn Khaldūn is one of the few Arabic-Islamic historiographers who seems to have understood that the late antique empire was ruled jointly by several emperors, eventually falling apart into an eastern and a western half. Citing Ibn al-ʿAmīd, he asserts that Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, and Theodosius ruled jointly for a certain period.²³⁷ Theodosius I (*Thāwdāsyūs*, *Tūdūshish*) then divided the realm among his sons. Arcadius (*Arqādyūs*, *Arkādīsh*) ruling from Constantinople, Honorius (*Barbāryūs*, *Unūrish*) ruling from Rome²³⁸ thus split up the realm of the Latins (*fa-qṭasamā mulk al-Laṭīniyyīn*).²³⁹ The Visigoths' sack of Rome and their ensuing settlement on the Iberian Peninsula (*al-Andalus*) is also allotted to the ruling period of Honorius.²⁴⁰ Ibn Khaldūn must have understood that the empire irrevocably fell apart in this period. The ensuing list of emperors focuses on Constantinople and leads up to the rule of Heraclius. Generally neglecting what happened in the West, it ignores Justinian's efforts at restoring the Roman Empire. It is conspicuous that Ibn Khaldūn stops citing the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* in this part of the narrative, basing what he says solely on Eastern Christian sources, in particular the Coptic chroniclers Saʿīd b. Baṭṭīq and Ibn al-ʿAmīd.²⁴¹

The following chapter deals with emperors ruling from Constantinople after the rise of Islam.²⁴² Only when he reaches the Battle of Manzikert (1071), Ibn Khaldūn turns back to events in the west. The obvious reason for this is that Ibn Khaldūn wanted to illustrate why the Franks (*al-Ifranj*) managed to conquer Constantinople in 1204: when the Romans (*al-Rūm*) adopted Christianity, they subjected several neighbouring peoples, the most important being the Franks. When Rome's power weakened (*daʿafa amr al-Rūm*), the Franks rose to such power that they eventually set out for Jerusalem and conquered Constantinople.²⁴³ In the following chapter on the Goths, as well as in a later volume containing a chapter on the Muslim invasion of al-Andalus, Ibn Khaldūn states explicitly that Franks and Goths both lived within the orbit of the Roman Empire and created independent kingdoms as soon as the latter disintegrated.²⁴⁴ One volume later, he describes the

²³⁴ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 250.

²³⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 251–3.

²³⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 254.

²³⁷ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 254. However, see his misinterpretation of Theodosius' rule as described at the end of Chapter 3.4.2.

²³⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, pp. 255–6.

²³⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 256. This phrase is included in a paragraph that cites the Coptic historiographer Ibn al-ʿAmīd at the beginning. Since Ibn Khaldūn claims (pp. 256–7) that Ibn al-ʿAmīd does not mention Honorius (*lam yadhkur Ibn al-ʿAmīd Unūrish*), this information is probably based on the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 256–7.

²⁴¹ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 257–65.

²⁴² Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 266–77.

²⁴³ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 277–80.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 281: 'fashala amruhum bi-Rūma'; vol. 4, p. 149, on the beginnings of Visigothic rule on the Iberian Peninsula.

rise of Frankish power in the same vein as before, claiming that Franks and Goths seceded when the Roman Empire broke down.²⁴⁵

The works of both Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn show that substantial information on the Roman West was available to high and late medieval Arabic-Islamic scholars active in the Middle East. Ibn al-Athīr provides the case of a scholar who spent his entire life in various parts of the Middle East, but gained access to a 'western' perspective of Roman history thanks to the conscientious use of the most qualitative Arabic-Islamic secondary literature of Middle Eastern origin and access to further material of Andalusian provenance. Ibn Khaldūn, who grew up in the Maghreb and spent some time on the Iberian Peninsula, must have acquired much of his knowledge in the West, taking it to the east when he later settled in Egypt.²⁴⁶

4.3. FROM BYZANTIUM TO ROME

Over the centuries, Arabic-Islamic scholars accumulated knowledge about the Roman Empire in general, and its western dimension in particular. The Roman Empire already played an important role for the pre-Islamic Arab world that, to a limited degree, participated in interaction between the Western European and the Middle Eastern parts of the empire up to the fourth century. These encounters seem to have sunk into oblivion when the empire began to drift apart from the early fifth century onwards. In consequence, western affairs ceased to be of direct relevance to Arab groups. As far as it can be reconstructed, the collective memory of pre-Islamic Arabs of the sixth century and the Muslims of the early seventh century seems to have been self-centred and unsystematic. To them, the Roman Empire was a Middle Eastern power that impinged on their affairs. The Roman West does not seem to have been of any importance to them.

When Arabic-Islamic historiography developed in the wake of the Arabic-Islamic expansion, the history of the Roman Empire became a subject of systematic investigation. Between the ninth and the tenth century, Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars acquired enough historiographical data to produce substantial accounts of Roman history. Often moving in circles touched by the so-called Graeco-Arabic translation movement, they drew on material that became available thanks to contact with Middle Eastern Christians of various denominations as well as the Byzantine Empire. These earliest narratives generally elaborate on lists of Roman emperors, but ignore Rome's republican past. Their geographic perspective is decidedly Middle Eastern in that Roman history has its beginning in the city of Rome as the original residence of Roman rulers and the venue of early Christian missionary efforts, but always leads up to the contemporary Byzantine emperor. Apart from Rome and Sicily, the western Mediterranean only features in connection with Byzantine rule in pre-Islamic North Africa. This suggests that most

²⁴⁵ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 209: 'fa-lammā inqaradāt dawlat ūlā'ika istaqalla hā'ulā' al-Ifranj bi-mulkihim wa-faraqū mithla dawlat al-Qūt bi-l-Andalus'.

²⁴⁶ Talbi, 'Ibn Khaldūn' (1971), p. 825.

Middle Eastern authors of this period were only vaguely aware of the Roman Empire's western origins, history, and extension. Only Middle Eastern scholars with a very good knowledge of contemporary Middle Eastern Christian historiography were able to acquire more knowledge on this topic.

Arabic-Islamic scholars from al-Andalus contributed to the diffusion of fresh data on the Roman West. Writing in a region with a long Roman past, they acquired access to information derived from Latin sources, in particular the reworked Arabic version of Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*. Enabled to deal with Roman history from a new angle, they provided local, regional, and macro-historical expositions of Roman history. These feature data on the foundation of Rome, the political system of the Roman republic, the Punic Wars, the history of imperial Rome as well as the substitution of Roman for Visigothic rule on the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, they clearly acknowledged Rome's impact on the western Mediterranean. Equally important is that these Andalusian scholars used a new terminology, i.e. the new ethnonyms 'al-Rūmāniyyūn' and 'al-Laṭīniyyūn' as well as a word for the Latin language, i.e. 'al-Laṭīnī'.²⁴⁷

Arabic-Islamic scholars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries made use of the hitherto acquired knowledge in different ways. In the Muslim West, many historiographers seem to have become indifferent to Roman history and chose to focus on the Muslim history of North Africa and al-Andalus.²⁴⁸ If they dealt with Roman history at all, their distorted expositions suggest that they lacked data, used sources of minor quality, and were unable to cope with conflicting historiographical traditions. In the Middle East, some scholars merely reproduced the early standard narrative while others enriched the extended standard narrative with material from al-Andalus. Ibn Khaldūn, born and educated in the Muslim West but residing in Mamluk Egypt in a later phase of his life, constitutes a notable case, in that he produced the most comprehensive exposition of Roman history found in medieval Arabic-Islamic historiography.

²⁴⁷ See Chapter 3.2.2.

²⁴⁸ See Chapter 5.3.2. and 5.3.3.

The Visigoths

History of a Conquered People

Scholars working on the origins of the Christian polities in the North of the Iberian Peninsula¹ and the ideological background of the so-called Reconquista² have devoted considerable attention to the reception of Visigothic history. With a clear focus on its reception in Christian Europe, Jocelyn Nigel Hillgarth even provided a synthesis that covers the period between 711 and the seventeenth century.³

Arabic-Islamic material on the Visigoths has been used repeatedly to reconstruct the interdependence of various Andalusian sources.⁴ However, most studies dealing with this material focus on Arabic-Islamic depictions of the last Visigothic king Roderic⁵ and other figures involved in the Muslim invasion such as the legendary count Julian.⁶ Research on the so-called ‘muwalladūn’ or ‘muladies’, i.e. Iberian converts to Islam and their descendants, has addressed their often difficult status within the Arabic-Islamic society of al-Andalus,⁷ and, in the cases of Ibn Ḥafṣūn (9th cent.)⁸ and Ibn al-Qūṭīyya (d. 367/977),⁹ has taken their perception of Visigothic history into account. Notwithstanding, a general overview on the Arabic-Islamic reception of Visigothic history is still lacking.¹⁰

¹ Bonnaz, ‘Aspects’ (1976), pp. 81–99; García Moreno, ‘Visigotismo’ (1981), pp. 315–47; Zimmermann, ‘Conscience’ (1992), pp. 51–67; Bronisch, ‘Hofkirchen’ (1999), pp. 254–89; Isla Frez, ‘Pervivencia’ (2011), pp. 75–86.

² Linehan, ‘Religion’ (1982), pp. 161–99; Martin, ‘Chute’ (1984), pp. 207–33; Bronisch, *Reconquista* (1998), pp. 126–9, 235–362.

³ Hillgarth, *Visigoths* (2009).

⁴ E.g. *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés, pp. xxx, xxxiv, lviii–lx, lxxiii–lxix, as well as many articles cited below in connection with various Arabic-Islamic texts.

⁵ Menéndez Pidal, *Leyendas* (1906); Krappe, ‘Légende’ (1924), pp. 305–11; Menéndez Pidal, *Rodrigo* (1925); Hernández Juberías, *Peninsula* (1996), pp. 194–207; Drayson, ‘Ways’ (2006), pp. 115–28; Drayson, *King* (2007).

⁶ Dozy, ‘Comte’ (1881), pp. 57–9; Codera, ‘Conde’ (1903), pp. 45–94; Machado, ‘Nombres’ (1945), pp. 106–16; Hernández Juberías, *Peninsula* (1996), pp. 165–93; Filios, ‘Legends’ (2009), pp. 375–90; Gozalbes Cravioto, ‘Comes’ (2011), pp. 3–34; Martínez Carrasco, ‘Patricio’ (2014). Also see Claude, ‘Untersuchungen’ (1988), pp. 332–4; Dhanūn Ṭāha, *Conquest* (1989), pp. 84–109; Collins, *Conquest* (1989), pp. 31–6, 52–65; Chalmeta, *Invasión* (2003), pp. 112–57.

⁷ E.g. Fierro, ‘Preguntas’ (1995), pp. 221–57; Fierro, ‘Genealogies’ (2008), pp. 34–7.

⁸ Wasserstein, ‘Tradition’ (2002), pp. 269–97; Fierro, ‘Genealogies’ (2008), p. 41.

⁹ E.g. Fierro, ‘Obra’ (1989), pp. 485–512; Christys, *Christians* (2002), pp. 158–83; König, ‘Rückbindung’ (2011), pp. 127–37. Note that Chalmeta, ‘Muwallad’ (1993), p. 807, refuses to regard Ibn al-Qūṭīyya as a *muwallad*.

¹⁰ E.g. Machado, ‘Historia’ (1944), pp. 139–53; König, ‘Rückbindung’ (2011).

Muslim elites directly superseded the Visigothic rulers of Toledo, thus being forced—in one way or another—to position themselves vis-à-vis their predecessors. With this in mind, the present chapter aims at understanding when, how, under what circumstances, and for which reasons Arabic-Islamic scholars of the medieval period acquired or failed to acquire knowledge about Visigothic history.

5.1. RODERIC'S FALL: THE CONQUERORS' PERSPECTIVE (7TH–10TH CENTURIES)

5.1.1. Before the Invasion

We lack reliable sources that explain what the pre-Islamic Arab world and the early Muslims knew about the Gothic groups who entered the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire via the Danube at the end of the fourth century and, after a migration period of approximately half a century, settled first in Gaul, then on the Iberian Peninsula. Non-Arabic sources and later Arabic-Islamic evidence allow to depict the following picture.

The Roman Empire of the late fourth century may have provided Arab groups with some information on the Goths. A Goth named Munderichus was appointed commander of the Arabian frontier after he had fought against the Huns.¹¹ The Byzantine Empire of the sixth and early seventh centuries may have facilitated the occasional encounter between inhabitants of the Visigothic realm and Arab groups. Byzantine forces were stationed on the Iberian Peninsula since the 550s up to the rule of the Visigothic king Suintila (ruled 621–31).¹² Thanks to this Hispano-Byzantine connection, John of Biclaro, a late sixth-century annalist from the Visigothic kingdom, recorded the visit of the Ghassanid king al-Mundhir to the court of Tiberios II in Constantinople under the year 575.¹³ Other evidence is lacking. The Iberian Peninsula is not mentioned in the few extant pre-Islamic texts in Arabic.¹⁴ Notwithstanding, we cannot rule out that pre-Islamic Arab groups in touch with Roman or Byzantine ruling elites received the occasional shred of information about the Goths.

Before the outset of the expansion around 636, the Muslims seem to have had very little knowledge about the contemporary Visigothic kingdom of Toledo. Muslim tradition only mentions the Iberian Peninsula in connection with predictions of conquest and eschatological utterances ascribed to Muḥammad (d. 10/632) and the Jewish convert Ka'b al-Aḥbār (d. 32/652–53).¹⁵ Arabic-Islamic historiographers of the late ninth century then ascribe vague knowledge on the Iberian Peninsula and its 'master' (*ṣāhib al-Andalus*) to the 'righteously guided' caliphs.¹⁶

¹¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, ed./trans. Seyfarth, lib. 31, cap. 3.5, p. 252; cf. Woods, 'Marus' (1998), pp. 333–4.

¹² Thompson, *Goths* (1969), pp. 320–34; Wood, 'Spain' (2010), pp. 292–319.

¹³ Iohannes Biclaensis, *Chronica*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), a. 575/3, p. 214; cf. Rotter, *Abendland* (1986), pp. 135–7.

¹⁴ See Chapter 2.1.2. ¹⁵ See Chapter 2.1.2.

¹⁶ al-Balādhurī, *fuṭūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, § 264, p. 226; trans. Hitti, book V.4, § 225–6, p. 355; Howell, 'Notes' (1978), pp. 3–14; Sayf b 'Umar, *al-ridā*, ed. al-Sammarā'i, § 103, p. 114; see Chapter 2.1.3.

Latin sources dealing with the decades preceding the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula suggest that the latter slowly came into view. According to the ninth-century *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, the Visigothic king Wamba (ruled 672–80) repelled an attack of 270 Saracen ships against the coast of Spain. The chronicler obviously contrasts the strength, security, and stability of the Visigothic kingdom under Wamba with the general decline initiated by Wamba's treacherous successor Ervigius, who is held responsible for the invasion of 711.¹⁷ However, since Muslim maritime activities are attested in the western Mediterranean of the late seventh century, direct encounters may have taken place.¹⁸ The contemporary acts of the seventeenth council of Toledo (694) imply that the Muslims in North Africa were acquiring information about socio-political conditions on the peninsula. According to the Visigothic king Egica presiding the council, Hispanic Jews had conspired with their brethren from overseas to fight against the Christians.¹⁹ Egica may have invented this conspiracy to legitimize confiscations and other anti-Jewish measures in a climate that had become more and more hostile towards Jews in the course of the seventh century.²⁰ Although we must reckon with a traitor topos, it does not seem implausible that groups adversely affected by Visigothic rule established contact with the approaching Muslims via a Jewish diaspora not confined to a single society or polity.²¹ This could explain why, according to a later chronicle, the Muslim invaders trusted the Visigothic Jews to support the conquest by temporarily handing the stewardship of at least three Iberian cities to the local Jewish community.²²

According to a later Arabic-Islamic source, the future conqueror Mūsā b. Nuṣayr allegedly had to reassure the caliph al-Walid (ruled 86–96/705–15) that North Africa and the peninsula were separated by a narrow strait that could be crossed without danger to the troops.²³ Collaborators are said to have provided the newly arrived with geographic orientation.²⁴ The early Andalusian governor al-Samḥ (ruled 100–02/719–21) then allegedly received the order from Damascus to produce a topographic description of the Iberian Peninsula.²⁵

Taken together, this material implies that the early Muslims only had very limited knowledge about the Iberian Peninsula, but gradually acquired more and more information the nearer they drew to the Visigothic kingdom. It seems safe

¹⁷ *Chronique d'Alphonse III*, ed. Bonnaz, cap. 1,3, p. 33.

¹⁸ Cf. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg* (1966), pp. 14–30; Bonnaz, *Chroniques* (1987), pp. 114–16; Claude, 'Untersuchungen' (1988), p. 336; Picard, 'Arsenaux' (2004), pp. 691–710.

¹⁹ *Concilium Toletanum XVII (a. 694)*, ed./trans. Vives, p. 524; *ibid.*, can. 8, pp. 534–6.

²⁰ As proposed by Thompson, *Goths* (1969), p. 247. On anti-Jewish measures in the Visigothic kingdom see König, *Bekehrungsmotive* (2008), pp. 405–13; Dumézil, 'Juifs' (2009), pp. 327–46.

²¹ Ziegler, *Church* (1930), pp. 195–6; Voigt, *Staat* (1936/1965), p. 151; Katz, *Jews* (1937/1970), p. 21; Blumenkranz, *Juifs* (1960), pp. 132–3; Claude, *Handel* (1980), p. 274; Dumézil, *Racines* (2006), pp. 301–2; Dumézil, 'Crime' (2008), pp. 27–42.

²² *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, pp. 12, 16 (AR), pp. 25, 26 (ES), on Elvira, Granada, and Seville. Doubts in Roth, 'Jews' (1976), pp. 145–58; Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), pp. 115–16.

²³ *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 5 (AR), p. 20 (ES).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 7, 9–12, 15–16 (AR), pp. 20–1, 23–5, 28 (ES).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23 (AR), p. 34 (ES).

to assume that the Arabic-Islamic world only became seriously involved with the latter in the course of the invasion. Even so, the first decades after 711 were not conducive to the production of records on the Visigoths. Both contemporary Latin-Christian and later Arabic-Islamic sources point to the havoc brought about by the political reconfiguration of the peninsula.²⁶ The early governors' efforts to impose a new fiscal order, infighting between various Arab groups as well as the great Berber revolt of the early 740s, preclude that much energy was invested into historical enquiries,²⁷ in spite of the fact that interaction between the Muslim invaders and the indigenous population must have been intensive from the start.²⁸

5.1.2. Earliest Arabic-Islamic Records on the Visigoths

Since genres of Arabic-Islamic scholarly literature prone to document non-Muslim peoples were still in the making in the early eighth century, we can make use of no contemporary Arabic-Islamic sources on the invasion and its aftermath.²⁹ However, the Muslim invaders probably produced a number of functional texts. Later sources refer to letters exchanged with the caliph in Damascus,³⁰ treaties of submission such as the so-called 'pact of Tudmīr',³¹ as well as the topographical description of the peninsula demanded from the early governor al-Samḥ.³² Such material may have been at the disposal of later Arabic-Islamic historiographers who described these early years of Muslim rule in al-Andalus.

Arabic-Islamic scholars began recording the history of the Iberian Peninsula around the middle of the eighth century.³³ The extant material suggests that scholars situated in Egypt, rather than in al-Andalus, played a fundamental role in this early phase of documentation.³⁴ In Egypt we find traditionists such as Mūsā b. 'Alī b. Rabāḥ al-Lakhmī (d. 163/779), 'Abd Allāh b. Lahī'a (d. 174/791), al-Layth b. Sa'd (d. 175/792), 'Abd Allāh b. Wabḥ (d. 197/813), and others, whom we can only identify as transmitters of information on al-Andalus because they are cited by later historiographers.³⁵ Egypt is the home to the earliest known

²⁶ *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 73, p. 353, § 76, p. 354; *Chronica Muzarabica*, ed. Gil, § 46, p. 33, § 49, p. 35; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, pp. 208–9.

²⁷ Cf. *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 79–136, pp. 354–67; *Chronica Muzarabica*, ed. Gil, § 51–76, pp. 35–52; Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, vol. 1 (1950), pp. 34–53; Collins, *Conquest* (1989), pp. 36–51, 109–11.

²⁸ See Chapter 2.2.1.

²⁹ See Chapter 3.1.1. and 3.1.2.

³⁰ *akḥbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 6 (AR), p. 20 (ES), on letters exchanged between Mūsā b. Nuṣayr and the caliph al-Walid; *ibid.*, p. 23 (AR), p. 34 (ES), on letters exchanged between the governor al-Samḥ and the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.

³¹ Molina, 'Tudmīr' (2000), p. 584; Vallvé Bermejo, *División* (1986), pp. 187–91.

³² *akḥbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, p. 23 (AR), p. 34 (ES).

³³ Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1 (1967/1997), p. 361.

³⁴ Pons Boigues, *Historiadores* (1898/1972), p. 29, begins his encyclopaedia of Andalusian scholars with Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/853); Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), pp. 31–3; García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), pp. 220–8.

³⁵ Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 171–81.

but unfortunately lost treatise on al-Andalus, entitled *akhbār al-Andalus* by Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. Kathīr b. 'Ufayr al-Miṣrī (d. 226/840).³⁶

The earliest extant works that deal with the Visigoths date from the ninth and the early tenth centuries. They include works of universal history, such as the histories of Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/853), al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905), and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), as well as works specializing on the Arabic-Islamic expansion, such as the writings of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) and al-Balādhurī (d. 278/892). We also find information on the Visigoths in the geographical writings of Ibn Khurdādhbah (d. c.300/911), Ibn al-Faqīh (d. after 290/902), and Ibn Rustah (d. after 300/913). With the exception of Ibn Ḥabīb, all authors are of Middle Eastern provenance. In one way or the other, they contributed to the creation and diffusion of the earliest standard narrative of Visigothic history. This narrative is primarily based on information acquired during and in the early years following the conquest, thus reproducing what we may call a conquerors' perspective of the Visigoths.

The earliest extant work on the history of al-Andalus was written by the Andalusian scholar Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ilbīrī (d. 238/853).³⁷ In a chapter dedicated to the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula,³⁸ Ibn Ḥabīb mentions a people called 'al-Qūṭīyyūn' that originally hailed from the Persian city of Isfahan, pronounced 'Ishbān' by the inhabitants of al-Andalus.³⁹ Their unnamed kings, amounting to a total of twenty-five, resided in Toledo. According to their royal tradition, rulers placed a seal on a building in the royal city when they assumed power. Their last king, Roderic (*Ludhriq*), gave up this tradition, broke the seals, and opened the building against the will of the Christian populace (*al-naṣrāniyya*), the bishops (*al-asāqifa*), and the deacons (*al-shamāmisa*) of his kingdom. In the building, he encountered a picture of Arab warriors as well as an inscription that predicted the Arab conquest of the kingdom in the ruling period of the king who dared to break the seals. Accordingly, the Arabs overthrew Roderic's kingdom a short while later.⁴⁰ As a prelude to the decisive battle between Roderic and the Muslims, a certain Tudmīr, deputy to the king while the latter campaigned against an unnamed foe, informed Roderic about the Muslim advance.⁴¹ In their quest for loot, the invaders encountered many treasures, including the table of the biblical king Solomon.⁴²

In spite of his Andalusian origin, Ibn Ḥabīb strongly depended on material collected by Egyptian and other Oriental historiographers. Among his sources we find

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 185–6; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1 (1967/1997), p. 361.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 362; Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 189–97.

³⁸ Partially edited by Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 221–43. A complete edition in Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārīkh*, ed. Aguadé; a summary in Pons Boigues, *Historiadores* (1898/1972), pp. 32–4.

³⁹ Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), p. 222; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārīkh*, ed. Aguadé, § 397, p. 138.

⁴⁰ Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), p. 225; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārīkh*, ed. Aguadé, § 403–4, p. 140. Cf. Safran, *Caliphate* (2000), pp. 141–50; Christys, 'History' (2003), pp. 332–7; Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), pp. 34–5.

⁴¹ Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), p. 222; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārīkh*, ed. Aguadé, § 396, p. 137.

⁴² Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 222, 226, 232–3; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārīkh*, ed. Aguadé, § 397, p. 138, § 406, p. 141, § 427, p. 147. On the table see Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), pp. 84–101.

a number of Egyptian traditionists mentioned above such as al-Layth b. Sa'd.⁴³ He also seems to have had access to the works of Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi (d. 207/822) who seems to be at the root of the theory of the Visigoths' Persian origins.⁴⁴

Chronologically, the next work to deal with the Visigoths is the treatise *futūḥ Miṣr wa-akḥbārūhā* by the Egyptian historiographer Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871). He claims that Roderic's (*Ludhriq*) realm extended a thousand miles into the peninsula's hinterland.⁴⁵ His description of the conquest explains that the arriving Muslims instilled fear into the local population by pretending to be cannibals, and then focuses on the treasures found during the great pillage that followed the Muslim victory. They include the rich insignia worn by Roderic during the decisive battle as well as the aforementioned table of Solomon.⁴⁶ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam provides two explanations for the conquest's success. On the one hand, he reproduces the legend of the sealed building already known from Ibn Ḥabīb.⁴⁷ On the other hand, he claims that Julian (*Yulyān*), the Visigothic governor of Ceuta, invited and supported the Muslim invasion because Roderic had taken advantage of his daughter.⁴⁸ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam also describes other indigenous reactions to the Muslim advance. He mentions the terror instilled into a group of vinedressers confronted with Muslim troops who pretended to be cannibals.⁴⁹ Furthermore, he reports that 'Abd al-'Azīz, son of the conqueror Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, married Roderic's daughter. By persuading her spouse to wear a crown, she provoked his assassination by other Arabs.⁵⁰

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam also relied on the data collected by the early Egyptian historiographers mentioned above.⁵¹ But in spite of many parallels and shared sources, Ibn Ḥabīb's and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's passages on the Visigoths differ in various respects. On the one hand, the history of Ibn Ḥabīb contains information that does not feature in the account of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam. This concerns the alleged Persian origin of the Visigoths; the number of Visigoth rulers before the conquest; the indication that Roderic was opposed not only by the realm's population but also by representatives of the church when he ventured to break the seals of the forbidden house; and finally the name of the conquered people: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam speaks of the 'people of al-Andalus' (*ahl al-Andalus*) and the 'ruler of al-Andalus' (*sāḥib al-Andalus*), but

⁴³ Cited frequently in Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, § 55, p. 32, § 401, p. 139, § 403, p. 140, § 406, p. 141, § 490, p. 160. On other Middle Eastern sources see Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 197–200; Dhū'n-Nūn Ṭāha, 'Importance' (1985), p. 40; Dhū'n-Nūn Ṭāha, *nash'a* (1988), pp. 7–10; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, pp. 104–7 (introducción).

⁴⁴ This theory is ascribed to al-Wāqidi by al-Balādhuri, *futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, § 269, p. 230, and by al-Mas'ūdi, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 747, p. 49 (AR), p. 280 (FR). Al-Wāqidi is cited in Ibn Ḥabīb's work, but in another context. See Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), p. 236; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, p. 107 (introducción), § 393, p. 136 (AR).

⁴⁵ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 208.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 206, 208–9.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 206. Cf. Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), pp. 33–4.

⁴⁸ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 205.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 206; cf. Levi della Vida, 'Motivo' (1957), pp. 741–8.

⁵⁰ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, pp. 211–13; Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores* (2006), pp. 47–8.

⁵¹ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Conquête*, trans. Gateau, pp. 18–22 (Introduction); Gateau, 'Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam' (1938), pp. 37–48.

does not use an Arabic transcription of the ethnonym 'Goths' (i.e. *al-Qūt* or *al-Qūṭiyyūn*) as Ibn Ḥabīb does.⁵² On the other hand, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's account contains information that does not feature in the work of Ibn Ḥabīb, i.e. an estimation of the size of the Visigothic realm, the story about the invaders' simulated cannibalism, and the indication that Julian's collaboration facilitated the invasion.

Other Middle Eastern sources of the ninth and early tenth centuries contain a similar array of data. Ibn Khurdādhbah's *kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* can rival the preceding works in that it mentions the Visigoths' alleged Persian origin, a number of twenty-four rulers preceding Roderic, the sealed house opened by Roderic against the will of the Church and the people, Julian's collaboration, the final battle, and the table of Solomon among the acquired booty. Like Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, he does not provide an Arabic transcription of the ethnonym 'Goths'.⁵³ His narrative was copied by Ibn al-Faḥīh (d. after 290/902) and Ibn Rustah (d. after 300/913).⁵⁴ Most other works of this period contain less information. Al-Balādhurī (d. 278/892) claims that the ruler of al-Andalus had had dealings with the people of North Africa in the times of the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb⁵⁵ and cites the theory of the Visigoths' Persian origins. His very short sketch of the invasion even fails to spell out the name of the last Visigothic king.⁵⁶ The history of al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905) is equally brief and only of interest because it mentions the ethnonym 'Goths' (*al-Qūṭiyyūn*) as well as a variant of the royal name 'Roderic' (*al-Udriq*), thus proving that these terms were known to some Arabic-Islamic scholars in the Middle East.⁵⁷ Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), who also claims that Roderic's (*al-Adrinūq*) people hailed from Isfahan, is even less informative.⁵⁸

In spite of a few variations, the recurrent elements in these accounts amount to a standardized narrative that revolves around the Muslim invasion and lacks historical depth. Aside from the universal histories of Ibn Ḥabīb and al-Ya'qūbī, most texts do not feature a proper ethnonym for the Visigoths and refer to them and their ruler as 'the people of al-Andalus' and 'the ruler of al-Andalus'.⁵⁹ Recurrent themes include (1) the theory of this people's alleged Persian origin, based on an erroneous etymology that derives the ethnonym 'Ashbān' (Latin *Hispani*) from the Persian toponym Isfahan; (2) the name of the last king, Roderic (*Lūdhriq*; *al-Udriq* etc.), who was preceded by twenty-four or twenty-five rulers and resided in the capital Toledo before he was killed in battle against the Muslims; (3) the explanation that Roderic's decision to open a sealed royal building against the will of his people and, optionally, representatives of the Church, provoked the Muslim invasion; (4) the alternative explanation that the Visigothic governor Julian took

⁵² Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 205; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, § 397, p. 138.

⁵³ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 156–7.

⁵⁴ Ibn al-Faḥīh, *mukhtaṣar*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 82–3; Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥṣa*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 79–80.

⁵⁵ al-Balādhurī, *futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, § 264, p. 226.

⁵⁶ Ibid., § 269–70, p. 231; cf. Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 206–7.

⁵⁷ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 2, p. 207.

⁵⁸ al-Ṭabarī, *tārikh*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 6, p. 468; cf. Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), p. 207.

⁵⁹ Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, § 397, p. 138; al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 2, p. 207, as opposed to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 205; al-Balādhurī, *futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, § 264, p. 226.

revenge on a king who had taken advantage of his daughter by inviting the Muslims, as well as; (5) the rich booty found during the conquest.

5.1.3. Origins and Diffusion of the Early Standard Narrative

Although only extant in versions written more than a century after the fall of the Visigothic kingdom in 711, the early standard narrative reflects the experiences, observations, as well as the restricted range of vision characteristic of a conquering generation neither interested in nor capable of investing too much intellectual energy on the history of the recently subjected polity.

Some of the recorded data must have been acquired in indirect or direct exchange with the indigenous population of the Visigothic kingdom: the ethnonym 'Goths', the name 'Roderic', as well as details about internal affairs, i.e. opposition against Roderic. The erroneous theory of the Visigoths' Persian origins, in turn, represents an intellectual contribution of Arabic-Islamic origin.

This permits to trace the following process of reception. The earliest data on the Visigoths was acquired in the preparatory phase and during the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. The conquerors' observations as well as immediate interaction with informants and the subjected population constituted the main sources of information. This data was transmitted to Egypt and to the wider Middle East in the decades following the invasion. Muslims who had participated in the invasion and returned to the east created the relevant channels of transmission, e.g. the conqueror Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. When he returned to Damascus at the orders of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd, he is said to have brought with him spoils of war, prisoners, and—not explicitly mentioned but obviously associated—information on the invasion and the conquered territory.⁶⁰ The depiction of Roderic in the early eighth-century Umayyad palace at Quṣayr 'Amra in Syria provides tangible proof for this flow of information.⁶¹

References to chains of transmission in later Arabic-Islamic historiography provide an impression of how information on the invasion was diffused by the descendants and disciples of former conquerors.⁶² Transmitting historical traditions in Baghdad, al-Wāqidi (d. 207/822) is said to have cited a certain Mūsā b. 'Alī b. Rabāḥ al-Lakhmī, the son of a combatant involved in the conquest of al-Andalus,⁶³ as well as a certain 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ja'far, a man whose father's acquaintance had reported on the battle against Roderic.⁶⁴ In a later phase, traders, pilgrims, and scholars from al-Andalus delivered further information.⁶⁵ According to Ibn

⁶⁰ The sources focus on tensions between Mūsā b. Nuṣayr and the caliph, thus neglecting what information might have been exchanged between the conqueror and the members of the caliphal court in Damascus, cf. *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 73, p. 353, § 76, p. 354; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, pp. 210–11.

⁶¹ Drayson, 'Ways' (2006), pp. 115–28; Fowden, *Quṣayr 'Amra* (2004), pp. 207–13.

⁶² Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 164–9; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Conquête*, trans. Gateau, p. 26 (Introduction).

⁶³ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 2, p. 13; cf. Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 166–7, 172. But see the critique of Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), pp. 36–8.

⁶⁴ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 2, pp. 7–8; cf. Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 166–7, 205; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1 (1967/1997), pp. 361–3.

⁶⁵ See the overview in Makkī, 'Ensayo' (1961–62), pp. 65–92.

al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1018), the Egyptian traditionist al-Layth b. Saʿīd (d. 175/792), one of the principal transmitters used by Ibn Ḥabīb and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, had disciples from al-Andalus.⁶⁶ When he learned that the judge of Córdoba sojourned in Egypt after returning from his pilgrimage to Mecca, al-Layth sent his secretary to question him on Andalusian affairs.⁶⁷

The early standard narrative represents the result of efforts to compile the accounts of such witnesses. It came into being in an Islamicized urban Middle Eastern environment that provided the necessary infrastructure for the intellectual endeavours of Arabic-Islamic scholars. At the beginning of the ninth century, such an environment was only beginning to emerge in al-Andalus.⁶⁸ Early Andalusian scholars such as Ibn Ḥabīb still looked to the Middle East for orientation and information, consequently neglecting indigenous oral and written sources from the Iberian Peninsula.⁶⁹ Middle Eastern scholars, in turn, collected and recorded oral information in a distant Middle Eastern environment around half a century to one century after the Muslim invasion. The growing chronological and geographical distance to actual events probably accounts for many literary embellishments and legendary elements.⁷⁰

In spite of all its defects, the early standard narrative constitutes the first Arabic-Islamic effort to explain the preconditions of the invasion and to illuminate the very recent pre-Islamic past of the Iberian Peninsula. Its limitations provide tangible proof for the obstacles of transmission in the period of expansion. Its dominance in Middle Eastern circles up to the tenth century also shows that it took Muslim al-Andalus more than a century to develop an intellectual culture confident and sophisticated enough not only to develop a proper approach to the region's pre-Islamic past with the aid of indigenous sources, but also to be noticed as a potential source of information by Middle Eastern scholars.

5.2. SUCCESSORS OF ROME: THE LATIN-BASED NARRATIVE (9TH–11TH CENTURIES)

Hand in hand with important processes of acculturation and assimilation in the Iberian Peninsula of the eighth and ninth centuries, Muslim al-Andalus acquired new information on the peninsula's pre-Islamic past and developed its proper historiography, Ibn Ḥabīb being only one of its earliest representatives.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Ibn al-Faraḍī, *tārikh 'ulamā' al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ḥusaynī, vol. 1, § 457 (Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān); cf. Makkī, 'Egipto', p. 176.

⁶⁷ Ibn al-Faraḍī, *tārikh 'ulamā' al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ḥusaynī, vol. 2, § 1445 (Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ); cf. Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), p. 176.

⁶⁸ Cf. Pellat, 'Origin' (1962), pp. 118–25; Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), p. 31. See Chapters 2.2.1. and 3.1.2.

⁶⁹ Makkī, 'Egipto', pp. 157–8; Dhū'n-Nūn Ṭāha, 'Importance' (1985), pp. 40–1; Dhū'n-Nūn Ṭāha, *nash'a* (1988), pp. 7–10; García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), pp. 225–6.

⁷⁰ Makkī, 'Egipto' (1957), p. 208. Cf. Hernández Juberías, *Península* (1996).

⁷¹ Pons Boigues, *Historiadores* (1898/1972), pp. 32–4. Cf. Chapter 2.2.1.

5.2.1. Challenges to the Early Standard Narrative

In the first half of the tenth century, the early standard narrative of Visigothic history was challenged and then significantly enlarged. Arabic-Islamic scholars in the Middle East did not change considerably their perspective on the Visigoths yet. However, some of them began to understand that new data on the Visigoths had been and was being acquired in al-Andalus.

Al-Mas'ūdī's (d. 345/956) ethnographic work *Meadows of Gold* (*murūj al-dhahab*), accomplished in 336/947 in the Egyptian town of al-Fustāt,⁷² is not significantly better informed than older works, but nevertheless questions established theories on the Visigoths' origins. Al-Mas'ūdī did not employ the Arabic transcription of the ethnonym 'Goths' (i.e. *al-Qūt*, *al-Qūṭiyyūn*) already used by Ibn Ḥabīb and al-Ya'qūbī.⁷³ But he does not seem to have been satisfied with calling the peninsula's pre-Islamic population 'the people of al-Andalus' (*ahl al-Andalus*) as Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam had done in his history of the expansion to the west. In al-Mas'ūdī's *murūj al-dhahab*, the term 'people of al-Andalus' applies to all inhabitants of the peninsula, the pre-Islamic as well as the current mixed population of Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike. In a work written several generations after the Muslim invasion that did not restrict itself to the history of the expansion, this term failed to mark the distinction between the peninsula's indigenous population of pre-Islamic times and the Muslim invaders. Consequently, it had ceased to serve as the substitute for an unknown ethnonym for the pre-Islamic population of al-Andalus. In need of a new term, al-Mas'ūdī created an ethnonym by constructing the plural to the Arabic transcription of 'Roderic' (*Ludhriq*), thus inventing the ethnonym 'Rodericians' (*al-Ladhāriqa*), a term he also applied to earlier Visigothic rulers.⁷⁴ Al-Mas'ūdī lacked detailed knowledge about these earlier kings and only mentions one predecessor to Roderic. In view of the phonetic parallels, 'Awriq' or 'Üriq' can probably be identified as Euric (ruled 466–84). However, al-Mas'ūdī's Euric is neither defined as a ruler of the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse nor credited with the commission of the earliest Visigothic law code (*Codex Euricianus*) and the stabilization of Visigothic rule within a territory formerly ruled by the Roman emperor.⁷⁵ Euric features in al-Mas'ūdī's work because he was allegedly one of the first rulers to employ falcons for hunting.⁷⁶

More important than al-Mas'ūdī's lack of knowledge is his statement that the Muslims of al-Andalus held a different opinion of the origin of the Visigoths than

⁷² al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 30, p. 29 (AR), p. 19 (FR); cf. § 3628, pp. 282–3 (AR).

⁷³ Carra de Vaux (cf. Maçoudi, *Livre de l'avertissement*, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 429) believes that the ethnonym 'Ghūṭashī', used by al-Mas'ūdī (*al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 332) applies to the 'Goths', but fails to consider that al-Mas'ūdī does not link this ethnonym to information about the Visigoths.

⁷⁴ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 474, p. 226 (AR), p. 171 (FR); § 701, p. 25 (AR), p. 263 (FR). This plural is constructed along the same lines as the plural for the Arabic term for 'pupil' (sgl. *ṭilmidh*, pl. *ṭalāmidhā*), see Fischer, *Grammatik* (1987), § 96, p. 56. Only al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 475, p. 302, § 505, p. 314, who relied heavily on al-Mas'ūdī in some parts of his work, adopted the term 'al-Ladhāriqa'.

⁷⁵ Cf. Stroheker, *Eurich* (1937).

⁷⁶ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 474, p. 226 (AR), p. 171 (FR). On this connection of Visigothic kings to hunting see Fowden, *Qusayr 'Amra* (2004), pp. 213–14. For al-Mas'ūdī's sources on falconry see Möller, *Studien* (1965), p. 112.

had been customary so far. Instead of leading their origins back to the Persian city of Isfahan as others had done,⁷⁷ the Andalusian Muslims claimed that the last Visigothic king Roderic had, in fact, been of Galician origin (*min al-Jalāliqa*), thus hailing from a Christian people related to the Franks.⁷⁸ This indicates that, by the middle of the tenth century, new information acquired by the Muslims of al-Andalus on their region's pre-Islamic history was beginning to seep out of the Iberian Peninsula into the rest of the Arabic-Islamic world. Writing in Egypt, al-Mas'ūdi seems to have taken these new opinions seriously. But although his account is by all means original, he still lacked sufficient data to be able to provide an informed account of Visigothic history. Notwithstanding, the times of Ibn Ḥabīb, in which an Andalusian scholar looked exclusively to the Middle East for information on his own region of origin, were over. Information of local origin had finally become part of the region's proper Arabic-Islamic view of history.

Andalusian texts of the tenth and eleventh centuries confirm that new data on the Visigoths had become available. One source of information seems to have been the fading memory of families who had collaborated with the Muslim invaders and achieved full-scale integration into Arabic-Islamic society by intermarriage. Among this group, we find Ibn al-Qūṭīyya (d. 367/977), a *qāḍī*, jurisconsult, lexicographer, grammarian, transmitter of Islamic tradition, and historiographer in Córdoba. In a series of acute anecdotes, the *History of the Conquest of al-Andalus* (*tārikh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*) ascribed to him discusses the conditions necessary to maintain the stability and power equilibrium of Umayyad rule.⁷⁹

It begins with an account of the last years of Visigothic rule. After the death of king Vitiza (*Ghaytasha*, ruled c.700–10), the queen served as regent during the minority of their three sons Almund, Waqala, and Arṭabāsh. The military commander Roderic (*Lūdhriq*) then ousted Vitiza's family from power. When faced with the impending Muslim invasion, Roderic asked Vitiza's sons for help. Full of distrust, they defected to the Muslims and received a guarantee for their possessions, including the royal domains, in turn.⁸⁰ After some tensions with the first Umayyad ruler of al-Andalus, 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, the youngest son Arṭabāsh rose to the post of *qūmis* (*comes*), thus representing the Christian community vis-à-vis a Muslim administration around half a century old.⁸¹ Ibn al-Qūṭīyya regarded Arṭabāsh as one of his indirect ancestors, claiming that the latter's niece, i.e. Almund's daughter and Vitiza's granddaughter Sāra, married a Umayyad client (*mawlā*) from Syria named 'Isā b. Muzāḥim at the suggestion of the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (ruled 105–25/724–43). Three generations later, her great-grandson 'Umar produced Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, a descendant of the royal house of Vitiza and direct client to the Umayyad caliphs of Damascus.⁸²

⁷⁷ al-Mas'ūdi, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 747, p. 49 (AR), p. 280 (FR). Cf. Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), p. 39.

⁷⁸ al-Mas'ūdi, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 398, p. 191 (AR): 'wa-l-ashhar 'inda man sakana al-Andalus min al-muslimin anna Ludhriq kana min al-Jalāliqa wa-huwa naw' min al-Ifranja', pp. 145–6 (FR).

⁷⁹ James, *Spain* (2009), p. 41; König, 'Rückbindung' (2011), p. 136.

⁸⁰ Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *tārikh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ibyārī, pp. 29–32, trans. James, pp. 49–51.

⁸¹ Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *tārikh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ibyārī, pp. 57–8, trans. James, pp. 75–6. On the post see Chalmers, 'Kūmis' (1986), p. 376.

⁸² Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *tārikh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ibyārī, pp. 29–32, trans. James, pp. 49–51.

Analysis opens up wide margins of interpretation. Some regard the genealogy as a fabricated political argument, others as the authentic expression of a family's memory.⁸³ Yet the genealogy reaches further back into the Iberian Peninsula's pre-Islamic history than any extant variant of the early standard narrative. To explain the involvement not only of the royal, but also of any Visigothic family in the downfall of the Visigothic kingdom, it was necessary to provide details about the political framework preceding Roderic's usurpation. Fabricated or not, Ibn al-Qūṭīyya's genealogy shows that a family's role in the invasion could be of relevance to an Andalusian Muslim of the tenth century. It also stands for the very plausible possibility that families, whose ancestors had witnessed the last years of Visigothic rule, had preserved a vague memory of events preceding the invasion. With the successive integration of these families into the Muslim society of al-Andalus this memory was submitted to the double process of becoming part of this society's past and culture, while slowly fading away if not conserved in writing.

5.2.2. Diffusion of Translated Latin Sources in al-Andalus

Even if they are put down in writing, family memories usually do not reach very far back. Arabic-Islamic historiographers who wanted to delve deeper into Visigothic history needed access to Latin historiography produced under or shortly after Visigothic rule. This access was provided, at the latest from the ninth century onwards, thanks to a process of linguistic Arabization, reflected not only in the increasing number of Andalusian Christians capable of speaking and reading Arabic,⁸⁴ but also in the Arabic translation of important Latin sources on Visigothic history and their subsequent disclosure on the part of Arabic-Islamic scholars.

Already mentioned several times, the most important work in this regard is the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, the restructured, interpolated, and extended version of the *Historiae adversus paganos*, the late antique universal history written by Orosius of Braga (d. c.417). This work consists of a reworked Arabic translation of the restructured Latin original studded with translated excerpts taken from other Latin works.⁸⁵ Among these are the cosmography of Julius Honorius⁸⁶ and, even more important in this context, the *Chronica Maiora*, the *Etymologiae*, as well as the *Historia Gothorum* of Isidore of Seville (d. 636).⁸⁷ The 'erudite Isidore, bishop of Seville' (*Ishīdhur al-ʿālim, usquf Ishbiliya*) is mentioned in the part of the translation's

⁸³ Fierro, 'Obra' (1989), pp. 485–512; and Christys, *Christians* (2002), pp. 154–83, provide the most extensive studies. König, 'Rückbindung' (2011), pp. 132–7, discusses further interpretations by Luís García Moreno, Eduardo Manzano Moreno, David James, Ron Barkai, and Gabriel Martínez-Gros; Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), pp. 67–8.

⁸⁴ Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens* (1984), pp. 53–62; Wasserstein, 'Situation' (1991), pp. 1–15; Penelas, 'Islamization' (2006), pp. 103–14; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 36–8 (introducción).

⁸⁵ Penelas, 'Islamization' (2006), p. 106 n. 17.

⁸⁶ Penelas, 'Contribución' (2001), pp. 3–13; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 53–6 (introducción).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50, 56–7, 64–6 (introducción).

fragmentary table of contents that summarizes the contents of the seventh book.⁸⁸ Isidore only recorded Visigothic history until the reign of Suinthila (ruled 621–31). Since the table of contents also claims to list Gothic kings up to the times of Roderic (d. 711),⁸⁹ the author-translator(s) of the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* must have also drawn on Hispano-Latin sources produced after Isidore's death. Unfortunately, the only extant manuscript ends with a description of the Goths' situation in the wake of the Battle of Adrianople around 378, i.e. long before their settlement on the Iberian Peninsula.⁹⁰ Since the rest of the seventh book is lost, the identity of these post-Isidorian sources is disputed.⁹¹

Dating the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* is equally difficult. Discussing contradictory references to the translation in the works of Ibn Juljul and Ibn Khaldūn,⁹² Giorgio Levi della Vida consigned the translation to the middle of the tenth century and the entourage of the future Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam II (ruled 355–66/961–76).⁹³ Only recently, Mayte Penelas interpreted the translation as an expression of 'Mozarab' self-assertion in the face of Islamization and Arabization. She proposed that it was translated at the end of the ninth century by Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī⁹⁴ who rendered Jerome's Latin Psalter into Arabic either at the end of the ninth or at the end of the tenth century.⁹⁵ Penelas' alternative hypothesis merits consideration but remains hypothetical, as she herself confirms.⁹⁶

Knowing when the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* was translated, is not without relevance to understanding its relationship to the most important Arabic-Islamic work on the peninsula's pre-Islamic history written in tenth-century al-Andalus, the *History of the Rulers of al-Andalus* (*akhbār mulūk al-Andalus*) by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955).⁹⁷ Unfortunately, this work can only be reconstructed approximately, either by drawing on citations in later works of Arabic-Islamic scholarship, or by discussing the proximity of later Portuguese and Castilian versions to the lost

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 16 (AR), pp. 47–66, 99–119 (introducción); Penelas, 'Islamization' (2006), p. 106.

⁸⁹ *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, fol. 6v/8, p. 16 (AR).

⁹⁰ Ibid., fol. 102v/254, p. 377 (AR).

⁹¹ Levi della Vida, 'Traduzione' (1954), pp. 267–8, as well as the editors of the *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés, p. lix with n. 166, opt for the *Continuatio Hispana*, also known as *Chronica Muzarabica* or *Chronicle of 754*. Catalán and de Andrés compared the data in this chronicle with Ibn Khaldūn's chapter on the Visigoths in his universal history, which is based explicitly on the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*. However, Ibn Khaldūn only provides a very basic list of Visigothic kings, which hardly allows parallels to be found with the much more elaborate chronicle. Molina, 'Orosio' (1984), p. 91, in turn, believes in the existence of a *Libro de los Profetas enviados a los reyes* used by the translators. Unfortunately, the editor of the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, Mayte Penelas, pp. 44, 64–5 (introducción), offers no opinion on the subject.

⁹² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 2, p. 101; vol. 2, p. 234; Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, *uyūn al-anbā'*, ed. Müller, vol. 2, p. 47. See Chapter 3.2.2.

⁹³ Levi della Vida, 'Traduzione' (1954), pp. 260–2; discussed by Badawī, *Ūrūsyūs* (1982), pp. 10–14; and Molina, 'Orosio' (1984), pp. 66–71. Cf. Penelas, 'Traducciones' (2009), pp. 223–51.

⁹⁴ Penelas, 'Author' (2001), pp. 113–35; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 27–42 (introducción); cf. Daiber, 'Weltgeschichte' (2011), pp. 191–9.

⁹⁵ Ḥafṣ b. Albar, *Psautier Mozarabe*, ed./trans. Urvoy, p. iv: 'La dernière section de l'urjūza donne une datation en abjad (= par lettres), qui peut être lue comme 989 mais également, selon une tradition maghrébine, comme 889'; *ibid.*, pp. xiv–xvii.

⁹⁶ *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 41–2 (introducción).

⁹⁷ Molina, 'Orosio' (1984), pp. 70–1.

original.⁹⁸ The Portuguese version forms part of the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*,⁹⁹ while the Castilian version is entitled *Crónica del moro Rasis*.¹⁰⁰ Both texts, as well as other extant Romance versions, are based on a translation commissioned by the Portuguese king Don Dionís in around 1300 and executed by a certain Gil Pérez with the help of a certain Muḥammad.¹⁰¹ Scholars have invested much effort into comparing later Arabic citations or later Romance versions of al-Rāzī's history with various texts that he may have used. These include pre-Islamic Latin texts written by Orosius and Isidore of Seville,¹⁰² even Eutropius and Jerome,¹⁰³ but also post-Islamic Latin texts such as the *Continuatio hispana* or *Chronica muzarabica* from the eighth century,¹⁰⁴ and, of course, the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*.¹⁰⁵ Because it seems to be a Latinized version of an earlier Arabic chronicle that features some parallels to the later Portuguese and Castilian versions of al-Rāzī's chronicle, the late eleventh- or twelfth-century *Historia Pseudo-Isidoriana* also received much attention.¹⁰⁶

Given this complex constellation of sources and the difficulty of producing sound evidence in a discussion intent on reconstructing the sources of a lost text, it seems impossible to arrive at conclusions. Concerning the relationship between the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* and the original al-Rāzī, for example, results are far from definite. According to Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo, al-Rāzī had an excellent command of Romance and Latin and was himself involved in the translation of Latin sources, including the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*.¹⁰⁷ Diego Catalán speculated that the author of the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* produced a Mozarab history of al-Andalus that served as a source to both the original al-Rāzī and the *Historia Pseudo-Isidoriana*.¹⁰⁸ Luis Molina believed that al-Rāzī drew directly on the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*,¹⁰⁹ while

⁹⁸ On this relationship see de Gayangos, 'Memoria' (1852), pp. 21–100; Pons Boigues, *Historiadores* (1898/1972), p. 64; Molina, 'Procedencia' (1982–83), pp. 133–9; Matesanz Gascón, *Omeyas* (2004); García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), pp. 214–16. Not all scholars have accepted that there exists a direct relationship between the later Romance texts and the lost *akḥbār mulūk al-Andalus*, see García Moreno, 'Witiza' (2011), p. 23.

⁹⁹ *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, ed. Lindley Cintra, vol. 2, pp. 39–75.

¹⁰⁰ *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés. ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. xxv (introducción).

¹⁰² Sánchez-Albornoz, *Fuentes* (1942); Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Isidoro' (1946), pp. 73–113; Vallvé Bermejo, 'Fuentes' (1967), pp. 241–60; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 67, 70–1 (introducción).

¹⁰³ *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés, pp. xxx–xxxi.

¹⁰⁴ Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Crónica' (1934), pp. 229–65.

¹⁰⁵ *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés, pp. xliii–lx; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 67–71 (introducción).

¹⁰⁶ Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Isidoro' (1946), pp. 73–113; Menéndez Pidal, 'Crónica' (1954), pp. 5–15; *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés, pp. xxxii–xliii; Gautier-Dalché, 'Notes' (1984), pp. 13–32; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 67–70 (introducción); Cardelle de Hartmann, 'Transmission' (1999), p. 25; Cardelle de Hartmann, 'Blick' (2011), p. 41.

¹⁰⁷ Vallvé Bermejo, 'Fuentes' (1967), pp. 243–4, 244, 247: 'Entre los autores clásicos utilizados y traducidos literalmente por al-Rāzī y sus recopiladores cabe citar en primer lugar a Orosio y San Isidoro...', p. 254.

¹⁰⁸ *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés, p. lxi: 'cabría...suponer que tanto la compilación mózarabe dedicada a la historia universal (el *Hurūshiyūsh*) como la compilación mózarabe dedicada a la historia de al-Andalus (el prototipo de al-Rāzī y la *Pseudo-Isidoriana*) fueron obra de un mismo autor: el cadí de los cristianos de Córdoba.'

¹⁰⁹ Molina, 'Orosio' (1984), pp. 80–1: 'Aḥmad al-Rāzī..., en nuestra opinión, se basa directamente en el *Hurūshiyūsh* y no existe una fuente intermedia.'

Mayte Penelas claimed that al-Rāzī combined information taken from the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* with data from another source.¹¹⁰ In view of this imbroglio of different opinions, it is difficult to reconstruct what al-Rāzī knew about Visigothic history in the tenth century.

However, in the discussion about the content of al-Rāzī's history and its relation to earlier, contemporary, and later texts, certain points seem to be beyond doubt, namely that al-Rāzī had a fervent interest in the peninsula's pre-Islamic history, and that he drew on non-Muslim sources. Al-Rāzī's interest in the region's history is confirmed by his son 'Isā,¹¹¹ himself an eminent historiographer of the tenth century, who is quoted as a well-informed authority on the Iberian Peninsula's Roman history by Ibn Ḥayyān.¹¹² Later scholars who cite Aḥmad al-Rāzī, such as al-Ḥimyarī, also claim that he made use of non-Islamic sources from al-Andalus.¹¹³ We can thus start from the assumption that al-Rāzī knew something about the peninsula's pre-Islamic past. To understand what he knew about the Visigoths, one could either conjecture by drawing on the later Romance versions or turn to citations in later Arabic-Islamic scholarship.

The fourteenth-century *Crónica del moro Rasis* contains an almost complete list of Visigothic kings that reaches back to the late fourth century and ends in 710. The rulers' names are so deformed that they cannot be clearly recognized as words of either Latin or Arabic origin. Each translation from Latin via Arabic and Portuguese to Castilian must have distorted the original names by adding further orthographical variants resulting from the use of two different alphabets and various pronunciations (see table in Appendix at the end of this chapter).¹¹⁴ Since we cannot rule out that elements were added or deleted during transmission, we cannot be sure if the list of Visigothic kings included in the *Crónica del moro Rasis* really constitutes a reproduction of al-Rāzī's Arabic original or, rather, if it has to be regarded as an interpolated and extended version of this or a similar list. We can only be sure that it reflects the knowledge available to the fourteenth-century Christian author-translator who claimed that he had taken it from al-Rāzī.

Évariste Lévi-Provençal, in turn, made the effort of reconstructing the original work's geographical introduction by matching fragments of al-Rāzī's history as transmitted in later Arabic-Islamic geographical writings with corresponding passages in the Portuguese version of a chapter that forms part of the *Crónica Geral de*

¹¹⁰ *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, p. 67 (introducción): 'en cuanto a al-Rāzī, es probable que utilizase la traducción pero, en este caso, tuvo que servirse además de otra fuente al menos...', pp. 67–71.

¹¹¹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makkī, p. 269; Vallvé Bermejo, 'Fuentes' (1967), p. 243; García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), p. 214.

¹¹² Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, p. 272.

¹¹³ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'al-Andalus', p. 33: 'qāla al-Rāzī: awwal man sakana al-Andalus ba'd al-ṭūfān 'alā mā yadhkiruhu 'ulamā' 'ajamiḥā...', i.e. 'al-Rāzī said: 'The first people to inhabit al-Andalus after the deluge, according to what its non-Arab scholars say...'; cf. Vallvé Bermejo, 'Fuentes' (1967), p. 243.

¹¹⁴ Cf. the Appendix which lists the anthroponyms provided by the *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés, pp. 208–77. Compare these with the names listed by Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāḥāda, vol. 2, pp. 281–3.

Espanha de 1344.¹¹⁵ The resulting French (sic!) reconstruction of al-Rāzī's geographical introduction contains one passage of relevance. It states that the Visigothic king Leovigild (ruled 568–86) founded the city of Reccopolis in honour of his son Reccared (ruled 586–601).¹¹⁶ The origins of this information can be traced back to the Visigothic chronicle written by John of Biclaro at the end of the sixth century,¹¹⁷ a chronicle that did not experience a very wide diffusion.¹¹⁸ Parts of this passage can also be found in four Arabic-Islamic works from the eleventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) mentions the city's name (*Raqawbal*), but fails to name the rulers involved in its construction, and limits himself to claiming that the city is 'of ancient build' (*qadīmat al-binā*).¹¹⁹ Al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), and al-Ḥimyarī (13th–14th cent.), in turn, describe the foundation of the city as mentioned above.¹²⁰ None of these later authors refers to al-Rāzī explicitly in connection with the city, but cites al-Rāzī in other contexts.¹²¹

Thus, there is a strong case for assuming that al-Rāzī had knowledge about certain aspects of Visigothic history that preceded the Muslim invasion. It even seems possible that he had a rather well-founded notion if not a firm command of Visigothic history. After all, al-Rāzī was not the only Arabic-Islamic scholar from tenth-century al-Andalus who had access to Latin-based material about the peninsula's pre-Islamic history.

5.2.3. The Visigothic Past within an Arabic-Islamic Framework

Historiographical texts from eleventh-century al-Andalus contain much more information about Visigothic history than the early standard narrative. In consequence, it is possible to leave the realm of conjecture and turn to secure evidence.

Following a chapter on the Roman history of Toledo based on 'Īsā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī, the historiographer Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) reproduces 'the account of

¹¹⁵ Lévi-Provençal, 'Description' (1953), pp. 52–3.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 80: 'La ville de Racupel se trouve entre Santaver et Zorita. Elle fut fondée par Léovigild pour son fils, qui se nommait Racupel: aussi donna-t-il le nom de celui-ci à cette ville.' See ns 4–5 for the Arabic references.

¹¹⁷ Iohannes Biclarensis, *Chronica*, ed. Mommsen, a. 578, § 4, p. 215: 'Leovegildus rex... civitatem in Celteriberia ex nomine filii condidit, quae Recopolis nuncupatur.' On al-Rāzī's possible use of this chronicle, see *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés, pp. xxx–xxxi.

¹¹⁸ The city Reccopolis received such little notice in Latin historiography that scholarship was only ready to believe in its existence after finding numismatic and archaeological evidence. Cf. Ripoll, 'Reccopolis' (2003), pp. 204–8; Collins, *Spain* (2004), pp. 55–6. The city is mentioned in the *Historia Pseudo-Isidoriana*, and several Arabic-Islamic sources. Cf. *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés, p. 254 ns 15–16.

¹¹⁹ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 2, lemma 'Raqaqbil', p. 802.

¹²⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, p. 442 (Leiden), p. 559 (Beirut); al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Ṭulayṭula', p. 394. Since al-Ḥimyarī quotes al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) extensively, the latter's editors have used al-Ḥimyarī to reconstruct the lost parts of al-Bakrī's text, cf. al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1522, p. 908 n. 1522 (1).

¹²¹ Ibid., § 1263, p. 753, § 1499, p. 896, cites al-Rāzī in connection with the Islamic history of al-Andalus and its geography. Al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'al-Andalus', p. 33, cites al-Rāzī as transmitting what he had gathered about the history of al-Andalus before the deluge from 'its foreign scholars' (*ulamā' 'ajamiḥā*); Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Rasis' (1939), pp. 5–59.

Ibn Maslama on the history of the polity of the Goths'.¹²² Ishāq b. Maslama or, according to a variant of the manuscript, Ishāq b. Salama, can probably be identified with Ishāq b. Salama al-Laythī, the author of a history of al-Andalus written under the caliph al-Ḥakam II (ruled 350–66/961–76).¹²³ The account contains a list of Visigothic kings that begins with Suinthila (ruled 621–31) and ends with Roderic and the Muslim invasion. Unfortunately, great parts of Ibn Ḥayyān's historiographical work *al-muqtabis* are lost, including the first volume, which was probably dedicated to the pre-Islamic history of al-Andalus and the Muslim invasion. Although he may have had more information at his disposal, the chapter in question proves that this historiographer and his tenth-century source were aware of all Visigothic kings that ruled after 621, with the exception of Chintila (ruled 636–39) and Tulga (ruled 639–42). Ibn Ḥayyān links each reign to certain events. Suinthila is credited with having fought against the Romans, a reminiscence of his success in ending Byzantine rule on the peninsula.¹²⁴ Allegedly informed about the prophet Muḥammad, Wamba (ruled 672–80) convoked a synod, during which a certain Julian (of Toledo?) used the Book of Daniel to predict that the prophet's people would eventually rule al-Andalus.¹²⁵ Under Ervigius, the realm was affected by a great famine.¹²⁶ Ervigius' unnamed son is criticized for his bad conduct and oppressive rule.¹²⁷ Vitiza is described very positively as an orthodox (*jamīl al-madhhab*), moral, and well-loved ruler.¹²⁸ Roderic is dealt with briefly as the last Visigothic ruler who provoked the Muslim invasion by opening the notorious sealed house.¹²⁹

In his description of al-Andalus, al-ʿUdhri (d. 478/1085) not only mentions a Gothic language (*lisān al-Qūt*),¹³⁰ but also several kings. The extant text is fragmentary: Roderic, for example, only appears in connection with an Arabic inscription on a building that he allegedly constructed.¹³¹ The few listed kings belong to the period of Visigothic history marked by the downfall of the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse in the wake of the Battle of Vouillé (507), which led to the firm establishment of Visigothic rule on the Iberian Peninsula. They are localized in the district of Seville (*kūrat Ishbīliya*) and the nearby locality Italica (*Ṭāliqa*). Theudisclusus (*Tūdh Shaklash*, ruled 548–49), the earliest king mentioned by al-ʿUdhri, resided in Seville, was prone to adultery and hard to please, killed a great number of notables, and was eventually assassinated by one of his drinking companions.¹³² His successor Agila (*Athila*, ruled 549–54) was routed during a campaign against Córdoba. During the ensuing rebellion, Athanagild (*Aṭanajild*, ruled 554–67) sought help from the (Byzantine) 'ruler of Rome' (*malik Rūmāṣāhib Rūma*) and

¹²² Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis* V, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, pp. 274–6, 274: 'riwāyat Ibn Maslama li-akhbār dawlat al-Qūt'; cf. Safran, *Caliphate* (2000), pp. 166–7.

¹²³ Pons Boigues, *Historiadores* (1898/1972), p. 100; Safran, *Caliphate* (2000), p. 240.

¹²⁴ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis* V, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, p. 274.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 275. Cf. *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 49, p. 349: 'cuius in temore famis valida Spaniam populat'; Thompson, *Goths* (1969), p. 231.

¹²⁷ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis* V, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, p. 275.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

¹³⁰ al-ʿUdhri, *tarṣīʿ al-akhbār*, ed. al-Ahwānī, p. 121.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

thus managed to defeat Agila. Several kings succeeded Athanagild. In the year 650 of the (Spanish) Christian era (*tārīkh al-Sufr*), i.e. in 612,¹³³ Sisebut (*Shishighūt*, ruled 612–21) assumed power. A wise man of profound learning, he heralded an age of wisdom that witnessed the activities of Isidore of Seville (*Ishīdhūr*). He compelled the Jews to enter the Christian faith and allegedly died of poisoning in his residence in Toledo.¹³⁴ Although al-‘Udhri refers to chronicles of ancient history in earlier paragraphs on the Romans, he fails to name his sources on the Visigoths.¹³⁵ Since he mentions Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī and his son ‘Īsā—the former once, the latter thrice—several scholars have deemed it probable that he depended on al-Rāzī.¹³⁶ Great parts of the information provided by al-‘Udhri can also be found, in similar detail and order, in the *Historia Pseudo-Isidoriana*. The passages in question are made up of fragments of Isidore’s *Historia Gothorum* as well as the *Continuatio Hispana* or *Chronica Muzarabica* of 754.¹³⁷

Ibn Ḥayyān and al-‘Udhri provide a fragmentary overview on periods of Visigothic history known as the ‘regnum Arianum Hispanicum’ and the ‘regnum catholicum Toletanum’. Very different information can be found in the work of al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094). His contradictory handling of the Visigoths’ origins clearly indicates that he made use of al-Mas‘ūdī. He equates the rulers of al-Andalus, called ‘al-Ladhāriqa’, with the ‘Ashbān’, leading their origin back to the city of Isfahan,¹³⁸ only to question this theory later by pointing to their ‘Galician’ origins.¹³⁹ However, al-Bakrī also made use of other sources, including the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*.¹⁴⁰ In fact, his chapter on the Romans contains the most comprehensive summary of early Gothic history so far. Using the ethnonym ‘al-Qūṭ’, he reports on their admission into the Roman Empire under the pressure of the Huns (*Anqlish*) and their imperially guided conversion to Arianism (376), their conflicts with the emperor Theodosius, the sack of Rome under Alaric (410), and their settlement in Gaul in the times of Honorius (418).¹⁴¹ The same chapter also provides information on the Visigoths in Spain while additional topics relevant to the same period are addressed in the geographical chapters on al-Andalus at the end of his treatise, where al-Bakrī also mentions the Gothic language.¹⁴² In the Roman section, al-Bakrī mentions a certain ‘Ḥadrīfish’ (Theodoricus, Gesaleicus, Theodericus?) as the first Gothic ruler of al-Andalus, with residence in Mérida.¹⁴³ In the geographic section, he claims that the Goths resided in several capitals, i.e. Mérida,

¹³³ That al-‘Udhri dates Sisebut’s accession thirty-eight years later than modern scholarship, shows that he calculated according to the so-called ‘Spanish era’, which begins in 38 BCE, cf. Roth, ‘Calendar’ (2003), p. 190.

¹³⁴ al-‘Udhri, *tarṣī‘ al-akhbār*, ed. al-Ahwānī, p. 98.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 97: ‘kutub mu’arrikha li-l-akhbār al-qadima’.

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 25, 38, 42, 64. Santiago Simón, ‘Al-Razī’ (1969–70), pp. 103–8; Sánchez Martínez, ‘Razī’ (1971), pp. 7–49; *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés, pp. lxi–lxix.

¹³⁷ *Historia Pseudo-Isidoriana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 9, p. 383, § 16, p. 386; cf. González Muñoz, ‘Nota’ (1990), pp. 281–90.

¹³⁸ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 505, p. 314.

¹³⁹ Ibid., § 516, p. 319; cf. al-Mas‘ūdī, *murūj*, ed. Pellat, § 398, p. 191 (AR), pp. 145–6 (FR).

¹⁴⁰ See *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 73–4.

¹⁴¹ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 501–3, pp. 312–13.

¹⁴² Ibid., § 1508, p. 900. ¹⁴³ Ibid., § 504, p. 314.

Córdoba, and Toledo, at the beginning of their Hispanic reign.¹⁴⁴ The reference to a conflict between father and son, involving the cities of Mérida and Córdoba in the Roman section, recalls the rebellion of Leovigild's son Hermenegild against his father (580), the more so as this episode leads directly to a paragraph about Reccared's conversion to catholicism (587–89).¹⁴⁵ In the geographical section, al-Bakrī mentions that Leovigild (*Lūbyān*) installed the capital at Toledo and named the newly founded city Reccopolis (*Raqūbul*) after his son. Eighty bishops ruled eighty cities during Reccared's rule. He put an end to internal strife and built many churches, including a church in Elvira with an inscription carrying his name.¹⁴⁶ Roderic is only mentioned in connection with the Visigoths' origins.¹⁴⁷ His involvement in the Muslim invasion was probably addressed in the later parts of al-Bakrī's work that are lost.¹⁴⁸

5.2.4. Visigothic History and Regional Identity in al-Andalus

These three texts demonstrate that, by the eleventh century, Arabic-Islamic scholars from al-Andalus had acquired knowledge about all phases of Visigothic history—the Visigoths' admission into the Roman Empire at the end of the fourth century, their presence in Italy and Gaul in the fifth century, their ensuing establishment on the Iberian Peninsula in the sixth century, as well as the fall of the kingdom in 711. They all drew on sources that had already been available in al-Andalus one century earlier.

That new information on the Visigoths was assimilated by Andalusian historiographers in the tenth and eleventh centuries is not only due to a process of Arabization on the side of a sizeable Christian population, which now made use of the linguistic means to make such material available in Arabic. One should also consider that, by the tenth century, Muslim al-Andalus had developed a proper regional identity.¹⁴⁹ This is expressed in the fact that the term 'the people of al-Andalus' (*ahl al-Andalus*), still reserved for the conquered population of the Visigothic kingdom in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's narrative of the invasion,¹⁵⁰ was now applied to Muslims and even to Arabic-Islamic scholars from the peninsula. The 'people of al-Andalus' now featured in the titles of works such as Ibn Ḥayyān's *al-muqtabis min anḥā ahl al-Andalus* or al-Ḍabbī's (d. 599/1203) *bughyat al-multamis fi tārikh rijāl ahl al-Andalus*. This regional identity promoted the writing of local and regional history, i.e. a genre of historiography that also took account of the pre-Islamic era. As soon as Muslims began considering Andalusian localities as their home, they were able to regard the pre-Islamic (including Visigothic) history of these localities as their own. The fact that Ibn Ḥayyān, al-'Udhri, and al-Bakrī

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., § 1508, p. 900, § 1521, p. 907.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., § 501–504, pp. 313–14.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., § 1522, p. 908. Al-Bakrī probably conflates Reccared with his brother Hermenegild, who had rebelled against his father and who is commemorated in an inscription in Alcalá de Guidara. Cf. Ripoll, 'Changes' (2003), p. 132.

¹⁴⁷ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 516, p. 319.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 13–15 (introduction française).

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter 2.2.1. Alternative interpretation in Christys, 'History' (2003), pp. 323–48, esp. 348.

¹⁵⁰ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 205: 'ahl al-Andalus', 'ṣāḥib al-Andalus'.

all mention Visigothic kings in connection with the history of certain towns of al-Andalus shows that the Visigothic past had become part of a regional collective memory that was specifically 'Andalusian'. Consequently, it became possible for Muslim scholars such as Ibn Juljul and al-'Udhri to praise the scholarly merits of a Christian bishop of the Visigothic period such as Isidore of Seville, thus acknowledging that he had contributed to the preservation of 'their' history.¹⁵¹

It would probably be going too far to speak of an 'appropriation' of Visigothic history. Carrying a different ethnonym than the Muslims and regularly described as the power toppled by the Muslim invaders, the Visigoths remain a distinct ethnic entity in the texts dealt with above. Moreover, we cannot automatically assume that all Arabic-Islamic scholars from al-Andalus made use of the new information. If we assigned the chronicle *akhbār majmū'a* to the eleventh or even twelfth century, as some scholars do, we could claim that its author continued to write the history of al-Andalus from a conqueror's perspective on the basis of older material even after new information based on Latin sources had become available. However, one could also side with scholars who assign the chronicle to the period between the eighth and early tenth centuries, and argue that the conquerors' perspective could only have been maintained by an author writing before the diffusion of the Latin-based narrative in al-Andalus.¹⁵² The author of the chronicle does not seem to have known as much about the period preceding the invasion as the exponents of the Latin-based narrative, but knew more about it than the exponents of the early standard narrative. Like Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, he mentions the penultimate king Vitiza whose sons conspired against Roderic.¹⁵³ Under the years 88–90/706–08, he refers to the great famine ascribed to the reign of Ervigius (ruled 680–87) by Ibn Ḥayyān and the earlier *Continuatio hispana* of 754.¹⁵⁴ Thus, judging it on the basis of its content on the Visigoths, the chronicle *akhbār majmū'a* seems to stand between the exponents of the early standard narrative and those of the Latin-based narrative. However, considering the arguments that assign the chronicle to a later date, we cannot rule out that a later author chose to ignore the Latin-based narrative and to concentrate on the conquest itself.

¹⁵¹ Ibn Juljul, *ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. Sayyid, p. 41: 'Bashir al-Ishbili al-maṭrān' ('Isidor of Seville, the archbishop'); al-'Udhri, *tarsi' al-akhbār*, ed. al-Ahwānī, p. 98: 'Ishīdhur al-'ālim bi-'ilm al-kitāb / 'ilm al-kuttāb'. Due to the lack of vocalization, the word following 'ilm' can either be read as 'kitāb' ('book') or 'kuttāb' (pl. of 'writer', 'secretary'). Thus, two translations are possible: 'Isidore, the scholar on the science of the book' which would point to Isidore's qualifications as a theologian, given that the term 'ilm al-kitāb' is often used in connection with Qur'ānic studies; or 'Isidore, the scholar of the science of writers', which would classify him as an eminent scholar trained in all kinds of writing skills, ranging from calligraphy to the production of historiographical and other works.

¹⁵² The date of writing is fixed by Pedro Chalmeta to the ninth to tenth centuries, by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz to the eleventh, and by Luis Molina to the twelfth century or even later, cf. Molina, 'Ajbār' (1989), pp. 540–1; Molina, 'relato' (1998), pp. 44–6. García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), pp. 199–200, assigns it to the eighth to tenth centuries.

¹⁵³ *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, pp. 4–8 (AR), pp. 18–22 (ES).

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 8 (AR), p. 22 (ES); cf. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqābis* V, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, p. 275. On possible connections between both sources see Molina, 'Ajbār' (1989), pp. 516–22. The original reference in *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen, § 49, p. 349; cf. Thompson, *Goths* (1969), p. 231.

5.3. CONFLICTING TRADITIONS: LATE COMPILATIONS (13TH–15TH CENTURIES)

5.3.1. Earlier and Later Diffusion of the Latin-based Narrative

Writing in 336/947 in the Egyptian town of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, al-Maṣʿūdī (d. 345/956) pointed to the availability of new information about the Visigoths in al-Andalus and questioned the theory of the Visigoths' alleged Persian origins.¹⁵⁵ This reference to Andalusian sources was taken up again several centuries later in the city of Mosul by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233). When he wrote the chapter on the conquest of al-Andalus that forms part of his universal history, he criticized the historiographer al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) for having failed to make use of sources from al-Andalus in his description of the Muslim invasion:

This is everything that Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī] writes on the conquest of al-Andalus. But concerning such an important region and such a divine beneficence (*faṭḥ mubīn*), one should not abridge to such a degree. Thus, God willing, I will present its conquest in a way that is more comprehensive than he has done by recurring to the documentation provided by its people (*taṣānīf ahlihā*), since they are much better informed about their country.¹⁵⁶

It is deplorable that Ibn al-Athīr refrains from mentioning the texts he used. His chapter on the Muslim invasion of al-Andalus probably contains the most complete account of Visigothic history found in an Arabic-Islamic source of the pre-modern age and constitutes the chief witness for the diffusion of the Latin-based narrative of Visigothic history to the Islamic Middle East. Although his account is cursory and contains some errors, Ibn al-Athīr provides information on all important phases of Visigothic history.¹⁵⁷

Ibn al-Athīr intends to explain how Roman rule was superseded by Gothic rule on the Iberian Peninsula. He begins with Gothic–Roman relations up to the fourth century, that is, Gothic raids against the northeastern frontiers of the empire, their defeat at the hands of the emperor Claudius Gothicus (*Qalyūdhyyūs qayṣar*), as well as a new Roman–Gothic confrontation in the times of Constantine (*Qusṭanṭīn al-akbar*).¹⁵⁸ The following passage merges the persecution of Gothic Christians under Athanaricus, strife between Athanaricus and Fritigern, Roman support of the latter in connection with his adoption of Christianity, and the attack of the pagan Radagaisus on Italy into a rather distorted and confused account.¹⁵⁹ The text then deals with the rise of Alaric; the latter's sack of Rome (410); his death on the way to Sicily, as well as with the Visigoths' migration from Italy to Gaul and

¹⁵⁵ al-Maṣʿūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 398, p. 191 (AR), pp. 145–6 (FR).

¹⁵⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Törnberg, vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 439–40 (Leiden), p. 556 (Beirut): 'hādḥā jamīʿuḥu dhakarahu Abū Jaʿfar fī faṭḥ al-Andalus wa-bi-mithli dhālika al-iqlīm al-ʿazīm wa-l-faṭḥ al-mubīn lā yuqṭaṣar fīhi ʿalā hādḥā al-qadr wa-ana adhkur faṭḥahā ʿalā wajhin atamm min hādḥā in shāʾ Allāh min taṣānīf ahlihā idh hum aʿlam bi-bilādihim.' Cf. García Sanjuán, *Conquista* (2013), p. 194.

¹⁵⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Törnberg, vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 441–4 (Leiden), pp. 558–61 (Beirut); Ibn al-Athīr, *Annales*, trans. Fagnan, pp. 8–11.

¹⁵⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Törnberg, vol. 4, AH 92, p. 441 (Leiden), p. 558 (Beirut).

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 441–2 (Leiden), pp. 558–9 (Beirut); cf. König, 'Christianisation' (2009), pp. 455–6.

their occupation of parts of the Iberian Peninsula, including the city of Barcelona, under Athaulf. This exposition largely concurs with the facts established by scholarship, with the exception that Athaulf was not succeeded by his brother but by the short-lived Sigericus (415).¹⁶⁰

The ensuing enumeration of Visigothic kings from Vallia (ruled 415–18) to Leovigild (ruled 572–86) only omits the joint rule of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric with Amalaric (ruled 511–26), but is practically devoid of further information. Ibn al-Athīr focuses on the respective number of ruling years as well as on family relations, i.e. the father–son relationship between Theodoric I and Thrasamund, or the fraternal relationship between Thrasamund and Theodoric II, as well as between Liuva I and Leovigild. Apart from this, he only mentions that Alaric II resided in Toulouse (*Ṭulūsha*).¹⁶¹

A long passage is dedicated to the dynasty of Leovigild. The first king to take residence in Toledo, Leovigild waged war until he controlled the entire peninsula, founded, and named the city Reccopolis after his son, subdued the Basques (*al-Bashqans*) and married his son Hermenegild to the daughter of a Frankish king (*malik al-Faranj*). Residing in Seville, this son rebelled against his father, but was defeated, remaining in prison until he died. Leading a moral, chaste, and pious life, Leovigild's son and successor Reccared changed the ways of his father, i.e. by convoking the eighty bishops of his realm and by building a famous church. His son Liuva II followed his father's example but was soon killed by the licentious and criminal tyrant Witericus, who, ruling without the people's consent, was duly murdered by one of the men in his entourage.¹⁶²

Reverting to the enumerative style employed before, Ibn al-Athīr lists the kings from Gundemar (ruled 610–12) to Wamba (ruled 672–80), merely omitting Tulga and Reccesvinth. Only Sisebut and Suinthila are credited with a comment. The former is described as a man of good moral conduct whose son ascended the throne as a child and died shortly thereafter. The latter, a man worthy of praise, ascended to the throne when Muḥammad began his preaching (*al-ba'th*).¹⁶³

Focusing on the signs of crisis that preceded the Muslim invasion, Ibn al-Athīr treats the last Visigothic kings in more detail. Ervigius is associated with a very harsh famine, Egica characterized as a wicked person, and Vitiza defined as a king of good moral conduct who either released his father's victims from prison or provided for their widows. Because his sons failed to please the people of al-Andalus, the latter acclaimed a certain Roderic. For the moment, Ibn al-Athīr omits all legendary material and explains the kingdom's downfall with reference to Julian's revenge on a king who had ravished his daughter.¹⁶⁴ Several pages later, however, he concludes his chapter on the conquest with the

¹⁶⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, p. 442 (Leiden), p. 559 (Beirut).

¹⁶¹ Ibid., vol. 4, AH 92, p. 442 (Leiden), p. 559 (Beirut); cf. the Appendix.

¹⁶² Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 442–3 (Leiden), pp. 559–60 (Beirut); cf. the Appendix.

¹⁶³ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, p. 443 (Leiden), p. 560 (Beirut); cf. the Appendix.

¹⁶⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 443–4 (Leiden), pp. 560–1 (Beirut); cf. the Appendix.

explanation that Roderic's opening of the sealed house provoked the ensuing invasion.¹⁶⁵

Ibn al-Athīr provides an almost complete overview of Visigothic history. Beginning at the northeastern frontier of the late antique Roman Empire, he mentions their entry into the empire and the associated adoption of Christianity (376). He addresses their migration to Italy culminating in the sack of Rome (410), their settlement in Gaul and the foundation of the kingdom of Toulouse, their ensuing settlement on the Iberian Peninsula and their conversion to catholicism under Reccared (587–89). Finally, he also deals with the last years of the kingdom and its downfall in the wake of the Muslim invasion (711). Since the one or the other Latin text of the sixth to eighth centuries also contains this information, there can be no doubt that Ibn al-Athīr used Andalusian texts that had profited considerably from Latin-based source material. According to Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, Ibn al-Athīr used the tenth-century Arabic version of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī's history of the pre-Islamic Iberian Peninsula.¹⁶⁶ Considering the above-mentioned difficulties of reconstructing this lost text and its interrelations with various Latin and Arabic sources, it seems tedious to speculate on the exact origins of Ibn al-Athīr's data. He himself only tells us that he used sources of Andalusian origin (*taṣānīf ahlihā*) because of their better quality.¹⁶⁷

Ibn al-Athīr's account of Visigothic history served as a model to al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333). The latter composed a manual for the education of secretaries in Mamluk Egypt that also includes an abbreviated universal history. His account of the conquest of al-Andalus forms part of a chapter on the early governors of Ifriqiya. Al-Nuwayrī mentions Ibn al-Athīr as his primary source of information,¹⁶⁸ but only reproduces excerpts of the original text. After copying Ibn al-Athīr's text on Roman-Gothic relations in the fourth century up to the reign of Alaric I (d. 410), he states briefly:

Then several kings ruled them, whom Ibn al-Athīr mentions, there being idol-worshippers and Christians among them, until the reign of Vitiza who ruled in AH 77.¹⁶⁹

He then reproduces Ibn al-Athīr's passages on Vitiza, Roderic, and the invasion, ending with the legend of the sealed house.¹⁷⁰

Ibn al-Athīr was not the only scholar who contributed to the diffusion of the Latin-based narrative in the Middle East. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), who was born in the Maghreb but ended his life in Egypt, also participated in transmission. Ibn Khaldūn's version of Visigothic history differs considerably from that produced by Ibn al-Athīr. He not only transcribes the names of Visigothic rulers differently, but also makes use of different information and puts emphasis on other topics.

¹⁶⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, p. 449 (Leiden), p. 567 (Beirut).

¹⁶⁶ Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Rasis' (1939), pp. 5–59.

¹⁶⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 439–40 (Leiden), p. 556 (Beirut).

¹⁶⁸ al-Nuwayrī, *niḥāyat al-arab*, ed. Tarḥīnī, vol. 24, p. 22.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. 24, pp. 23–4: 'thumma tadāwalahā 'iddat mulūk dhakarāhum Ibn al-Athīr: minhum man 'abada al-awṭhān wa-minhum man dāna bi-dīn al-naṣrāniyya, ilā an intahā al-mulk ilā Ghaytasha, wa-kānat wilāyatuhu sanat sab' a wa-sab'in li-l-hijra.'

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., vol. 24, pp. 24–8.

In the *muqaddima*, which he seems to have written earlier without a library at hand,¹⁷¹ Ibn Khaldūn only mentions relations between Visigothic rulers and North Africa, claiming that Visigothic rulers had ruled the Iberian Peninsula for thousands of years.¹⁷² He corrects this information in the fourth volume of the *kitāb al-‘ibar* where he claims that the Visigoths ruled during the two centuries that preceded the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁷³ Based on the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, the passages on the Visigoths in the later volumes of the *kitāb al-‘ibar* contain information of higher quality.

In a chapter on genealogy, Ibn Khaldūn claims that Orosius (*Ahurūshiyūsh*, *Hurūshiyūsh*) traced the Goths' (*al-Qūṭ*) origins back to Gog and Magog.¹⁷⁴ His account of ancient Roman history cites Orosius in connection with the Gothic incursions into the eastern parts of the empire that were repelled by Gallienus, Claudius, and Aurelianus. Ibn Khaldūn claims that these Goths were known as 'al-Sansabīn' (Scythians?) and lived around the same region as the Syriacs (*al-Suryāniyyīn*).¹⁷⁵ Orosius is also named as the source for other events of Gothic history, i.e. another Gothic incursion into the empire in the times of Constantine,¹⁷⁶ for Valentinian's Gothic campaigns,¹⁷⁷ for their division into two confessional groups following the precepts formulated by Arius and the council of Nicaea respectively,¹⁷⁸ as well as for Valens' death in battle against the Goths.¹⁷⁹ The description of the Visigothic sack of Rome in the reign of Honorius, during which the looters allegedly respected church property, obviously draws on Orosius.¹⁸⁰ The latter is cited on the same topic a few paragraphs later, in a passage that additionally mentions the death of Alaric I and the ensuing negotiations between Romans and Goths. Following these negotiations, the Goths were endowed with al-Andalus and began their settlement of the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁸¹

Entirely dedicated to Gothic history, the ensuing chapter ends with an explicit reference to Orosius¹⁸² and begins with a summary of the above-mentioned data. Turning to al-Andalus, Ibn Khaldūn identifies the Iberians (*al-Arbāriyyūn*) as the autochthonous population subdued by the people of Rome (*ahl Rūma*). The invasion of three peoples, who probably represent the Alans (*al-Abyūn*), the Suevi (*al-Shawāniyyūn*), and the Vandals (*al-Qandalush*), led to the end of Roman rule and the political fragmentation of the peninsula. Seeing that they were losing control, the Romans agreed to cede parts of the peninsula to the Goths.¹⁸³

¹⁷¹ His *muqaddima*, the Introduction to his universal history, was written between 776–80/1375–78 in the castle of Ibn Salāma near present-day Frenda/Algeria. In total, the universal history named *kitāb al-‘ibar* was completed in a first redaction in Tunis around 780–84/1378–82, but apparently reworked in the following decades. Cf. Talbi, 'Ibn Khaldūn' (1971), p. 825; Issawi, 'Ibn Khaldūn' (1998), pp. 61–2.

¹⁷² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāhāda, vol. 1, p. 463: 'alāfan min al-sinīn'.

¹⁷³ Ibid., vol. 4, p. 149: 'mi'ayn min al-sinīn qabla l-Islām'.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 12. ¹⁷⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 247–8.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 253. ¹⁷⁷ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 254.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 254. ¹⁷⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 254.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 257; cf. Orosius, *Historiae*, ed./trans. Arnaud-Lindet, lib. VII, cap. 39, 1–18.

¹⁸¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāhāda, vol. 2, p. 257.

¹⁸² Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 280–3. ¹⁸³ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 280–1.

In the following passage on Visigothic rulers, it is often difficult to decipher the Arabic transcriptions of Visigothic names. Ibn Khaldūn (or his source) often confounds, merges, or switches rulers. He fails to give names for the early period outside the Roman Empire. The name of the earliest mentioned Gothic ruler, i.e. 'Anṭarik', could apply either to Athanaric or to Alaric. He does not credit Athaulf with having initiated a phase of Roman-Visigothic cooperation. 'Ṭusharik' (Sigericus?) is said to have been killed by the Romans, not by a Visigothic faction. Ibn Khaldūn correctly relates that 'Māsita' (Vallia?) found a compromise with the Romans, but claims erroneously that he married his sister to the Roman ruler Theodosius (*Ṭūdūshish*), a misinterpretation of Athaulf's marriage to Theodosius' daughter Galla Placidia. A certain 'Luzriq' (Theodoric I?) allegedly campaigned against the other invaders of al-Andalus and—this rather recalls the Vandal invasion of North Africa under Geisericus—even subdued the Berbers around Tangier who thus shook off the shackles of Constantine's rule (*Qustantin*) and became obedient to the Visigoths up to the time of Justinian (*Yushtyānush*). Ibn Khaldūn ignores the rule of Thurismundus, and falsely calls 'Ṭürdiq' (Theodoric II?) 'ruler of the Goths in al-Andalus' (*malik al-Qūṭ bi-l-Andalus*). An unnamed ruler is credited with having put down the rebellion of an allegedly Gothic group (*iḥdā ṭawā'if al-Qūṭ*) called 'al-Basktis', possibly a garbled transcription of the Latin term 'Bagaudae' that referred to peasant insurgents in fifth-century southern Gaul and northern Spain.¹⁸⁴

A detailed but confused description of the situation preceding the downfall of the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse follows. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Franks developed pretensions to rule al-Andalus (sic!) during the long reign of Alaric II (*Aldik*) and united against the Visigoths. Clearly evoking the Battle of Vouillé (507), he claims that Alaric suffered a serious defeat and lost his life. In the only reference to the Ostrogoths and the Ostrogothic interregnum over the Visigoths in medieval Arabic-Islamic historiography, Ibn Khaldūn explains that the Goths had divided into two groups during the reign of Valentinian. One group settled near Rome under a leader called Theoderic (*Ṭuradik*). When this group heard about Alaric's defeat, they attacked and defeated the Franks and assumed rule over the territories of al-Andalus. The Goths of Spain (*al-Qūṭ alladhina kānū bi-l-Andalus*) submitted to Theoderic.

Largely correct until this point, the ensuing account shows that Ibn Khaldūn did not fully understand the complex political constellation that resulted from Alaric II's defeat in the Battle of Vouillé. He claims that Theoderic appointed his son Amalaric (*Ashtarik*) to rule over the Visigoths of Spain. After five years of rule, Amalaric was attacked and defeated by the Franks near Toulouse, only to be succeeded by Gesaleicus (*Bashliqush*). Apparently repeating himself, Ibn Khaldūn then claims that Gesaleicus' reign was followed by the reigns of Theoderic (*Ṭudarīq*), Amalaric (*Abarliq*), and eventually Theudis (*Ṭūdis*).¹⁸⁵ Theoderic did in fact assume responsibility for the Visigoths after the downfall of Alaric's illegitimate son

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 281–2; cf. the Appendix.

¹⁸⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *tarikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāḥāda, vol. 2, p. 282; cf. the Appendix.

Gesaleicus (ruled 511–26). However, Amalaric, the legitimate progeny of Alaric II and Theoderic's daughter Theodegotho, was Theoderic's grandson and had not ruled before his half-brother Gesaleicus. Supervised by Theudis when underage, Amalaric assumed full rule over the Visigoths after Gesaleicus' death (526) but was murdered and succeeded by his guardian Theudis five years later.¹⁸⁶

Dealing rather briefly with the period from Theudisculus (ruled 548–49) up to Liuva I (567–72), Ibn Khaldūn only errs occasionally with regard to the individual rulers' length of rule. The order of rulers is correct, however, as is the reference to a rebellion of Córdoba during the reign of Agila (ruled 549–51).¹⁸⁷ Dedicating more space to the reign of Leovigild (ruled 572–86) and his son Reccared (ruled 586–601), he fails to mention the rebellion of Hermenegild (580), but correctly points to Leovigild's successful pacification of the peninsula as well as to the failure of his religious policy. Refusing to accept Arius' interpretation of the trinity (*tathlīth Aryush*) as propagated by Leovigild, the Christians of his realm tried to win him for 'their creed of divine unity' (*tawhīdihim*). Leovigild's refusal allegedly led to fighting and his death. His son Reccared then returned to 'the creed of divine unity of the Christians as they claim it to be' (*tawhīd al-naṣārā bi-za'mihim*).¹⁸⁸ The very brief description of the period ranging from Liuva II (ruled 601–03) to Chintila (ruled 636–39) contains a few chronological errors and omits the usurpation of Witericus. Sisebut (ruled 612–21) is mentioned as the contemporary of Heraclius and the *hijra*.¹⁸⁹ The ruling periods of Tulga (ruled 639–42), Chindasvinthus (ruled 642–53), and Reccesvinthus (ruled 653–72) seem to have been merged in the twenty-three-year reign of a certain 'Janshūnd'. According to Ibn Khaldūn, it was during his reign that Visigothic rule began to weaken. He fails to elaborate on the last Visigothic kings from Wamba to Roderic. The latter is briefly described as the king whose realm succumbed to the Muslim invasion. It is noteworthy that Ibn Khaldūn believes Julian (*Yulyān*) to have been Vitiza's son and governor of Tangier.¹⁹⁰

The Visigoths also feature in the introduction to Ibn Khaldūn's chapter on Umayyad rule in al-Andalus. Given the synthetic nature of this introduction, which mainly repeats what has been laid down before, Ibn Khaldūn neglects to mention his sources. He states that the Goths ruled al-Andalus for a period of 200 years before the arrival of the Muslims after several wars with the 'Latins' (*al-Laṭīniyyīn*), during which they laid siege to the city of Rome. After concluding peace, the Visigoths settled in al-Andalus. In this context, Ibn Khaldūn mentions that 'Latin Romans' (*al-Rūm al-Laṭīniyyūn*) had induced the Goths and the Franks to accept Christianity.¹⁹¹ He names Toledo as the Goths' residence but

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Thompson, *Goths* (1969), pp. 7–16.

¹⁸⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 282.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 282; cf. König, 'Christianisation' (2009), p. 456.

¹⁸⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 282; cf. the Appendix.

¹⁹⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, pp. 282–3; cf. the Appendix.

¹⁹¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 4, p. 149: 'wa-lammā akhadha al-Rūm wa-l-Laṭīniyyūn millat al-naṣrāniyya ḥamalū man warā'ihim bi-l-Maghrib min ahl al-Ifranja wa-l-Qūṭ 'alayhā fa-dānū bi-hā...'. The use of 'millat' (ed. Beirut 1958, s. ed., vol. 4, p. 252) in place of 'lablā' (ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda) seems more convincing.

assumes that they moved between Toledo, Córdoba, Mérida, and Seville, claiming that this situation lasted for 400 years until the arrival of the Muslims.¹⁹² This provides the key with which to begin the actual description of the conquest. It involves Roderic (*Lazriq*), merely defined as the king who took advantage of Julian's daughter. Once again, Ibn Khaldūn omits the legend of the sealed house.¹⁹³ Later in the same volume, Ibn Khaldūn offers another very short overview on Visigothic history, which is of minor quality.¹⁹⁴ A final reference to the Visigoths can be found in a chapter on the rise of the Franks. Here Ibn Khaldūn claims that the latter rose to power during the decline of Roman power as did the Visigoths of al-Andalus.¹⁹⁵

Flanked by citations from the geographic works of Ibn Saʿīd, Abū l-Fidāʾ, and al-Ḥimyarī, Ibn Khaldūn's version formed the basis of at least one other work of Arabic-Islamic scholarship in the Middle East, i.e. the work of the Mamluk scholar al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418). Al-Qalqashandī touches upon Visigothic history in several chapters dedicated to famous cities of the Maghreb and al-Andalus. He claims that Goths had ruled the city of Ceuta and describes the role of the Visigothic governor Julian in the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁹⁶ He states that the toponym Córdoba originally derived from the Gothic language, claiming that he had taken this information from Ibn Saʿīd, whereas in fact it features in the works of al-ʿUdhri and al-Bakrī.¹⁹⁷ A chapter on Toledo refers to Roderic (*Lūdhriq*) as the last Gothic king before the Muslim invasion.¹⁹⁸

Although he cites Orosius, parallels between Ibn Khaldūn and al-Qalqashandī's texts suggest that al-Qalqashandī modelled his version of Visigothic history on Ibn Khaldūn's universal history rather than on the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*. He admittedly uses different phrasing to Ibn Khaldūn when he cites Orosius (*Hurūshiyūsh*) in connection with the Visigoths' (*al-Qūt*) alleged descent from Gog and Magog.¹⁹⁹ However, a passage on the early Gothic incursions into the Roman Empire repelled by Gallienus, Claudius, and Aurelianus is identical to the passage written by Ibn Khaldūn and differs from the respective passage in the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*.²⁰⁰ When he states that Alans, Sueves, and Vandals invaded the Iberian Peninsula before they were attacked by the Goths, his and Ibn Khaldūn's spelling of the

¹⁹² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 4, p. 149.

¹⁹³ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 149–50.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 180–1.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 209.

¹⁹⁶ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 158.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 226, cf. al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1508, p. 900; al-ʿUdhri, *tarṣīʿ al-akḥbār*, ed. al-Ahwānī, p. 121.

¹⁹⁸ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, pp. 227–8.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 369: 'qāla Hurūshiyūsh hum min wuld Māghūgh, b. Yāfith, b. Nūh, wa-qāla hum min wuld Qūt, b. Ḥām, b. Nūh': cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 12: 'wa-qāla Ahurūshiyūsh mu'arrikh al-Rūm anna l-Qūt al-laṭīn min Māghūgh'.

²⁰⁰ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 390: 'wa-fi ayyāmihi kharaja al-Qūt min bilādihi wa-taghallabū 'alā bilād al-Ghariqin wa-Maqdūniyya wa-bilād al-Nabat'; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 247: 'wa-fi ayyāmihi kharaja al-Qūt min bilādihi wa-taghallabū 'alā bilād al-Ghariqin wa-Maqdūniyya wa-bilād al-Nabat'; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, fol. 126r/245, § 181, p. 363: 'fa-kharaja ilā l-Qūt al-mutaghallibin 'alā Majdūniyya wa-ghayrihā min bilād al-Rūm al-ghariqiyyin mundhu khamsa 'asharata sana...'

ethnonyms is identical.²⁰¹ Although it is introduced in a manner that differs from Ibn Khaldūn, occasionally employs a different orthography for Visigothic names, and omits many details, the list of Visigothic kings based on Orosius not only follows the same order, but also is often identical to that provided by Ibn Khaldūn.²⁰² Considering that both scholars lived in Cairo at the turn of the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries, it seems very probable that al-Qalqashandī made extensive use of Ibn Khaldūn's universal history in the respective passages on Gothic and Visigothic history.²⁰³

Thus, it is possible to trace two processes of diffusion, during which variants of the Latin-based narrative were transmitted from the Muslim West to the Middle East. In the case of Ibn al-Athīr, we only know that he used Andalusian sources. In the case of Ibn Khaldūn, we can assume that the Maghrebian scholar himself acted as a carrier of information, settling as he did in Cairo later in his life. Both Ibn al-Athīr's and Ibn Khaldūn's versions of the Latin-based narrative entered two different manuals for secretaries of the Mamluk chancery, written respectively by al-Nuwayrī and al-Qalqashandī. This should not imply, however, that every Middle Eastern scholar made use of the Latin-based narrative. The geographer Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), for example, is silent on the Visigothic past of the Iberian Peninsula, in spite of his personal acquaintance with Ibn al-Athīr.²⁰⁴ In his geographic encyclopaedia, the lemma 'al-Andulus' (sic!) completely ignores the peninsula's pre-Islamic history, while the lemma 'Ṭulayṭulā' only contains the statement that Toledo had once been the residence of the 'rulers of the Cordovans' (*mulūk al-Qurṭubiyyīn*), obviously an orthographical distortion of the Arabic 'rulers of the Goths' (*mulūk al-Qūṭīyyūn*).²⁰⁵

5.3.2. The Latin-based Narrative in the Late Medieval Muslim West

Curiously, the Latin-based narrative had much less impact on Arabic-Islamic scholars writing in the Muslim West of the twelfth and later centuries. This applies equally to works of geography and historiography as well as to mixed genres, which deal with both fields of knowledge.

The Andalusian geographer al-Zuhri (6th/12th cent.), for example, only offers very limited information on the Visigoths in his *Book of Geography* (*kitāb al-ja'rafiya* [sic]). In the section on Granada, he refers to the Goths (*al-Qūṭīyyīn*) as the former

²⁰¹ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 238: 'wa-lladhī dhakarahu Hurūshiyūsh mu'arrikh al-Rūm anna lladhī kharaja 'alayhim min Rūma thalāth ṭawālī' min al-Gharīqīyyīn wa-hum: al-Anbiyyūn, wa-l-Shawāniyyūn, wa-l-Qandalush'; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, pp. 280–1: 'wa-laḥiqa bihā thalāth ṭawā'if min al-Gharīqīyyīn fa-qtasamū mulkahā wa-hum al-Anbiyyūn wa-l-Shawāniyyūn wa-l-Qandalush'.

²⁰² al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, pp. 238–41; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, pp. 281–3.

²⁰³ On al-Qalqashandī's sources see Veselý, 'Quellen' (1969), pp. 13–24; Björkman, *Beiträge* (1928), pp. 75–7.

²⁰⁴ Both resided in Aleppo in their final years, cf. Rosenthal, 'Ibn al-Athīr' (1971), p. 723.

²⁰⁵ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'al-Andulus', pp. 375–8; vol. 3, lemma 'Ṭulayṭulā', pp. 515–16.

inhabitants of al-Andalus.²⁰⁶ Always using a similar phrasing, he mentions them as possible founders of the cities of Toledo, Santarem, Seville, Algeciras, and Denia.²⁰⁷ Claiming to cite al-Mas'ūdī, he asserts that their last king Roderic (*Ludhriq*) resided in Córdoba for seven years after opening the sealed house in Toledo, parting from there to meet the Muslim troops in battle in the Wādī Lakka.²⁰⁸ Al-Zuhri only mentions one other, unidentifiable Visigothic ruler. He credits a certain 'Sanḡarīn', allegedly ruler of Cádiz (*Qādis*), with the construction of an aqueduct that was to provide the city with water.²⁰⁹ Providing rather scarce information and mainly interested in geographic data, al-Zuhri seems to have merged rather feeble traditions of local history with the data provided by an obviously outdated source, allegedly al-Mas'ūdī. Several passages suggest that he had no idea of where to place the Visigoths chronologically and ethnically. He claims that the Visigoths founded Algeciras and Denia in the times of Abraham and Moses respectively,²¹⁰ only to assert that they ruled from Toledo, which later (sic!) served as residence to the Romans/Byzantines (*al-Rūm*).²¹¹ Consequently, he defined Roderic as 'ruler of the Romans/Byzantines' (*malik al-Rūm*), thus using an ethnic terminology hitherto not applied to the Visigoths.²¹²

The historiographical account of the Muslim invasion called *fath al-Andalus* does not live up to the standards set by the earlier Latin-based narrative either. Written around the beginning of the twelfth century or heavily relying on a text from this period,²¹³ the chronicle reproduces the main elements of the early standard narrative: Roderic's (*Ludriq*) rule from the capital Toledo, his fatal decision to open the sealed house,²¹⁴ the causes for Julian's (*Wulyān* or *Bulyān*) treason,²¹⁵ Roderic's campaign against the Basques (*al-Bashkansh*) at the beginning of the Muslim invasion,²¹⁶ the effects of the marriage between the first governor 'Abd al-'Azīz with Roderic's wife Egilona (*Ayla*),²¹⁷ etc. The chronicle elaborates on all these themes and even adds some material not yet used in the early standard narrative. Notwithstanding, it fails to use the ethnonym 'al-Qūṭ' or 'al-Qūṭiyyūn', speaking of Roderic as the 'ruler of al-Andalus' (*malik al-Andalus*), of his people as 'non-Arabs' (*al-'ajam*), and of Julian as a 'Roman/Byzantine' (*Rūmī*).²¹⁸ Furthermore, it proffers no information on the time before Roderic. One might argue that a work on the Muslim invasion could afford to neglect the period before the invasion. Earlier, however, Ibn al-Qūṭiyya and the chronicle *akhbār majmu'a* had also focused on the invasion, but had mentioned the penultimate Visigothic king Vitiza

²⁰⁶ al-Zuhri, *al-ja'rāfiya*, ed. Ḥājj Ṣādiq, § 247, p. 95.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., § 217, p. 83, § 220, p. 85, § 230, p. 88, § 244, p. 93, § 270, p. 103.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., § 223, p. 86, § 242, p. 93.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., § 238, p. 90.

²¹⁰ Ibid., § 244, p. 93, § 270, p. 103.

²¹¹ Ibid., § 217, p. 83: 'wa-qāla annahā min bunyān al-Qūṭiyyīn. wa-kānat dār mulkihim, wa-mulk al-Rūm min ba'dihim'.

²¹² Ibid., § 242, p. 93, § 247, p. 95.

²¹³ *Conquista de al-Andalus*, trans. Penelas, pp. xvii–xix.

²¹⁴ *fath al-Andalus*, ed./trans. Molina, cap. I,4, pp. 12–13.

²¹⁵ Ibid., cap. I,5, pp. 13–15.

²¹⁶ Ibid., cap. I,12, p. 18.

²¹⁷ Ibid., cap. II,2, pp. 41–2.

²¹⁸ Ibid., cap. I,4, p. 12 (*rūmī*; *malik al-Andalus*); cap. I,5, p. 13 (*'ajam*).

to explain the political constellation preceding the fall of the kingdom of Toledo.²¹⁹

Ibn 'Idhārī (d. after 712/1312–13), author of a history of North Africa and al-Andalus from the expansion up to the early fourteenth century, is also rather brief on pre-Islamic Visigothic history, but made use of some of the information characteristic of the Latin-based narrative. He knew that the Visigoths (*al-Qūṭ*, *al-Qūṭiyyūn*) took over al-Andalus from the Romans (*mulk Rūma*) and that Roderic (*Ludhriq*) was the last of a series of kings, allegedly sixteen in number. Aside from Roderic, Ibn 'Idhārī only mentions the latter's predecessor Vitiza (*Wakhshandash*). According to 'the books of the non-Arabs' (*kutub al-'ajam*), Roderic had dethroned and killed this well-loved and righteous Christian king and then corrupted the mores of the kingdom, first opening the sealed house, then provoking the wrath of Julian.²²⁰ Although he cites proponents of the Latin-based narrative such as al-Rāzī, Ibn Ḥayyān, and al-Bakrī,²²¹ Ibn 'Idhārī did not furnish more information on the Visigoths before the invasion. Since we do not know which parts of their works were available to him, we cannot accuse him of having deliberately ignored the much richer data at their disposal, the more so as his work clearly focuses on the Muslim West after the expansion.

Equally uninformative, the historiographer of Granada, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375), only refers to Roderic (*Ludhriq*) and Julian (*Yulyān*) in a brief reference to the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. He uses the ethnonym 'Rūmī' for Julian,²²² and defines Toledo as the capital of the Romans/Byzantines (*dār mulk al-Rūm*).²²³ It is surprising that he did not use the correct ethnonym for the dominant power defeated by the Muslim invaders in 711, especially considering that he knew Ibn Khaldūn well, and frequently exchanged letters with him.²²⁴

Various counterexamples prove that interest in the Visigothic past was still alive and that the Latin-based narrative continued to inspire historiographical accounts. The geographical encyclopaedia ascribed to al-Ḥimyarī (13th–14th cent.), for example, cites al-Rāzī on the pre-Islamic history of al-Andalus.²²⁵ It mentions that the Visigoths (*al-Qūṭ*) replaced the Romans on the Iberian Peninsula, taking Toledo as their capital.²²⁶ Nonetheless, it contains considerable distortions and much legendary material. It is impossible to identify the ruler called 'Khanshūsh', allegedly the Goths' best and most righteous king and their first ruler who converted to Christianity. He allegedly supported the disciples of Christ (*al-ḥawāriyyīn*), called his people to the faith, collected, copied, and taught the gospels, thus firmly implanting the Christian religion among his people. This description neither applies to the Gothic conversion to Christianity in the late fourth century, nor to the

²¹⁹ See Chapter 5.2.1. and 5.2.4.

²²⁰ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 2, pp. 2–3, 7.

²²¹ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 6; vol. 3, pp. 242, 298, as well as the Indices pp. 335, 366.

²²² Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-iḥāṭa*, ed. 'Inān, vol. 1, p. 100.

²²³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-'ilām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 243.

²²⁴ Cf. Talbi, 'Ibn Khaldūn' (1971), p. 825.

²²⁵ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'al-Andalus', p. 33.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 34. More details on Toledo under the lemma 'Ṭulayṭula', p. 394. On the Visigoths' independence from Rome also see the lemma 'Mārida', p. 518.

Visigoths' conversion to Catholicism in 589, nor to the reign of a Catholic king like Sisebut (ruled 612–21), lauded as a most Christian king by various earlier Arabic-Islamic scholars.²²⁷ Al-Ḥimyarī claims that 'Khanshūsh' was succeeded by thirty-six rulers who continuously quarrelled up to the Muslim invasion. His explanation of the political constellation after the death of Vitiza (*Ghaytasha*) is rather elaborate. Aside from the legend of the sealed house,²²⁸ he mentions new details in connection with Roderic's (*Ludhriq*) violation of Julian's daughter.²²⁹ The lemma on Toledo reproduces data about the rule of Leovigild and his son Reccared. In line with al-Bakrī, al-Ḥimyarī mentions Leovigild (*Lūbyān*) as the founder of the city of Reccopolis and the first king to reside in Toledo. However, al-Ḥimyarī credits Leovigild with actions that al-Bakrī had correctly ascribed to Reccared. Consequently, Leovigild falsely appears as the ruler who saved the kingdom from a period of strife.²³⁰ A reference to the Gothic language in connection with the toponym Córdoba also points to al-Ḥimyarī's use of al-Bakrī.²³¹ Original, but not necessarily correct, are al-Ḥimyarī's comments on the Visigoths' architectural achievements. He claims that Roderic built the walls of Mérida²³² as well as some vaults in the great mosque of Córdoba.²³³

Apart from the universal history of Ibn Khaldūn, a text called *dhikr bilād al-Andalus* provides probably the best example for the survival of the Latin-based narrative in the late medieval Muslim West. Of Maghrebian origin, it dates to the second part of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.²³⁴ The geographical section credits the Goths (*al-Qūṭiyyūn*) with having built Zaragoza and Mérida, claiming that the latter was constructed by a ruler named 'Mārid b. Lārid'.²³⁵ Toledo is defined as the Visigoths' capital.²³⁶ Ibn Ḥayyān provides the information that Córdoba was the residence of the last Visigothic king Roderic (*Ludriq*).²³⁷ The historical part of the work mentions wars between the Romans and the Goths east of Rome. Ensuing negotiations had the effect of conferring al-Andalus to the Goths, who took up residence in Toledo and Mérida.²³⁸ The section consigned to Visigothic history mentions the existence of thirty-seven Visigothic kings, nine of which ruled in al-Andalus for a period of about 300 years.²³⁹ The ensuing list of kings contains various errors as regards their length of

²²⁷ al-'Udhri, *tarṣī' al-akhbār*, ed. al-Ahwānī, p. 98; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, p. 443 (Leiden), p. 560 (Beirut).

²²⁸ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'al-Andalus', p. 34; lemma 'Tulayṭula', p. 393.

²²⁹ Ibid., lemma 'al-Andalus', pp. 34–5. On the final battle also see the lemma 'Wādī Lakka', p. 605.

²³⁰ Ibid., lemma 'Tulayṭula', p. 394; cf. al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1522, p. 908. It seems, as if the editor of al-Bakrī used the corresponding passage in al-Ḥimyarī to reconstruct al-Bakrī's fragmentary text.

²³¹ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Qurṭuba', p. 458; cf. al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1508, p. 900. This reference, probably based on another source common to several Arabic-Islamic historiographers and connected in one way or another with the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, is also found in al-'Udhri, *tarṣī' al-akhbār*, ed. al-Ahwānī, p. 121; and al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 226, who, however, claims to cite Ibn Sa'īd.

²³² al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Mārida', p. 518.

²³³ Ibid., lemma 'Qurṭuba', p. 457.

²³⁴ *dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed./trans. Molina, pp. xvii–xix (introducción).

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 56 (Mérida), p. 70 (Zaragoza).

²³⁶ Ibid., p. 47.

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 31.

²³⁸ Ibid., p. 91.

²³⁹ Ibid., pp. 91–2.

rule, dynastic relationships, and historical events, but undoubtedly constitutes a highly distorted version of earlier Latin-based lists. It seems to begin with Sisebut (ruled 612–21), a religious king who promoted learning and wrote books on medicine and astrology. His successors—probably Suinthila, Sisenand, and Tulga with the omission of Chintila—are treated briefly. His successor, probably Chindaswinth, is credited with strange and wonderful deeds that are not further specified. During the ruling period of his successor, possibly Reccesvinth, declared the Visigoths' best and most righteous ruler, Muḥammad began his struggle. The ensuing joint rule of two brothers, one of whom may represent Egica, ended when they both died on the same day, leaving the kingdom to Vitiza (*Ghaytasha*), the first identifiable ruler. Visigothic rule ends with Roderic (*Ludriq*), who usurps power after Vitiza's death.²⁴⁰ The ensuing paragraphs on Roderic reproduce the well-known anecdotes about a king who corrupted the mores of the kingdom, opened the sealed house against the will of the Christian nobles and the clergy, and suffered defeat in the final battle. Julian is not mentioned. A few lines are dedicated to the final battle and Roderic's defeat.²⁴¹

In spite of its flaws, and in view of its inferior contemporary alternatives with the exception of Ibn Khaldūn, the *dhikr bilād al-Andalus* contains the best and most comprehensive narrative of Visigothic history produced in the late medieval Muslim West. Luis Molina drew links to exponents of the Latin-based narrative, i.e. Ibn Ḥayyān and al-ʿUdhri.²⁴² In this case, however, it proves difficult to assert a direct relationship. As opposed to the *dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, Ibn Ḥayyān's list provides recognizable Arabic transcriptions of rulers' names and correctly correlates rulers and events in many cases. With regard to al-ʿUdhri, it is not possible to establish a relationship, because the extant fragments only deal with Visigothic kings who ruled before the period treated by the *dhikr bilād al-Andalus*. If the author of the *dhikr* drew back on either of these two texts, he considerably distorted what they wrote.

Al-Maqqarī's (d. 1041/1632) *naḥḥ al-ṭib min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭib* treats the history of Muslim al-Andalus in retrospect as a territory lost to Islam.²⁴³ It also fails to furnish a better version of Visigothic history. Al-Maqqarī cites several proponents of the Latin-based narrative, including al-Rāzī, Ibn Ḥayyān, and Ibn Khaldūn.²⁴⁴ He mentions the Roman prehistory to the rule of thirty-six Visigothic kings. According to 'old non-Arab works of history' (*tawārikh al-ʿajam al-qadima*), their rule over al-Andalus lasted 407 or 342 years.²⁴⁵ But aside from Roderic and

²⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 92–3; cf. the Appendix. In the footnotes to the edition, Molina rules out any doubts as to the exact correspondence of the respective Latin names to the Arabic versions by providing improved Arabic transliterations. However, the events attributed to most of these rulers except for Sisebut, Vitiza, and Roderic hardly correspond to those which have been established by scholarship, nor to what is said about these kings in Latin sources such as Isidore's *Historia Gothorum* or the *Chronicle of 754*.

²⁴¹ *dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed./trans. Molina, pp. 93–4, 97–9.

²⁴² Ibid., p. xvi (introducción).

²⁴³ al-Maqqarī, *naḥḥ al-ṭib*, ed. ʿAbbās, vol. 1, p. 13. Cf. Elinson, *Looking* (2009).

²⁴⁴ al-Maqqarī, *naḥḥ al-ṭib*, ed. ʿAbbās, vol. 1, pp. 137, 140, 143, 148.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 138–40.

the Muslim invasion,²⁴⁶ he only names one Visigothic king called 'Khashnadash' who was allegedly converted to Christianity by one of the apostles.²⁴⁷

5.3.3. Claiming the Visigothic Heritage

The preceding section has not considered all texts produced in the late medieval Muslim West. Consequently, it is not possible to pronounce a sweeping judgement with regard to its understanding of Visigothic history. The universal history of Ibn Khaldūn, largely conceived and written in the Muslim West but reworked in Mamluk Egypt,²⁴⁸ bears testimony to the continuous use of texts that provided well-founded data on Visigothic history, in this case the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*. Since Ibn Khaldūn provided a Hafsīd and a Marinid ruler with a copy of his work,²⁴⁹ we can safely assume that other inhabitants of the Muslim West had some knowledge of the Latin-based narrative.²⁵⁰

Notwithstanding, the analysed works from the late medieval Muslim West display a clear tendency to neglect the Visigothic past. They largely ignore the important discoveries made by their peers of the late ninth to eleventh centuries who drew on Latin source material. Their accounts cannot rival those written by contemporary Middle Eastern scholars such as Ibn al-Athīr and al-Qalqashandī, none of whom specialized on the history of al-Andalus. Although it is not possible to provide an exhaustive explanation, the following hypotheses may merit consideration.

Many of the above-mentioned scholars from the late medieval Muslim West valued other sources, often of inferior quality, than the earlier proponents of the Latin-based narrative. The most obvious case concerns al-Zuhri who claims to have made use of a completely outdated text, i.e. the work of al-Mas'ūdī. In the geographical works, we can note a tendency to integrate dubious local tradition. Al-Zuhri, al-Ḥimyarī, and the *dhikr bilād al-Andalus* link several Visigothic rulers to specific architectural monuments while al-Zuhri and the *dhikr* mention unidentifiable rulers unheard of so far, i.e. 'Sanbatrīn' and 'Mārid b. Lārid'.²⁵¹ Legendary elements are preponderant. Al-Zuhri's history of the Visigoths takes place in the archaic age of Abraham and Moses. According to al-Ḥimyarī and al-Maqqarī, the extremely pious, but unidentifiable Visigothic kings 'Khanshūsh' or 'Khashnadash' interacted with the apostles.²⁵²

Apart from Ibn Khaldūn, who seems to have quoted directly from the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, all late medieval western scholars treated above drew on secondary or tertiary historiographical material. Since the abbreviation of a compilation is generally shorter than the summary of a primary source, their narratives of Visigothic

²⁴⁶ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 148, 161–2.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 139.

²⁴⁸ Talbi, 'Ibn Khaldūn' (1971), p. 825.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 829–30.

²⁵⁰ Other texts preserved in the late medieval Maghreb were also based on Latin sources, cf. Penelas, 'Novedades' (2003), pp. 143–61.

²⁵¹ al-Zuhri, *al-ja'rafiya*, ed. Ḥājj Šādiq, § 238, p. 90; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, pp. 457, 518; *dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed. Molina, pp. 56, 70.

²⁵² al-Zuhri, *al-ja'rafiya*, ed. Ḥājj Šādiq, § 244, p. 93, § 270, p. 103; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'al-Andalus', p. 34; al-Maqqarī, *nafḥ al-tib*, ed. 'Abbās, vol. 1, p. 139.

history are less comprehensive. Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Ḥimyarī, the *dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, and al-Maqqarī were aware of the existence of several Visigothic kings with a total number of sixteen, thirty-six, or thirty-seven. Considering that they cited al-Rāzī, Ibn Ḥayyān, al-'Udhri, and al-Bakrī, i.e. their earlier colleagues from the tenth and eleventh centuries, it seems possible that they had access to the lists of rulers proffered by these authors. They may have actively participated in the process of abbreviation and distortion by refraining from reproducing these lists. Historiographers such as the author of the *fath al-Andalus* and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in turn, began their narrative with the invasion. This way of dealing with Visigothic history followed a system of periodization used in the early standard narrative that also ignores all earlier events. One could point out that, contrary to Ibn Khaldūn and his Middle Eastern colleagues Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nuwayrī, and al-Qalqashandī, western Muslim historiographers did not write universal history and consequently focused on the Muslim West or al-Andalus. All in all, however, their tendency to neglect pre-Islamic history suggests that they regarded the Visigoths as an irrelevant prelude to the history of Muslim al-Andalus.

This may have to do with the ideological climate in which they worked. Their approach to al-Andalus was formed in a period in which Muslim Spain suffered extreme pressure, even extinction from the Christian North, or—in the case of al-Maqqarī—had ceased to exist.²⁵³ Such a climate was not conducive to producing elaborate accounts on the Christian as opposed to the Muslim past of al-Andalus. From the perspective of historiographers trying to preserve what was left of a continuously diminishing Muslim region, it is comprehensible that dealing with this region's pre-Islamic past seemed less and less important.

In this context, it seems relevant that some scholars defined Roderic and the Visigoths as 'Romans/Byzantines' (*al-Rūm*),²⁵⁴ thus dropping the ethnonym 'Goths' (*al-Qūṭ*, *al-Qūṭiyūn*) that had been introduced by proponents of the early standard narrative and employed by all exponents of the Latin-based narrative. The term 'al-Rūm' was also used as a generic term for the contemporary Iberian Christian adversary.²⁵⁵ The terminological shift from 'al-Qūṭ' to 'al-Rūm' suggests that, 500 to 800 years after the Muslim invasion and in the above-mentioned ideological climate, certain scholars cared little about terminological subtleties as long as the term employed clearly differentiated between the Iberian Peninsula's Christians and Muslims, past and present.

In addition, several passages in Arabic-Islamic works from this period are revealing in that they reflect the contemporary Christian claim to the Iberian Peninsula's pre-Islamic, i.e. Visigothic heritage. In a paragraph on the year 393/1002, Ibn

²⁵³ On this climate see Fierro, 'Success' (1997), pp. 155–78; Viguera Molins, 'Réactions' (2003), pp. 243–51; Buresi, 'Réaction' (2003), pp. 229–41; Elinson, *Looking* (2009).

²⁵⁴ As is done by al-Zuhri, *al-ja'rafiya*, ed. Ḥajj Šādiq, § 242, p. 93; *fath al-Andalus*, ed. Molina, cap. I,4, p. 12 (*rūmī*); cap. I,5, p. 13 (*ajamī*); cap. I,18, p. 21 (*Rūm*); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-iḥāṭa*, ed. 'Inān, vol. 1, p. 100; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-'ilām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 243.

²⁵⁵ al-Marrākushī, *al-mu'jib*, ed. Dozy, pp. 235–7; al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Tarḥīnī, vol. 24, p. 212.

'Idhārī declares king Alfonso V of León a 'king of the Goths' (*malik al-Qūṭ*).²⁵⁶ Al-Qalqashandī claims that Alfonso I of Asturias (*Adfunsh b. Baṭra*) was either of 'Galician' or 'Gothic' descent (*min al-Jalāliqa aw al-Qūṭ*)²⁵⁷ and, reproducing al-'Umari's earlier manual for Mamluk chancery secretaries, ascribes the title 'heir of Roderic' (*wārith Ludhriq*) to 'Alfonso' (*al-Adfunsh*), the 'master of Toledo and Seville' (*sāhib Ṭulayṭula wa-Ishbiliya*).²⁵⁸ It is an established fact that the Visigothic heritage played an important ideological role for the Christian realms of medieval Iberia at the latest from the ninth century onwards.²⁵⁹ Of greater interest in this context is when these Christian realms began propagating their claim to the Visigothic heritage vis-à-vis the Muslims of al-Andalus. According to Ibn 'Idhārī's history of the Maghreb and al-Andalus, Fernando I of León and Castile (ruled 1037–65) already formulated such a claim vis-à-vis the Muslims of Toledo:

Verily, we demand our lands that you have conquered from us in ancient times at the beginning of your affairs. You have inhabited it for the period assigned to you, but now we have been victorious over you by the use of your arms. So now, go back to your shores and leave our lands to us, for there is no good in your living with us after this day, for we will not pull back, or God may judge between you and us...²⁶⁰

By reproducing the above-mentioned titles without further comment, at least some Arabic-Islamic historiographers of the later Middle Ages seem to have accepted and lent legitimacy to the Christian appropriation of the Visigothic heritage. Instead of seizing this heritage for the Muslims, they surrendered it to the Christian North.

5.4. A HERITAGE GAINED LOSES APPEAL

The Arabic-Islamic reception of Visigothic history can be divided into three phases.

Between the early eighth and the middle of the tenth century, Visigothic history was mainly recorded by scholars in Egypt and the Middle East who drew on information provided by Muslims involved in the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. This furnished the basis to develop an early standard narrative of Visigothic history, a narrative that only encompassed the ultimate phase of the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo under Roderic. This narrative preserved the earliest Arabic-Islamic impressions of the Visigothic kingdom and was reproduced up to the end of the period of investigation.

²⁵⁶ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 3, p. 5: 'arsala bihim malik al-Qūṭ yawma'idhin Adhfunsh b. Urdun al-ma'rūf bi-Ibn Barbariyya'.

²⁵⁷ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 264.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., vol. 6, p. 176.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Bonnaz, 'Aspects' (1976), pp. 81–99; Bronisch, *Reconquista* (1998), pp. 126–9, 235–77; Hillgarth, *Visigoths* (2009), pp. 57–118.

²⁶⁰ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 3, p. 282: 'fa-innamā naṭlub bilādina allatī ghalabrumūnā 'alayhā qadiman fi awwal amrikum fa-qad sakantumūnahā mā quḍiya lakum wa-qad naṣarnā al-ān 'alaykum bi-ridā'atikum fa-irḥalū ilā 'udwatikum wa-utrukū lanā bilādanā fa-lā khayr lakum fi suknākum ma'anā ba'd al-yawm wa-lan narja' 'ankum aw yaḥkum Allāh baynanā wa-baynakum...'; cf. Bronisch, *Reconquista* (1998), pp. 369–70.

In due course, new sources of information were disclosed in al-Andalus of the late ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. By this time, Muslim al-Andalus had developed a strong regional identity. Members from converted indigenous families such as Ibn al-Qūṭīyya contributed new material on the era of invasion, while scholars descending from immigrated Arab elites began to display curiosity for the region's pre-Islamic past. This sociopolitical climate favoured the exchange of information between Christian and Muslim intellectuals, as well as several initiatives of translation from Latin to Arabic, and resulted in the systematic study of the Visigothic heritage. Arabic translations of Latin historiography, i.e. Orosius, Isidore of Seville and his continuators, provided many an Andalusian historiographer with an overview of Visigothic history, from their intrusion into the eastern provinces of the late antique Roman Empire up to the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. While scholars from the Muslim West produced these earliest Latin-based narratives between the first half of the tenth and the late eleventh century, Middle Eastern scholars confined themselves to copying the early standard narrative and only slowly began to understand that new information had become available in the west.

In the third phase of reception, roughly between the middle of the twelfth century and the early fifteenth century, the Latin-based narrative diffused to the east. Here it was first integrated into the universal history of Ibn al-Athīr, only to become part of the standardized knowledge demanded from Mamluk chancery secretaries in the most important centre of late medieval Middle Eastern Muslim power. In the Muslim West of the same period, the Latin-based narrative seems to have lost importance. The fact that western Muslims were under attack from Christian powers who laid claim to the Visigothic heritage probably favoured the production of historiographical works that focused on the Iberian Peninsula's Muslim rather than its pre-Islamic Christian past.

APPENDIX: ARABIC-ISLAMIC LISTS OF VISIGOTHIC RULERS

The following table (Table 5A.1) only considers Arabic-Islamic authors who mention at least five Visigothic rulers. The column on the outer left features the list of Visigothic rulers established by modern scholarship together with the approximate years of rule in round brackets. The other columns feature transcriptions of the equivalent Arabic anthroponyms as given by the respective work. Latin names and Arabic transcriptions have been matched after considering parallels as regards phonetics and content. Since neither the MS nor the editions are vocalized, the short vowels have been inserted deliberately to make the names readable. If data given on a specific ruler seems to apply to another ruler, this is indicated by referring to the alternative ruler in square brackets. The duration of reign and other definite chronological data as given by the respective Arabic-Islamic historiographer follow in round brackets, with 'y' for years and 'm' for months. Question marks indicate that the author has provided no data on the length of a reign. For references and further data about the respective ruler see the main text of the chapter.

Table 5A.1. Arabic-Islamic Lists of Visigothic Rulers

Establishment of Gothic Groups within the Empire (c.376–418)						
Rulers (approx. years of reign)	Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076)	al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094)	Ibn al-Aṭhīr (d. 630/1233)	<i>Crónica del moro Rasīs</i> (14th cent.)	Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406)	dhikr bilād al-Andalus (14th–15th cent.)
—			arrival from the east			
Fritigernus/ Athanaricus		Huns attack, Christianization	Ludhriq (13y), Iqrīt (?), Amālriq (?), Waghadish (?)	Lodoyñ (?), Lanbarin (?), Rrafiz (?)	Antarik (Theodosius I dies during his reign)	
Alaricus I (395–410)		Adriq (?)		Loria (?), Loric (?)		
Araulfus (410–15)			Aṭaluf (6y)	Tolofe (6y)	Aṭfanush (?)	
Sigericus (415)			‘his brother’ (3y)	Saben (2y)	Ṭusharik (?)	
Regnum Tolosanum (c.418–507)						
Rulers (approx. years of reign)	Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076)	al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094)	Ibn al-Aṭhīr (d. 630/1233)	<i>Crónica del moro Rasīs</i> (14th cent.)	Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406)	dhikr bilād al-Andalus (14th–15th cent.)
Valia (415–18)			Wāliyā (?)	Filis/Filie (13y)	Masra (3y)	
Theodoricus I (418–51)			Būrdazarīsh (33y)	Tenderis (4y)	Luzriq (13y)	
Thurismundus (451–53)			Ṭarashamund (?)	Tarsamat (4y)		
Theodoricus II (453–66)			Ludhriq (13y)	Tanderia (3y)	Ṭuwarīq (?)	
Euricus (466–84)			Awriq (17y)	Loric (17y)	Aldik (13y)	
Alaricus II (484–507)			Alariq (23y)	Enrique/Anrrique (13y)	[→Alaricus II] Ashtarik (5y) [→Amalaricus]	

Regnum Arianum Hispanicum-Toletanum (c.507–589)						
Rulers (approx. years of reign)	Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076)	al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094)	Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233)	<i>Crónica del moro Rasis</i> (14th cent.)	Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406)	dhikr bilād al-Andalus (14th–15th cent.)
Gesaleicus (507–10)		Hadrifish (?)	ʿAshliq (?)	Gaslie/Galie (3y)	Bashliqush (4y)	
Theodericus cum Amalaricus (511–26)			Amlīq (2y)		Ṭūdariq (61y)	
Amalaricus (510–31)						
Theudis (531–48)			Ṭūdhayūsh (17y, 5m)	Almeric (6y)	Abraḷīq (5y)	
Theudisculus (548–49)			Ṭūdatqalīs (1y, 3m)	Tendes/Antendes (?)	Ṭūdis (13y)	
Agila I (549–51)			Athalah (5y)	Tandascalas (1y, 7m)	Ṭūdishkal (2y)	
Atanagildus (551–67)			Aṭalanja (15y)	Elie (13y)	Ayla (5y)	
Liuva I (567–72)			Lyūbā (3y)	Talavande (15y)	Ṭanjād (15y)	
Leovigildus (572–86)		Lūbyān (?)	Lūwīld (?)	Lorian (3y)	Lyūbā (1y)	
Hermenegildus usurpator (580)			Armanjīld (?)	Lanbilore/Alquibilore (28y)	Lūbilida (18y)	
Regnum Catholicum Toletanum (c.589–711)						
Rulers (approx. years of reign)	Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076)	al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094)	Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233)	<i>Crónica del moro Rasis</i> (14th cent.)	Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406)	dhikr bilād al-Andalus (14th–15th cent.)
Recaredus (586–601)		Rakadīd (?)	Rikarīd (?)	Radīs/Rredīs (15y)	Zadaraq (16y)	
Liuva II (601–03)			Lyūbā (?)	Benic/Lenie/Linie (2y)	Lyūba (2y)	
Witericus (603–10)			Batrīq (?)	Latre (?)		
Gundemarus (610–12)			Ghundamār (2y)		Ṭabdiqa ʿAndamār (2y)	
(continued)						

(continued)

Table 5A.1. Continued

Rulers (approx. years of reign)	Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076)	al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094)	Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233)	<i>Crónica del moro Rasis</i> (14th cent.)	Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406)	dhikr bilād al-Andalus (14th–15th cent.)
Sisebutus (612–21)			Sisifūr (9y)	Salget (9y)	Shishūṭ (8y; hijra)	Shanshaqūt b. Tabrīn (8y)
Recaredus (621)			Rakarīd (3m)	fiṣ de Salget (24y)	Zadrīq (3m)	
Suinthila (621–31)	Shintūla (7y)		Shintilah (?)	Arelon/Çintollon/Çintellon/Çentello (30y)	Shitlah (3y)	Shabīla b. Shanshaqūt (20y)
Sisenandus (631–36)	Sishinādus (6y)		Sashanand (5y)	Sesmete (5y)	Sanshadish (5y)	Shanbashar b. Shabīla (4y, 9m)
Chinrila (636–39)			Khantala (6y)		Khanshūnd (7y)	Tal'a b. Shabīla (2y, 8m)
Tulga (639–42)				Talcatan (13y)		
				Gentilia (6y) [→Chintila]		
Chindasvinthus (642–53)	Hīndas (?)		Khandas (4y)	Gundasulid (15y)	Janshūnd (23y)	Khashrand b. Tal'a (23y)
Reccesvinthus (653–72)						Arjashidash b. Khashrand (50y)
Wamba (672–80)	Fānbah (8y)		Banbān (8y)	Benere/Abenete (8y)	Mānīh (8y)	
Ervigius (680–87)	Arwī (7y)		Arwī (7y)	Amendoçel (7y)	Lūrī (8y)	son of Arjashidash with brother Aqfa (8y)
Agica (687–702)	'his son' (16y)		Ibīqah (15y)	Abarca (16y)	Īqāh (16y)	
Vitiza (700–10)	Ghaytasha (12y)		Ghaytasha (AH 77–92)	Acosta (15y)	Ghatasa (14y)	Ghaytasha b. Ahad b. Arjashidash (3y)
Rodericus (710–11)	Ludhrīq	Ludhrīq	Rudhrīq	no name	Rudrīq	Ludrīq (1y, 8m)

6

From the Franks to France

Among the most widely used terms to classify Western Europeans in Arabic-Islamic scholarship is the term ‘Franks’, transcribed ‘al-Ifranj’, ‘al-Ifranja’, ‘al-Faranj’ or ‘al-Ifranjiyyūn’. Focusing on its use in writings from the Muslim West that deal with the Christian polities of the Iberian Peninsula and the adjacent Frankish realm, François Clément already pointed to certain intricacies of the term’s semantic evolution.¹ The present chapter intends to explain the logic of this evolution in a larger overview that also considers Middle Eastern sources.

6.1. EARLIEST RECORDS ON THE FRANKS (7TH–9TH CENTURIES)

The Frankish realm only emerged forcefully during the course of the late fifth and sixth centuries.² Since pre-Islamic, early Islamic, and later Arabic-Islamic sources on the pre- and early Islamic period fail to mention the Franks, it seems legitimate to consider if Arab groups of the sixth and early seventh centuries were aware of the Franks’ existence. According to Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406):

the Arabs of this period did not know the Franks. In Syria (*al-Shām*), they had only fought the Byzantines (*al-Rūm*). Because of this, they believed that they [the Byzantines] ruled over all Christian peoples (*umam al-naṣrāniyya*), and that Heraclius (*Hiraql*) was the ruler over the entire Christian world (*al-naṣrāniyya*). Consequently, they imposed the name *al-Rūm* on all Christian peoples.³

6.1.1. The Early Muslims and the Frankish Sphere

Bernard Lewis and J. F. P. Hopkins believe that the Frankish ethnonym ‘probably reached the Muslims via the Byzantines’.⁴ Given the dearth of pre-Islamic and Arabic-Islamic texts from the period between the sixth and the ninth century, this is difficult to verify, but certainly possible. The Greek term ‘Φράγγοι’ already figures in sources

¹ Clément, ‘Nommer’ (2009), pp. 89–105.

² Ewig, *Merowingier* (2006), pp. 9–41.

³ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, p. 140: ‘al-‘Arab yawma’idhin lam yakūnū ya’rifūn al-Faranj, wa-mā qātalū fi l-Shām illā l-Rūm, fa-ḡannū annahum hum al-ghālibūn ‘alā umam al-naṣrāniyya fa-inna Hiraql huwa malik al-naṣrāniyya kullihā fa-ghallabū ism al-Rūm ‘alā jamī’ umam al-naṣrāniyya’; Ibn-Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères*, trans. de Slane, vol. 1, p. 208.

⁴ Lewis and Hopkins, ‘Ifrandj’ (1971), p. 1044.

of the early fifth century that refer to events in the fourth and fifth centuries.⁵ It may have reached Arab groups in contact with Byzantium.

Since Arabic-Islamic literary genres prone to document the non-Muslim world were only developed in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries,⁶ the earliest extant references to the Franks in Arabic-Islamic sources feature in texts of the ninth century, most of them written in the Middle East. Here we find passages that seem to have been written from a 'Byzantine' perspective. Describing the geopolitical constellation after the Arabic-Islamic expansion, al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905) portrays the Frankish realm as an annex to the Byzantine Empire. Having listed the Byzantine territories lost to the Muslims, he continues:

Then they [= the Byzantines] own what lies behind the mountain pass (*al-darb*) in the direction of the lands of the Slavs (*al-Ṣaḡālība*), the Alans (*al-Ālān*) and the Franks (*al-Ifranj*).⁷

Later Middle Eastern geographers such as al-Iṣṭakhri (4th/10th cent.) and Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 378/988) also associated the Frankish realm with the Byzantine Empire, claiming that the Franks, the Galicians, and the Byzantines formed a united realm and practised the same religion but differed in language.⁸ Although these texts indicate that the Franks were perceived from an eastern point of view as a people situated in the northwestern periphery of the Byzantine Empire, they fail to prove conclusively that the early Muslims came to know the Franks through the medium of Byzantium.

6.1.2. Direct Contact in the Era of Expansion

In Arabic-Islamic texts, the earliest historical facts mentioned in connection with the Franks are linked to the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula and the earliest incursions into Frankish territory in the 720s. It is thus possible that the Franks came into view only during the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. This is suggested by the fact that the earliest known sources mentioning interaction between Arabs and Franks are Hispano-Latin texts of the eighth century that digest the impact of the expansion on the Iberian Peninsula.⁹

Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic works dealing with the invasion of the peninsula suggest that little was known about the Franks at the beginning of the eighth century. Never taking up more than a few lines, the given data is restricted to geo-

⁵ Cf. Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastica Historia*, ed. Hussey, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 10, 89, p. 199, trans. Schaff and Zenos, p. 38, mentions the Franks in connection with a synod held in Antioch in the year 344; Sozomen, *Ecclesiastica Historia*, ed. Hussey, vol. 2, lib. 9, cap. 13, p. 910, trans. Schaff and Hartranft, p. 426, mentions the Franks in connection with usurpations of Constantine and Maximus around 409–11. On the early formation of the Franks, see Ewig, *Merowingier* (2006), pp. 8–14.

⁶ See Chapter 3.1.1.

⁷ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 1, p. 199: 'thumma lahum mā khalf al-darb ilā bilād al-Ṣaḡālība wa-l-Ālān wa-l-Afranj...'

⁸ al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 9; copied by Ibn Ḥawqal, *sūrat al-ard*, ed. Kramers, p. 14.

⁹ *Continuatio Byzantia-Arabica* [741], ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 40, p. 358; *Continuatio Hispana* [754], ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 80, p. 356, § 86, p. 358, § 103, p. 361. Cf. Rotter, *Abendland* (1986), pp. 212–30; Tolan, *Saracens* (2002), pp. 71–104.

graphic information on the Frankish realm's position north of the Iberian Peninsula, a rather stereotypical description of a bellicose people, as well as sparse information on the first raids into Frankish territory.¹⁰ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's (d. 257/871) account of the Muslims' defeat in the Battle of Tours and Poitiers furnishes a representative example:

'Ubayda [b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, i.e. the governor of Ifriqiya] had appointed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Akkī over al-Andalus who was a righteous man. He raided the Franks who are the fiercest enemies of al-Andalus, pillaging a lot of booty and defeating them. . . . Then he set out to them on another raid where he became a martyr with his entourage. According to what Yahyā has transmitted from al-Layth, his death took place in the year 115/733.¹¹

In this passage, the Egyptian traditionist al-Layth b. Sa'd (d. 175/792) features as the main source of information.¹² Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's work largely draws on traditions collected by Arabic-Islamic scholars in Egypt in the second half of the eighth century. These traditions were based on the reports of conquerors who, on their return from the Iberian Peninsula, either established themselves in Egypt or stayed there temporarily before departing to other destinations in the Middle East.¹³ Although he wrote in the second half of the ninth century, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam only mentions the Franks in connection with the first Muslim raids into Frankish territory in the first half of the eighth century. He thus limited himself to reproducing information more than a century old.¹⁴

The only extant Andalusian text on the Franks from the ninth century, the universal history of Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/853), does not procure the detailed description one would have expected from a scholar living in a region adjacent to the Frankish realm. Based on the same Egyptian sources used by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam,¹⁵ the work completely ignores the relations between the Carolingians and the Umayyads of Córdoba, which, in Ibn Ḥabīb's lifetime, involved the Carolingian occupation of the Spanish Levant as well as several instances of diplomatic interaction.¹⁶ In lieu thereof, Ibn Ḥabīb proffers a vague and anachronistic reference to the Franks as one of the peoples targeted by the Arabic-Islamic expansion, which he puts into the mouth of a man in the entourage of the first Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (ruled 41–60/661–80).¹⁷ Aside from mentioning the earliest advances towards Frankish

¹⁰ Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, § 353, p. 122, § 408, p. 142, § 430, p. 148; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, pp. 216–17; al-Balādhuri, *futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, § 270, p. 231; al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 1, p. 199; al-Ya'qūbī, *al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 355; Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 90.

¹¹ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, pp. 216–17: 'wa-kāna 'Ubayda qad wallā 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Akkī 'alā l-Andalus wa-kāna rajulan ṣāliḥan fa-ghazā 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ifranja wa-hum aqṣā 'adūw al-Andalus fa-ghanama ghanā'im kathīra wa-za'fara bihim. . . . thumma kharaja ilayhim ayḍan ghāziyan fa-istashhada wa-āmat aṣḥābihi. wa-kāna qatluhu fimā ḥaddathanā Yahyā 'an al-Layth fi sanat khams 'ashara wa-mi'a'.

¹² On this traditionist, see Makki, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 174–80.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 166–86.

¹⁴ Rosenthal, 'Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam' (1971), p. 675.

¹⁵ Ibn Ḥabīb, *tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, § 353, p. 121, § 408, p. 142, § 430, p. 148; ibid., pp. 72–3, 102–7 (introducción).

¹⁶ Cf. El-Hajji, *Relations* (1970); Sénac, *Carolingiens* (2002).

¹⁷ Ibn Ḥabīb, *tārikh*, ed. Aguadé, § 353, p. 121.

territory under the conqueror Mūsā b. Nuṣayr,¹⁸ Ibn Ḥabīb also reproduces a conversation that allegedly took place between the Umayyad caliph, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (ruled 96–99/715–17), and Mūsā in Damascus. According to Ibn Ḥabīb, Sulaymān demanded a description of the Franks' military strength. Mūsā answered, rather evasively:

"They are characterized by great numbers, equipment, endurance, strength, courage and intrepidity." He [Sulaymān] said: "Inform me about how fighting was between you and them. Was it to or against your advantage?" He [Mūsā] said: "Concerning this matter, by God, I have never lost a single banner, my host was not wasted and the Muslims under my command have never experienced a disaster from the period when I entered my forties until I reached eighty years of age."¹⁹

Ibn Ḥabīb's lack of interest in the Carolingian–Umayyad relations of his own lifetime can be explained by pointing to the cultural outlook of this scholar hailing from the western periphery of the Muslim world. Impressed by an educational journey to the Middle East, Ibn Ḥabīb seemingly made the effort of emulating the historiographical models of the Islamic Middle East rather than drawing on available local knowledge in al-Andalus.²⁰

All other texts from the late ninth century were produced in Iraq and contain even less information about relations between the Frankish realm and Muslim al-Andalus than the works dealt with so far.²¹ This suggests that they have to be situated at the end of various chains of transmission that connected early al-Andalus with the Middle East.

6.2. NEW VANTAGE POINTS (8TH–10TH CENTURIES)

6.2.1. Andalusian Records on Frankish–Umayyad Relations

Although Ibn Ḥabīb failed to mention relations between the Umayyads of al-Andalus and the Carolingians in the middle of the ninth century, records must have been available during his lifetime. Andalusian historiographers from the eleventh century drew on texts from the tenth century that report on Frankish–Umayyad relations of the late eighth and ninth centuries. Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) bases great parts of his history of al-Andalus, including several of the passages cited below, on historiographical works produced in the environs of the tenth-century Umayyad court by such scholars as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī

¹⁸ Ibid., § 408, p. 142.

¹⁹ Ibid., § 430, p. 148: 'hunāka al-ʿadad wa-l-ʿudda wa-l-jalad wa-l-shidda wa-l-ba's wa-l-najda. qāla: fa-akhbirunī kayfa kānat al-ḥarb baynakum wa-baynahum: akā[nat] laka am ʿalayka? qāla: amma ḥadhā fa-wa-llāhi mā huzimat li rāya qaṭṭ wa-lā buddida jamʿi wa-lā nukiba al-muslimūn maʿi mundhu iqtahamtu al-arbaʿin ilā an balaghtu al-thamanin.'

²⁰ Makki, 'Egipto' (1957), pp. 157–8, 197–200. See Chapter 3.1.1. and 3.1.2.

²¹ al-Yaʿqūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 1, p. 199; al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 355; al-Balādhuri, *futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, § 270, p. 231.

(d. 344/955) and his son 'Īsā. The work of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya (d. 367/977) and the chronicle *akhbār majmū'a* procure further details.

Ibn Ḥayyān asserts that strife between the three sons of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I provoked the flight of 'Abd Allāh and his two sons to the court of Charlemagne (*Qārḥ malik al-Faranj*) at the end of the eighth century.²² The chronicle *akhbār majmū'a* mentions that the governor of Barcelona, Sulaymān al-A'rābī, captured the Muslim commander Tha'laba b. 'Abd and sent him to Charlemagne (*Qārḥ*) who then laid siege to Zaragoza.²³ Ibn Ḥayyān curses the Franks, 'may God destroy them', involved in the conquest of Barcelona in 185/800–01²⁴ and describes how Charlemagne concluded a peace treaty with the *amīr* al-Ḥakam six years later:

In this year, a peace treaty was concluded between the *amīr* al-Ḥakam and Charles, the son of Pepin (*Qārḥ b. Bibīn*), the king of the Franks (*malik al-Firanja*), after the repeated exchange of ambassadors between them since the beginning of al-Ḥakam's reign and after various complications. The reason for its conclusion at this time was the appearance of Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasanī on the North African coast and the Franks' terror because of this. However, the peace between them did not last long, only until the tyrant (*al-tāghīya*) Charles died at the end of the year 191/806. In his place ruled his son Louis, the son of Charles (*Ludhwīq b. Qārḥ*), who broke the above-mentioned peace, thus rekindling Frankish military activity.²⁵

Ibn Ḥayyān also reports that Muslims, led by the future 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, confronted the troops of Louis the Pious advancing, among other places, on Tortosa, in 192–93/807–808.²⁶ They failed to reconquer Frankish territories on the Iberian Peninsula, particularly Barcelona, in 197/812 and 212/827.²⁷ Ibn al-Qūṭīyya records that 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (ruled 206–38/822–52) sent an embassy to Charles the Bald (*Qārḥ, malik Ifranja*)²⁸ who responded with an embassy to Muḥammad

²² Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makki, trans. Makki and Corriente, fol. 90a, p. 97 (AR): 'wa-maḍā 'Abd Allāh b. al-amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'alā wajhihi fāran, ḥattā intahā ilā Qārḥ malik al-Faranj', pp. 20–1 (ES). Cf. *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. Pertz and Kurze (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 7), a. 797, p. 13; *Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. de Simson (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 10), a. 797, p. 82. Cf. Sénac, *Carolingiens* (2002), pp. 60–2; Guichard, 'Relations', pp. 230–1.

²³ *akhbār majmū'a*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, pp. 112–13 (AR), p. 103 (ES). Cf. *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. Pertz and Kurze (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 6), a. 777–8, pp. 48–50. See Schilling, 'Karl' (2004), pp. 208–17.

²⁴ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makki, trans. Makki and Corriente, fol. 95b, AH 185, p. 116 (AR): 'qaṣamahum Allāh', p. 36 (ES).

²⁵ Ibid., fol. 100a, p. 130 (AR): 'wa-fi ḥādhihi al-sana, in'aqada al-salm bayna l-amīr al-Ḥakam wa-bayna Qārḥ b. Bibīn malik al-Firanja ba'da tardād al-rusul baynahumā min awwal imārat al-amīr al-Ḥakam wa-iltiwa' ḥabliḥā. wa-kāna sabab in'iqādiḥā baynahumā fi ḥādḥā al-waqt zuḥūr Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasanī bi-arḍ al-'udwa wa-faza' al-Firanja li-dhālika, fa-lam yaḥul amr ḥādḥā al-salm baynahumā ḥatta halaka al-tāghīya Qārḥ sanat iḥdā wa-tis'in wa-mi'a ākhiruhā, wa-waliya makānahu ibnuhu Ludhwīq b. Qārḥ, fa-intaqada al-salm al-madhkūr, wa-waqadat ḥarb al-Firanja', p. 47 (ES). Louis the Pious became king of Aquitaine in 781, but only took over rule in 791 when he came of age. In 800–01, he led the conquest of Barcelona. Charlemagne actually died in 814, cf. Boshof, *Ludwig* (1996), pp. 19–82.

²⁶ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makki, trans. Makki and Corriente, fol. 100a, pp. 131–2 (AR), pp. 47–8 (ES).

²⁷ Ibid., fol. 101b–102a, AH 197, p. 136 (AR), pp. 51–2 (ES); fol. 177b, AH 212, p. 422 (AR), p. 286 (ES).

²⁸ Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *tārīkh ifitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ibyārī, pp. 86–7.

I (ruled 238–73/852–86). According to Ibn Ḥayyān, citing al-Rāzī (d. 344/955), this *amīr*

was surrounded by tyrannical rulers (*mulūk al-tawāghit*) on the Iberian Peninsula (*bi-arḍ al-Andalus*) who were extreme in their admiration and their respect for him, solemnly requesting peace on most occasions in the nicest and most obliging terms. The one who spent most energy on this was their greatest tyrant (*taḡhūṭuhum al-a'ẓam*) Charles, the son of Louis (*Qarlush b. Ludhwiq*), the vigorous and ingenious master of the Franks adhering to the Melkite religion who, among the Frankish kings, held sway over the largest kingdom, wielded the greatest power of command and had the most far-reaching reputation. He is the one who produced an image of the Messiah, the son of Mary – God's blessings upon them both – according to what he believed to be true about the latter's qualities. He created his image from 300 *raṭl* of pure gold, adorning it with rubies and emeralds, seating it on a throne encased with the most precious adornments. All the inhabitants of his kingdom bowed before it. Then he sent it to the master of the golden church so that he may safeguard it for him. When he returned to his castle, God struck him with a headache that stayed and did not stop until he emitted his last breath. His rule lasted thirty-nine years and six months, and the realm of the Franks after him slackened for a while. He is the one who made peace with the *amīr* Muḥammad and who gave him presents.²⁹

Although he clearly satisfied the Umayyad claim to righteousness in matters of political grandeur and faith in this passage, Ibn Ḥayyān may have understood that Charles' (ruled 823–77) complaisance could have been connected to the fact that his realm was a victim of Norman attacks such as the one suffered in 245/859.³⁰

Thus, relations between the Carolingians and the Umayyads of al-Andalus provided Arabic-Islamic scholars with various details about the Franks and the Frankish realm. According to al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), the bishop Godemar of Gerona presented a book on the Franks to the future caliph al-Ḥakam II in 328/939–40.³¹ This book provided al-Mas'ūdī with most of the data on the Franks that is included in his *murūj al-dhahab*. Here he claims that the Franks originally

²⁹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makkī, pp. 130–1 and n. 2: 'ḥāl al-amīr Muḥammad kānat laḍā al-mujāwirīn lahu min mulūk al-tawāghit bi-arḍ al-Andalus nihāya fi l-ta'ẓīm lahu wa-l-hayba, wa-iltimās al-salm minhu fi aḡḡlab aḥwālīhim bi-iltāf wa-l-muhādā, wa-kāna akḡlafuhum bi-dhālīka taḡhūṭuhum al-a'ẓam Qarlush b. Ludhwiq šāḡib al-Ifranja al-jabbār al-mustabšir fi dīn al-malikāniyya, wa-kāna a'ẓam mulūk al-Ifranja malikan wa-afkhamuhum amran wa-ab'adhūm šaytan, wa-huwa alladhī šawwara al-masīḡ b. Maryam šalawāt Allāh 'alayhimā 'alā mā thabata ladayhi min na'tīhi, fa-šāḡha šūratahu min thalāthamī'at raṭl min khālīš al-dhahab raša'ahā bi-fākhir al-yāqūt wa-l-zabrajad, wa-waḍa'ahā fawqa kūrī murašša' taršī' al-šūra bi-fākhir al-hijāra wa-aḡlasahā 'alayhā, wa-asjada lahā jamī' ahl mamlakatihi, thumma dafa'ahā ilā šāḡib kanīsat al-dhahab yakhtazinuhā ladayhi, fa-lammā inšarafa ilā qašrihi ḡarabahu Allāh bi-šudā' laẓamahu fa-lam yufāriḡhu ilā an lafaẓa nafasahu; wa-kānat wilāyatuhu tis'an wa-thalāthīn sana wa-sittat ashhur, fa-iltātha mulk al-Ifranja ba'dahu ḡinan, wa-ḡad kāna huwa yusālim al-amīr Muḥammad wa-yuthḡifuhu bi-l-hadāyā'. This moralizing anecdote was copied by Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 2, p. 108; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 22; cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, vol. 1 (1950), p. 282 n. 3. Ibn al-Khaṭīb claims that the Frankish king was a certain 'Fardhiland', whereas Ibn Ḥayyān and certain MS of Ibn 'Idhārī opt for Charles the Bald, i.e. 'Qarlush b. Ludhwiq' or 'Qarlūsh'. Cf. another reference to Charles' present to the pope in *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 2, cap. CVII, § 600 (§ LII), p. 161. See Chapter 7.2.2.

³⁰ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makkī, pp. 307–9.

³¹ On Godemar's embassy, see Zuccato, 'Gerbert' (2005), pp. 750–1.

hailed from Rhodes (*jazīrat Rūdus*) and had temporarily ruled Crete, North Africa, and Sicily.³² Moreover, he provides a list of kings that begins with Clovis' baptism and ends in the tenth century.³³ As Magali Coumert has pointed out, this list, transmitted via a bishopric in frontier Catalonia, completely ignores the Carolingians' early status as mayors of the palace and their deposition of the last Merovingian king in 751, thus suggesting dynastic continuity between the Merovingian Clovis and the Carolingians.³⁴ It seems certain that, rather than fabricating this Carolingian claim to continuity and political legitimacy, al-Mas'ūdī accepted this claim without really understanding it:

In a book that fell into my hands in al-Fuṣṭāṭ in Egypt in the year 336/947 and that was presented by Godemar, the bishop of Gerona, one of the cities of the Franks, to al-Ḥakam... in 328/940, I found that the first king of the Franks was Qulūduwīh who was a heathen (*majūsiyyan*). His wife, whose name was Ghuruṭild, converted him to Christianity, however. After him, his son Ludhriq ruled. Then, after Ludhriq, his son Daqūbart ruled. Then his son Ludhriq ruled. Then, after him, his brother Qarlumān ruled. Then his son Qārluh ruled after him. Then his son Babin ruled after him. Then his son Qārluh, whose reign lasted 26 years, ruled after him. This was in the days when al-Ḥakam [I., ruled 180–206/796–822] was the master of al-Andalus. After him, his sons fought, and dissension arose to such a point that the Franks were destroying themselves because of them. Ludhwiq, the son of Qarluh, then became the master of their realm and ruled for 28 years and 6 months. He is the one who advanced on Tortosa and laid siege to it. Then, after him, Qārluh b. Ludhwiq ruled. He is the one who sent gifts to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakam b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiya b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān [ruled 238–73/852–86]. This Muḥammad used to be addressed as 'Imām'. He ruled for 39 years and 6 months, to be followed by his son Ludhwiq for 6 years. Then a leader of the Franks called Qūmis rebelled against him. He ruled the Franks and stayed in power for 8 years. He is the one who bought off the Normans from his country for 7 years at the cost of 700 *ratl* of gold and 600 *ratl* of silver, to be paid to them by the master of the Franks. After him, Qārluh b. Taqwira ruled for 4 years. Then after him another Qārluh ruled who stayed for 31 years and 3 months. Then ruled Ludhwiq b. Qārluh, who is the king of the Franks to this day, i.e. the year 336/947. He has governed the realm for ten years up to this date according to the information that has reached us about him.³⁵

³² al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 912, p. 145 (AR), p. 344 (FR).

³³ *Ibid.*, § 912–16, pp. 145–8 (AR), pp. 344–5 (FR); later abbreviated by al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 567, p. 340; al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. al-Ṭawīl and Hāshim, vol. 15, pp. 222–3.

³⁴ Paper delivered by Magali Coumert at the conference: 'Concepts and their Transmission in the Medieval Euromediterranean. Theoretical and Visual Expressions of "Political" Thought in Situations of "Cultural" Encounter' (Paris, 10–12 September 2012), reviewed in: <www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=37853> (accessed 16.01.2013).

³⁵ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 914–16, pp. 147–8 (AR), pp. 344–5 (FR): 'wa-wajadtu fi kitāb waqa'a ilay bi-Fuṣṭāṭ Miṣr sanat sitt wa-thalāthīn wa-thalāthamī'a ahdāhu Ghudmār al-usquf bi-madinat Jarunda min mudun al-Ifranja fi sanat thamān wa-'ashrin wa-thalāthamī'a ilā l-Ḥakam... anna awwal mulūk al-Ifranja Qulūduwīh wa-kāna majūsiyyan fa-naṣṣarathu imra'tuhu wa-kāna ismuhā Ghuruṭild. thumma malaka ba'dahu ibnuhu Ludhriq thumma waliya ba'da Ludhriq ibnuhu Daqūbart, thumma waliya ba'dahu ibnuhu Ludhriq thumma waliya ba'da Qarlumān akhūhu, thumma waliya ba'dahu ibnuhu Qārluh, thumma waliya ba'dahu ibnuhu Babin, thumma waliya ibnuhu Qārluh wa-kānat wilāyatuhu sittan wa-'ashrīn sana wa-kāna fī ayyām al-Ḥakam ṣāhib

The chronicle of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya proves that knowledge about Carolingian–Umayyad relations was not only available among ruling elites and scholars, but also diffused among groups not directly involved in foreign relations with the Franks. He recounts that the death of an ambassador sent by the *amīr* Muḥammad to Charles the Bald obliged the responsible *qāḍī* of Córdoba to order the financial affairs of the deceased.³⁶

Some sources provide insight into how information from the eastern Frankish realm arrived in al-Andalus. In 330/942, members of marauding Hungarian troops strayed as far as the Upper Marches of al-Andalus after having traversed the Frankish realm. According to a letter from the local Muslim commander to the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, cited by Ibn Ḥayyān, the Muslim authorities captured and interrogated some of them. The latter then informed these authorities about the Hungarians’ starting point north of Rome (*Rūma*) and east of the Saxons (*al-Shākhshunsh*) and Franks (*al-Ifranja*). Five captives were sent to the caliph for further interrogation and took up service at his court. In addition, the caliph was briefed by the Muslim governor of Barbastro, who had been held captive by the Hungarians for thirty-three days, as well as by the Muslim governor of Tortosa who reported on a later Frankish victory against the Hungarians, probably the Battle of Augsburg of 955.³⁷ In view of this, it is not surprising that the caliph should have had at his disposal detailed knowledge about the Hungarian menace to the Ottonian realm, as the Latin *Life of John of Gorze*, an Ottonian envoy to Córdoba, purports. Describing John’s mission to the Umayyad court in 953–56,³⁸ the *Vita Iohannis* claims that the caliph was not only briefed by John’s official travel companion, who had been part of the initial Umayyad delegation to the court of Otto I in 950,³⁹ but also that he received John in 956, commenting on Otto’s rule as follows:

al-Andalus wa-tadāfa’a awlāduhu ba’dahu wa-waqa’a al-ikhtilāf baynahum ḥattā tafānat al-Ifranja bi-sababihim wa-šara Ludhwiq b. Qārḥuḥ ṣāhib mulkihim; fa-malaka thamāniyan wa-‘ashrīn sana wa-sittat ashhur wa-huwa alladhī aqbala ilā Turṭūsha fa-ḥāsaraha. thumma malaka ba’dahu Qārḥuḥ b. Ludhwiq wa-huwa alladhī yuhādī Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakam b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu’āwiya b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, wa-kāna Muḥammad yukhāṭab bi-l-imām, wa-kānat wilāyatuhu tis’an wa-thalāthīn sana wa-sittat ashhur, thumma waliya ba’dahu ibnuhu Ludhwiq sittat a’wām, thumma qāma ‘alayhi qā’id li-l-Ifranja yusammā qūmis fa-malaka al-Ifranja wa-aqāma fī mulkihim thamāni sinin wa-huwa alladhī šālaḥa al-Majūs ‘an baladīhi sab’a sinnin bi-sittami’a raṭl dhahab wa-sittami’a raṭl fidḍa yu’addihā ṣāhib al-Ifranja ilayhim, thumma waliya ba’dahu Qārḥuḥ b. Taqwira arba’a sinin, thumma waliya ba’dahu Qārḥuḥ ākhar fa-makatha ihdā wa-thalāthīn sana wa-thalāthat ashhur, thumma waliya ba’dahu Ludhwiq b. Qārḥuḥ wa-huwa malik al-Ifranja ilā ḥādḥa al-waqt wa-huwa sanat sitt wa-thalāthīn wa-thalāthami’a wa-qad istawafā fī mamlakatīhi ‘ashr sinin ilā ḥādḥa al-ta’rikh ‘alā ḥasb mā namā ilaynā min khabarihi’. Translation adapted from Lewis, ‘al-Mas’ūdī’ (1960), pp. 8–10. Cf. Schilling, ‘Karl’ (2004), pp. 203–4.

³⁶ Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *tārīkh ifitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ibyārī, pp. 86–7, trans. James, p. 109.

³⁷ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqṭab* V, ed. Chalmers and Corriente, fol. 324–25, pp. 481–2; cf. Schamiloğlu, ‘Name’ (1984), p. 216.

³⁸ Cf. Walther, ‘Dialog’ (1985), pp. 21–44, on the embassy and its larger context; Sénac, ‘Contribution’ (1985), pp. 45–55, on ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III’s foreign policy.

³⁹ Iohannis abbas, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 4), § 119, p. 371; cf. Walther, ‘Dialog’ (1985), p. 33.

There is one issue, in which it has been proven that he [i.e. Otto] is not prudent enough. . . . This is that he does not guard power for himself but rather accepts freely that some of those belonging to him use their own authority, to the effect that he divides the parts of the kingdom among them as if this would make them more loyal and more subject to him. Without avail, however. For since then haughtiness and rebellion have been fostered against him as has now been done by his son-in-law, who has used his son as a tool against him in an act of treason and public tyranny to the effect that he has led the external people of the Hungarians pillaging into the heart of their realms.⁴⁰

It is possible that the author of the *Vita Iohannis* used the caliph to pronounce his own views on problems in the Ottonian realm.⁴¹ However, in view of the many sources of information available to the caliph, there is no reason why 'Abd al-Rahmān III should have been ignorant about the affairs of the Ottonian realm, the more so as other sources of information were also available to Andalusian Muslims of the tenth century. Among these is the account of the travels of the Andalusian Jew Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī. Based on the author's travels in the sixties or seventies of the tenth century, it provided later Arabic-Islamic historiographers with further details on the Frankish realm and central Europe under Ottonian rule.⁴²

The geo- and ethnographic work of the Andalusian scholar al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) contains the most detailed description of the Frankish sphere before the crusading era.⁴³ Thanks to his use of the Arabic version of Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, the author is acquainted with the toponym 'Gaul' (*Ghalish*)⁴⁴ and provides data on the Roman and Visigothic presence in Gaul.⁴⁵ He proffers an abridged version of the list of Frankish kings used by al-Mas'ūdī and comments laconically that the names Charles (*Qārľuh*) and Louis (*Ludhwīq*) 'are repeatedly borne by their kings'.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Iohannis abbas, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 4), § 136, pp. 376–7: 'unum [est], in quo illum non satis providum esse constiterit. . . . Quod potestatem virtutis suae non sibi soli retinet, sed passus libere quemque suorum propria uti potestate, ita ut partes regni sui inter eos dividat, quasi eos sibi inde fideiiores habeat et subiectiores. Quod longe est; exinde enim superbia et rebellio contra eum nutritur atque paratur, ut nunc in genero ipsius actum est, qui filio eius per perfidiam sub publicam tyrannidem contra eum exercuit, ad hoc ut gentem externam Vngrorum media quaeque regnorum suorum depopulandum transduxerit'; *Vie de Jean*, trans. Parisse, p. 161. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis VII*, ed. al-Hajjī, AH 363, p. 169, mentions another embassy sent by Otto in 973. The earlier embassy is mentioned by Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 2, p. 218; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 4, p. 183; al-Maqqarī, *naṣṣ al-ṭib*, ed. 'Abbās, vol. 1, p. 365; cf. König, 'Ausstrahlung' (2012), pp. 216–17. See Chapter 8.2.2.

⁴¹ On these problems, see Keller, *Ottonen* (2006), pp. 39–45.

⁴² Miquel, 'L'Europe' (1966), pp. 1048–64, esp. 1059, opts for 965. Jacob, *Berichte* (1927), pp. 3–5, argues for 973.

⁴³ Cf. Clément, 'Perception' (1987), pp. 5–16.

⁴⁴ The Arabic version of Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, produced between the end of the ninth and the early tenth century in al-Andalus, is the earliest Arabic work to use several variants of the term 'Gallia' in Arabic transcription. Cf. the index in *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, p. 438. Al-Bakrī, who frequently cites the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, is among the earliest Arabic-Islamic scholars who employed this term; cf. al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 354, p. 240, § 503, p. 313, § 1488, p. 891, § 1498, p. 895, § 1526, p. 910.

⁴⁵ Ibid., § 503, p. 313, § 1488, p. 891.

⁴⁶ Ibid., § 567–68, pp. 340–1, 340: 'wa-hādhān al-isīmān yatakarrārān fī mulūkihim'; cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 915–16, pp. 147–8 (AR), pp. 344–5 (FR).

However, the list also contains a complementary, albeit incorrectly dated report about the conflict between Robert of Neustria and Charles the Simple:

Their realm (*mamlakatuhum*) remained united and their efforts combined until a count with a proper domain called Robert (*Rūdbirt*) rebelled against a man among their rulers (*rajul min mulūkihim*) named Charles (*Qārḷuh*) in the period of the Imām ‘Abd Allāh [ruled 275–300/888–912]. Charles set out against him with troops and both advanced towards each other. Then Charles killed him while Robert’s allies captured Charles [in 922] who remained a prisoner for four years. Then he died while in their hands, so that their kingdom broke apart and split up.⁴⁷

Al-Bakrī’s work also features a geophysical and ethnographical description of the Frankish realm, which is based largely on the travel account of Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb.⁴⁸ It evaluates the realm’s landscape and agriculture,⁴⁹ but also addresses the Franks’ mores and customs, i.e. their pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and to Carcassonne,⁵⁰ their handling of adultery and treason, and their relations to the Bretons as well their practice of separating noble children from their parents for the purpose of education. Al-Bakrī writes:

they educate the sons of their nobles far away from them, to the effect that a son does not know his parents until he reaches maturity. Then, when he has reached maturity, he returns to them and looks upon them as his lords whereas he is like a servant to them.⁵¹

6.2.2. Middle Eastern Records on Frankish–Abbasid Relations

The above-mentioned sources prove that fresh data about the Franks entered al-Andalus via different channels. From the tenth century onwards, this new data began to be transmitted to the Middle East, occasionally with surprising speed. The Frankish list of kings offered to the future regent al-Ḥakam II in 328/939–40, fell into the hands of al-Mas‘ūdī in al-Fuṣṭāṭ in Egypt only seven years later in 336/947.⁵² The brief reference to a Frankish king called ‘Charles’ (*Qārula*) by the Middle Eastern geographer al-Iṣṭakhri (4th/10th cent.) could be of Andalusian

⁴⁷ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1532, p. 914: ‘wa-kānat mamlakatuhum mujtami‘atan wa-amruhum multa’iman hattā thāra ‘alā rajul min mulūkihim yusammā Qārḷuh qūmis ma’a malik yuqāl lahu Rūdbirt, wa-dhālika fī ‘ahd al-imām ‘Abd Allāh, fa-ḥashada lahu Qārḷuh wa-zaḥafa ba’ḍuhumā ilā ba’ḍ fa-qatalahu Qārḷuh wa-asara aṣḥāb Rūdbirt Qārḷuh fa-makatha asīran arba‘at a‘wām, thumma halaka bi-aydihihim fa-iftaraqa mulkuhum wa-iqtasama.’ The passage has been reconstructed by drawing on citations by the later al-Himyarī, see *ibid.*, p. 914 n. 1532/1. Cf. the reconstruction of events in Koziol, ‘Charles’ (2006), pp. 355–90.

⁴⁸ Mentioned, for example, by al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 550, p. 334. The juxtaposition of al-Bakrī, and, based on al-‘Udhri, al-Qazwinī, draws attention to the common source, Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb. See Jacob, *Berichte* (1927).

⁴⁹ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 354, p. 240, § 1503, p. 898, § 1531–2, pp. 913–14.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, § 1488–9, p. 891.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, § 1532–3, pp. 914–15: ‘wa-abnā’ al-ashraf ‘indahum yastardī‘ūnahum fī l-abā‘id wa-lā ya’rif al-ibn abawayhi hattā ya’qil, wa-idhā ‘aqala radda ilayhumā fa-yarāhumā ka-l-sayyidayn wa-yakūn lahumā ka-l-‘abd.’ On this phenomenon, see Haubrichs, *Anfänge* (1988), p. 67.

⁵² al-Mas‘ūdī, *murāj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 912, p. 145 (AR), p. 344 (FR).

origin as well.⁵³ However, Middle Eastern texts of the late ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries also contain data that bears no relation to al-Andalus.

To some extent, such data became available thanks to the assimilation of the Graeco-Syriac heritage. The earliest Arabic translations of Ptolemy's geographical oeuvre date from the beginning of the ninth century.⁵⁴ The ancient Greek heritage did not contribute much to an understanding of the Franks, who only emerged as a discernible group in Latin sources around a century after Ptolemy wrote his geographical works in the middle of the second century.⁵⁵ However, it did acquaint Arabic-Islamic scholars with ancient Greek geographical categories and terminology hitherto unknown, including the terms 'Europe' (*Ūrūfa*)⁵⁶ and 'Celtogalatia' (*Qāltrūghālātiyyā*).⁵⁷

More important are records on contemporary relations between the Frankish and the Abbasid sphere. Apart from the aforementioned references to Muslim incursions into the Frankish realm, some Middle Eastern scholars of the late ninth century also mention Frankish-Abbasid trade relations. A treatise on sword making by al-Kindī (d. c.252/866), for example, discusses the quality of 'Frankish' swords.⁵⁸ Robert Hoyland and Brian Gilmour have argued that, in this case, the specification 'Frankish' serves as a generic term for the northern, i.e. Slavic and Viking sphere.⁵⁹ It seems probable, however, that Frankish swords, also mentioned in an Andalusian context,⁶⁰ reached the Middle East.⁶¹ Ibn Khurdādhbah (d. c.300/911) claims that swords were imported from 'the west' (*min al-Maghrib*)⁶² and mentions a Frankish king (*malik Faranja*) in connection with the trading network of Radhanite Jews, which covered an area extending from the Frankish realm to the borders of China.⁶³ The Iraqi author Ibn al-Nadīm (d. c.385–88/995–98) refers to 'Frankish' inscriptions on the hilts of swords of 'Frankish' origin. He distinguishes clearly between 'Greek' and 'Frankish' writing and equates the characters used in the inscriptions with the characters he had seen in an official letter of Frankish origin dating from 293/906. This seems to rule out that he mistook Greek, early

⁵³ al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 43, defines the Franks as the infidel neighbours of al-Andalus and claims: 'And their king is called Charles (*yuqāl li-malikihim Qārluh*)'.

⁵⁴ Nallino, 'Al-Huwarizimi' (1894), pp. 3–53; Plessner, 'Baṭlamīyūs' (1960), p. 1100; Maqbul and Taeschner, 'Djuḡhrāfiyā' (1965), p. 575; Gutas, *Thought* (1998), p. 182.

⁵⁵ Ewig, *Merowinger* (2006), pp. 9–10.

⁵⁶ Ibn Khurdādhbah (d. c.300/911), *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 155: 'fa-minhā Ūrūfā wa-fihā al-Andalus wa-l-Ṣaḡālib wa-l-Rūm wa-Faranja wa-Tanja wa-ilā ḥadd Miṣr'; cf. *ibid.*, p. 3, where Ibn Khurdādhbah refers to Ptolemy; Ibn al-Faqīh, *mukhtaṣar*, ed. de Goeje, p. 6; al-Hamdāni, *ṣifat jazirat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, vol. 1, p. 32.

⁵⁷ al-Hamdāni (d. c.334/945), *ṣifat jazirat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, vol. 1, p. 32, refers to Ptolemy, cf. Miquel, *Géographie*, vol. 2,1 (2001), pp. 34–5.

⁵⁸ Hoyland and Gilmour, *Swords* (2006), pp. 22–3, 42–3.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 77.

⁶⁰ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muḡtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 179, p. 268: 'ṣayf ṣārim ifranjī al-jins' with a detailed description of the sword's ornaments.

⁶¹ Further arguments for their Frankish origin in Zeki Validi, 'Schwerter' (1936), pp. 22–6.

⁶² Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 153; copied by Ibn al-Faqīh, *mukhtaṣar*, ed. de Goeje, p. 84; Ibn Hawqāl, *sūrat al-ard*, ed. Kramers, p. 110.

⁶³ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 153–4. Cf. Gil, 'Merchants' (1974), pp. 299–328; Ashtor, 'Aperçu' (1977), pp. 245–75.

Slavic, or Runic letters for 'Frankish', i.e. Latin characters.⁶⁴ In any case, the swords' definition as 'Frankish' attests to the Franks' 'international' reputation as manufacturers of arms.

Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars also reported on other links to the Frankish sphere. Ibn al-Nadīm reproduces samples, unfortunately lost, of 'Frankish', 'Saxon', and 'Lombard' writing in his index of Arabic books.⁶⁵ Moreover, he associates the above-mentioned 'Frankish' inscriptions on sword hilts⁶⁶ with a letter sent by a 'Frankish queen' (*malikat al-Ifranja*) to the Abbasid caliph al-Muktafi bi-llāh in 293/906.⁶⁷ According to a later source of disputed authorship,⁶⁸ the letter was sent by a certain Bertha, daughter of Lothair (*Bartā bint al-Awtārī*), who has been identified as the daughter of Lothair II of Lotharingia and the Carolingian wife of Adalbert II, the margrave of Tuscany.⁶⁹ Bertha's letter was allegedly delivered to the caliph by a certain 'Alī, who had served the North African ruler Ziyādāt Allāh b. al-Aghlab (ruled 290–96/903–09) before he fell into Bertha's hands. After training him in her service,⁷⁰ she used him to communicate with the caliph. No one at the Abbasid court was able to read her letter since it was written in a strange script, 'similar to the Greek script but more evenly formed' in the 'Frankish' language (*al-Firanjiyya*). Eventually, a certain 'Frank' in the garment treasury produced a Greek translation that was transferred to Arabic by the translator Ishāq b. Hunayn (d. 289/910–11).⁷¹ Bertha informed the caliph that she had maintained relations with the Aghlabids of Ifrīqiya before getting in touch with him. She promised a large quantity of presents, which she never seems to have sent, and allegedly even proposed marriage to the caliph. Moreover, she procured the Abbasid court with a rather distorted image of her own rank in the concert of powers on and beyond the Apennine Peninsula:

I, Bertha, daughter of Lothair, queen of all the Franks, send you, Lord King, my greetings. There was formerly friendship between me and the ruler of Ifrīqiya because I never conceived there could be any ruler mightier than he, who governs such ample territories. Then my ships sailed out and seized the ships of this ruler of Ifrīqiya, which were commanded by one of his eunuchs called 'Alī. Him I captured, along with a hundred fifty men who were with him on the three ships, and they remained in my hands for seven years. I found him to be wise and intelligent, and he informed me that you are the ruler over all rulers. Many had come to my realm, yet none had told me the truth concerning you except this eunuch, who now bears you this letter of mine...

⁶⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 20, trans. Dodge, vol. 1, p. 38. On the equation of 'Frankish' and 'Latin', see Chapter 3.2.1.

⁶⁵ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-fihrist*, ed. Flügel, pp. 16, 20.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 20: 'wa-rubbamā ra'aynā dhālika 'alā l-suyūf al-faranjiyya', trans. Dodge, vol. 1, p. 38.

⁶⁷ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 20.

⁶⁸ On the question of authorship, see al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *al-dhakhā'ir*, ed. Hamīdullāh, pp. 9–17 (Introduction), trans. al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, pp. 11–13 (Introduction); Halm, 'Buch' (2005), pp. 79–84.

⁶⁹ Cf. Mor, *Lettera* (1954); Levi della Vida, 'Corrispondenza' (1954), pp. 21–38; Renzi Rizzo, 'Riflessioni' (2001), pp. 3–47; Gandino, 'Aspirare' (2007), pp. 249–68.

⁷⁰ al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *al-dhakhā'ir*, ed. Hamīdullāh, pp. 50–1, trans. al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, § 69, p. 92.

⁷¹ Strohmaier, 'Ishāq b. Hunayn' (1978), p. 110; Strohmaier, 'Hunayn b. Ishāq' (1971), p. 578.

I am informed by 'Alī that there is friendship between you and the ruler of the Byzantines residing in Constantinople. Yet, thanks be to God, my authority is wider and my army greater than his, my sway extending over twenty-four realms, each having a language different from that of the one alongside it. The great city of Rome also lies within my realm. Thanks to God.⁷²

The caliph is said to have reiterated Bertha's claims of rule over twenty-four polities and the city of Rome in a comparatively polite letter. However, it failed to reach its addressee because her envoy died on the way back.⁷³

This image of Bertha—queen of the Franks, female ruler over twenty-four Frankish realms including the city of Rome, more powerful than the Byzantine emperor—obviously fails to accord with the political constellation on the Apennine Peninsula at the beginning of the tenth century. Although the story seems fantastic, some arguments can be brought forward to support its disputed authenticity.⁷⁴ Arabic-Islamic sources are rather silent on the Apennine Peninsula of the ninth and tenth centuries.⁷⁵ Bertha's embassy, however, is recorded by two independent sources, one of which, the index of Ibn al-Nadīm, is generally regarded as reliable. The main argument in favour of the letter's authenticity relates to the question of why Bertha should appear in these sources. If they mention Frankish anthroponyms at all, Arabic-Islamic sources up to the crusading period usually reproduce royal names. There is no reason why they should have recorded the existence of this rather insignificant Carolingian, including her father's name, if she had not made the effort of communicating with Baghdad.

6.3. EXTENSIONS OF FRANKISH RULE (9TH–14TH CENTURIES)

This leads us to an analysis of the different dimensions of the term 'Franks' in the Arabic-Islamic sources treated up to this point. As we have seen, the earliest extant Arabic-Islamic records situate the Frankish realm in the north of al-Andalus and

⁷² al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *al-dhakhā'ir*, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, pp. 51–2: 'anā, Bartā bint al-Awtārī, al-malika 'alā jamī' al-Faranjiyyīn, aqra'u, yā sayyidi al-malik, 'alayka al-salām. innahu jarat baynī wa-bayna malik Ifriqiya šadāqa li-annanī lam akun atawahham anna malikan yakūn fawqahu yamluk al-arḍ ilā hādhihi al-ghāya. inna marākibi kānat kharajat, fa-akhadhat marākib malik Ifriqiya. wa-kāna ra'isuhā khādīman lahu, yuqāl lahu 'Alī, fa-asartuhu wa-mī'a wa-khamsīn rajulan kānū ma'ahu fi thalāthat marākib. wa-baqū fi mulkī sab'at sinīn, wa-wajadtuhu 'āqilān fahīman. fa-a'lamanī annaka malik 'alā jamī' al-mulūk. wa-qad kāna šāra ilā mamlakati khalq kathīr. fa-lam yuṣdaqnī minhum 'anka illā hādihā al-khādīm alladhī yaḥmil ilayka kitābī hādihā. . . . wa-'arrafanī anna baynaka wa-bayna malik al-Rūm al-muqīm bi-l-Qusṭanṭīniyya šadāqa. wa-anā fa-awsa' minhu sultānan wa-akthar junūdan li-anna sultānī 'alā arba' wa-'ishrīn mamlaka, kull mamlaka lisānuhā mukhālīf li-lisān al-mamlaka allati talihā wa-fi mamlakati madīnat Rūmiyya al-'uzmā. wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāh.' Translation adapted from *Book of Gifts*, trans. al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, § 69, p. 93.

⁷³ al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *al-dhakhā'ir*, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, pp. 48–54, trans. al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, § 69, pp. 91–8.

⁷⁴ Doubts in Christys, 'Queen' (2010), pp. 149–70. Kölzer, 'Adalbert' (1980), cols 96–97, regards the letter as evidence for Bertha's political ambitions.

⁷⁵ Muscā, *L'Emirato* (1992), p. 11; König, 'Ausstrahlung' (2010), pp. 11–12, 44–5.

northwest of the Byzantine and Slavic sphere.⁷⁶ However, the case of Bertha may suggest that the ethnonym 'Franks' was already extended to other groups and peoples before the crusading era. This is confirmed by al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), who claimed that the Frankish sphere included 'other tribes' (*ghayrihā min al-qabā'il*) and reached the 'island of Rome and the land of the Langobards' (*jazīrat Rūma wa-balad Lanqubardhiyya*) in the south and the surrounding ocean (*al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*) in the north. There, it bordered on the Slavs (*al-Ṣaḡāliba*) and 'the lands of the Northmen' (*bilād al-Majūs*) called 'Angles' (*al-Anḡalish*).⁷⁷ Dealing with the early Middle Ages, the later Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) even distinguishes between a 'king of the Franks behind the West' and a 'king of the Franks in the east'.⁷⁸

6.3.1. Catalan 'Franks' on the Iberian Peninsula

The clearest case in which the term 'Franks' was applied to the inhabitants of a new region concerns early medieval Catalonia. This frontier zone situated between the Frankish and the Muslim sphere came into being after the Carolingian occupation of Barcelona and its surroundings at the beginning of the ninth century. In the course of the ninth and tenth centuries, several counties were brought together under the leadership of the count of Barcelona whose matrimonial alliance with the royal offspring of Aragon in the twelfth century resulted in the creation of the so-called 'Crown of Aragon'.⁷⁹

Since Arabic-Islamic sources are lacking up to the ninth century, it is once again necessary to draw on later material to understand how this region was defined from an ethnic point of view.⁸⁰ Historiographers describing the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, situate the Frankish realm north of the Iberian Peninsula.⁸¹ Historiographers addressing the Carolingian activities in the Spanish Levant during the ninth century such as Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) then explain how this region was occupied by 'Franks'.⁸² Dealing with the tenth century, historiographers apply the specification 'Frankish' to the increasingly influential county of Barcelona. Citing al-Rāzī (d. 344/955), Ibn Ḥayyān defines Barcelona as 'capital of the Franks' (*qā'idat al-Faranja*) in connection

⁷⁶ See the passages on the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/853), Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871), al-Balādhurī (d. 278/892), al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905), and Ibn Khurḍādhbah (d. c.300/911), treated in Chapters 5.1.2. and 6.1.2.

⁷⁷ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1532, p. 914.

⁷⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 4, p. 183: 'min malik al-Faranja warā' al-Maghrib... wa-ākhar min malik al-Faranja bi-qāṣiyyat al-mashriq'; copied almost identically by al-Maqqarī, *naṣṣ al-ṭib*, ed. 'Abbās, vol. 1, p. 365. See Chapter 8.2.2.

⁷⁹ Jarrett, *Rulers* (2010); Bisson, *Crown* (1991), ch. 1.

⁸⁰ Cf. Millàs i Vallicrosa, *Textos* (1987); Bramon Planas, *Textos* (1998).

⁸¹ See Chapter 6.1.2.

⁸² Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makki, trans. Makki and Corriente, fol. 95b, AH 185, p. 116 (AR), p. 36 (ES); fol. 101b–102a, AH 197, p. 136 (AR), pp. 51–2 (ES); fol. 177b, AH 212, p. 422 (AR), p. 286 (ES), on the Frankish conquest of Barcelona and Muslim efforts to reconquer the lost territory. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 4, pp. 235–6, on Frankish activities in the Spanish Levant.

with a Muslim raid in 323/934–35,⁸³ and mentions a peace treaty concluded with Sunyer I, 'the Frank' (*Shunyr b. Ghifrid al-Ifranji*), in 328/939–40.⁸⁴ Citing Ibn Ḥayyān, Ibn 'Idhārī (d. after 712/1312–13) speaks of 'Franks' when he describes a Muslim raid against the environs of Barcelona in 393/1002–03.⁸⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375) mentions a raid against 'Frankish' territory, i.e. Barcelona, led by Muḥammad Abū 'Amir al-Ḥājib al-Manṣūr around the turn of the tenth to the eleventh centuries.⁸⁶ Various later historiographers claim that the caliph Muḥammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Jabbār Mahdī (ruled 399/1009) and his supporter, the governor of Toledo Wāḍih, employed 'Franks' against the caliphal contender Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam who were probably led by the count of Barcelona, Ramon Borrell III.⁸⁷

Paraphrasing Ibn Ḥayyān, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) explained many years later that James I of Aragon (ruled 1208–76) descended from these 'Franks'. Although he wrongly believed the Franks to have ruled the Spanish Levant before the Visigoths, his account retraces the essential developments that led to the emergence of the county of Barcelona and, eventually, the Crown of Aragon:

As concerns the king of Barcelona in the eastern part of al-Andalus: his territories are vast and his realm large, including Barcelona on the one side and Aragon, Xàtiva, Zaragoza, Valencia, the peninsula of Denia, Mallorca and Minorca. His genealogy leads back to the Franks, and a summary of the data on his realm as transmitted by Ibn Ḥayyān runs that the Goths, who were in al-Andalus, had in ancient times been in the realm of the Franks. Then they [the Franks] attacked, obstructed and dispossessed them of their realm. Barcelona belonged to the realms and territories of the Franks. So when God brought Islam and the conquest took place, the Franks refrained from supporting the Goths because of this enmity. Then, when the affairs of the Goths ended, the Muslims advanced upon the Franks, chased them from Barcelona and took possession of it. Then they crossed the mountainous regions behind it into the plains of the great mainland and, among its cities, took possession of the peninsula of Narbonne and the adjacent plains. Then there was a phase during the downfall of the Umayyad state in the East and the beginning of the Abbasid state, during which the Arabs of al-Andalus fought with each other. The Franks seized the opportunity and reconnected their lands to Barcelona, taking possession of it in this period of the year 200 after the *hijra* [i.e. 815 CE], ruling it as they had done before. Their affairs passed to the ruler of Rome among the Franks, which was Charlemagne (*Qārūh al-akbar*), who belonged to their royal house. Then, in a time of weakness, they were seized by

⁸³ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 245, p. 363. Another maritime raid against the 'land of the Franks' (*balad al-Faranja*), described in *ibid.*, fol. 248–49, pp. 366–8, involves Marseille (*Massaniṭ*) and later Barcelona. Then again, in fol. 257, p. 379, 'the Franks' (*al-Faranja*) are led to war against the Muslims by the 'master of Barcelona' (*sāhib Barshalūna*) in AH 324/935–36.

⁸⁴ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 308, pp. 454–5. Cf. Zuccato, 'Gerbert' (2005), pp. 750–1.

⁸⁵ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 3, p. 4.

⁸⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 74. Cf. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-iḥāṭa*, ed. 'Inān, vol. 3, p. 281.

⁸⁷ al-Marrākushī, *al-mu'jib*, ed. Dozy, p. 29; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 3, pp. 93–5, 98–9, 106; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 114–15; cf. Norris, *Berbers* (1982), p. 67; Scales, *Fall* (1994), pp. 75–6, 191–3; Clément, 'Nommer' (2009), p. 90.

strife, competition and dissensions among their rulers, such as had seized the Muslims and had weakened the hands of the rulers. Consequently, the leaders in all their peripheries seceded. The rulers of Barcelona were among those who led their realm to independence, and the rulers of the Umayyads were among the first polities who sought peace by armistice with these rulers of the people of Barcelona looking for security from the expanding arms of the ruler of Rome.⁸⁸

Thus, the realm of Barcelona was initially regarded as an extension of the Frankish realm that achieved independence in the period witnessing the Carolingians' demise in West Francia.⁸⁹ It only began to carry additional names as soon as it had reached political maturity as the epicentre of the Crown of Aragon.⁹⁰ Al-Marrākushī was still able to use the ethnonym 'Franks' when he wrote about the rise of Aragon in the middle of the thirteenth century:

The Banū Hūd possessed the towns of this region [eastern al-Andalus], Tortosa and its environs, Zaragoza and its environs, Fraga, Lérida and Calatayud. They are now in the hands of the Franks, belonging to the prince of Barcelona, may God curse him, and constitute the country known as Aragon (*Araghūn*).⁹¹

Pedro Chalmeta has shown that Arabic-Islamic scholarship initially only accorded a geographic dimension to the term 'Araghūn'.⁹² In the eleventh century, Ibn Ḥayyān still refrained from linking the 'Valley of Aragon' (*wādī Araghūn*) to a

⁸⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 4, p. 235: 'wa-ammā malik Barshalūna bi-jihat sharq al-Andalus fa-'amālatuhum wāsi'a, wa-mamlakatuhum kabīra tashtamil 'alā Barshalūna bi-jiha wa-Araghūn wa-Shāṭiba wa-Saraqūṣṭa wa-Balansiya wa-jazīrat Dāniya wa-Mayūrqa wa-Minūrqa, wa-nasabuhum fi l-Faranj, wa-siyāq al-khabar 'an mulkihim mā naqala Ibn Ḥayyān anna l-Ghūt alladhina kănū bi-l-Andalus kănū qadīman fi mulk al-Faranj, thumma i'tazzū 'alayhim wa-imtana'ū wa-nabadhū ilayhim 'ahdahum. wa-kānat Barshalūna min mamālik al-Faranj wa-'amālatihim, fa-lammā jā'a Allāh bi-l-Islām wa-kāna al-fath, qa'ada al-Faranj 'an naṣr al-Ghūt li-tilka al-adāwa, fa-lammā inqadā amr al-Ghūt zaḥafa al-muslimūn ilā l-Faranj fa-az'ajūhum 'an Barshalūna wa-malakūhā. thumma tajāwazū al-durūb min warā'ihā ilā l-basā'it bi-l-barr al-kabir fa-malakū min qawā'idihā jazīrat Arbūna wa-mā ilayhā min tilka al-basā'it. thumma kānat fatra 'inda inqirād al-dawla al-umawiyya bi-l-mashriq wa-bidāyat al-dawla al-'abbāsiyya iftatana fihā al-'Arab bi-l-Andalus. wa-intahaza al-Faranj furṣatahum fa-irtaja'ū bilādihihim ilā Barshalūna fa-malakūhā li-hādhā al-'ahd mi'atayn min al-hijra, wa-wallū 'alayhim min qablihim, wa-šara amruhā rāji'an ilā malik Rūma min al-Faranja, wa-huwa Qārḷuḥ al-akbar, wa-kāna min al-jabābira. thumma rakabahum min al-khilāf wa-l-munāfasa fi awqāt ḍa'fihim wa-ikhtilāf mulūkihim ka-lladhī rakabahum al-muslimūn man ḍa'afat yadihi min al-mulūk, fa-iqtata'a al-umarā' nawāḥiḥim bi-kull jiha, fa-kāna mulūk Barshalūna hā'ulā' mimman iqtata'a 'amalahu, wa-kāna mulūk Banī Umiyya li-awwal dawlatihim yatarāḍūna bi-muhādanat hā'ulā' al-mulūk ahl Barshalūna ḥadharan min maddad ṣāḥib Rūma.'

⁸⁹ On the counts of Barcelona asserting their independence vis-à-vis their nominal Carolingian overlords, see Zimmermann, 'Souveraineté' (2012), pp. 111–40.

⁹⁰ Clément, 'Nommer' (2009), p. 95; Chalmeta, 'Araghūn' (2004), p. 82. For further reading, see Millàs i Vallicrosa, *Textos* (1987); Bramon Planas, *Textos* (1998).

⁹¹ al-Marrākushī, *al-mu'jib*, ed. Dozy, p. 50: 'kănū Banū Hūd hā'ulā' yamlikūna min mudun hādhīhi al-jiha al-janūbiyya Ṭurṭūsha wa-a'māliḥā wa-Saraqūṣṭa wa-a'māliḥā wa-Ifrāgha wa-Lārida wa-Qal'at Ayyūb hādhīhi al-yawm kulluhā bi-aydi al-Ifranji yamlikuhā ṣāḥib Barshanūna la'anahu Allāh wa-hiya al-bilād allatī tusammā Araghūn.' Translation adapted from Chalmeta, 'Araghūn' (2004), p. 82. Cf. al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 374, on 'Catalan Franks' (*al-Faranj al-Kilāniyyin*), and, p. 409, on 'a race of the Franks called Catalans' (*jins min al-Faranji yuqāl lahum al-Qitlān*).

⁹² Chalmeta, 'Araghūn' (2004), p. 80.

corresponding polity holding the same name.⁹³ In the latter sense, the term seems to have come into use in the thirteenth century. Aside from al-Marrākushī, a polity called Aragon features in the works of al-Ḥimyarī (13th–14th cent.), Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), and al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418).⁹⁴ Contemporary correspondence as well as treaties concluded between the king of Aragon and Muslim rulers from North Africa, ranging from Hafsid Tunis to Mamluk Egypt, use the Arabic term for 'Aragon'.⁹⁵

From the thirteenth century onwards, Arabic-Islamic sources also employ the ethnonym 'Catalans'. In some cases, the polity 'Aragon' and the ethnonym 'Catalans' appear together. Citing the manual *tathqīf al-tāʾrif* by the Mamluk secretary Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh (fl. 762–78/1361–76), al-Qalqashandī states that the 'master of Barcelona' (*sāhib Barshalūna*) holds the title 'king of Aragon' (*al-rid Araghūn*) and belongs to the 'group of the Catalans' (*tāʾifat al-Kitlān*).⁹⁶ Other authors only refer to the Catalans. Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286) and Abū l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331) assert that Barcelona is the capital of the 'Catalans' (*al-Kaṭālīn*, *al-Kiṭlān*), while al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), using a variant transcription (*al-Kitlān* or *al-Katīrān*), only refers to 'the lands in which they are now'.⁹⁷ It is noteworthy that Ibn Saʿīd and al-ʿUmarī both provide an alternative explanation of this people's origins, thus taking up a motive already known to the tenth-century Middle Eastern geographer al-Iṣṭakhrī.⁹⁸ Ibn Saʿīd explains that the king of the Catalans

is genealogically related to Jabala ibn al-Ayham, the Christian king of the [tribe of] Ghassān during the caliphate of [the second caliph] ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him.⁹⁹

Al-ʿUmarī reproduces this theory, but also claims that they constitute an ethnic mix made up of Frankish and Arab elements:

⁹³ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis* V, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 123, p. 192.

⁹⁴ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-miʿtār*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 27, 97, 567, with several shorter references; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 337–8, provides a historical overview on 'the kings of Aragon and Barcelona' (*mulūk Araghūn wa-Barjalūna*) and a list of kings that seems to begin in the late tenth or the early eleventh century; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 4, pp. 235–6, proffers another historical overview; al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, pp. 233, 270, 415; vol. 6, pp. 84, 176; vol. 8, p. 34; vol. 14, pp. 26, 63, contains some historiographical material, lists of titles held by the kings of Aragon, and the texts of two treaties signed with the Crown of Aragon.

⁹⁵ Giménez Soler, 'Episodios' (1908), pp. 195–224; Giménez Soler, 'Documentos' (1911), pp. 210–59; Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *tashrif al-ayyām*, ed./trans. Amari (BAS), p. 341 (AR), pp. 548–68 (IT); al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 14, pp. 26, 63.

⁹⁶ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 36.

⁹⁷ Ibn Saʿīd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-ʿArabī, p. 181; Abū l-Fidāʾ, *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, pp. 30, 67, esp. 182–3; al-ʿUmarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, p. 9 (AR): 'bilādihiḡ allatī ḡum biḡhā al-ʿān', p. 17 (IT).

⁹⁸ In a chapter on 'the western regions' (*diyār al-Maghrib*), al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 44–5, also mentions a group that claims to stem from Jabala b. Ayham, but without calling them Catalans.

⁹⁹ Ibn Saʿīd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-ʿArabī, p. 181: 'wa-huwa muntasib ilā Jabala ibn al-Ayham, malik Ghassān al-muntaṣir [sic, Ibn Saʿīd probably meant mutanaṣṣir] fi khilāfat ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb raḡiya Allāh ʿanhu'.

The Catalans (*al-Katirān* or *al-Kītlān*) are the Arabs among the Franks ('Arab *al-Faranj*'). Their origin leads back to the Christian [tribe of] Ghassān, the entourage of Jabala ibn al-Ayham. They entered the territory of the Byzantines (*al-Rūm*) and were swallowed by what lies behind it until they settled in the lands where they are now and became local. They have a king from among them who enlists their obedience and they are a people active on the land and on the sea...¹⁰⁰

Both passages lead the Catalans back to the Ghassanids. Allies of the Byzantines, their rulers held the title of phylarch, put their troops at the disposition of the empire, and contributed significantly to the establishment of Syrian monophysitism and to the urbanization of Greater Syria before the rise of Islam. The Ghassanid ruler Jabala b. al-Ayham fought in the army of Heraclius against the Muslims in the decisive Battle of Yarmūk in 636.¹⁰¹ The equation of Catalans and Ghassanids thus ascribes a certain degree of 'Arabhood' to the Catalans. Read as an analogy, this equation could express the Catalans' special position as intermediaries between (Andalusian) Islam and ('Frankish') Christendom. However, these 'deviant' statements about the origins of the Catalans stand alone in medieval Arabic-Islamic scholarship. Other western and eastern scholars of this late period, who use the ethnonym 'Catalans', maintain that they are of Frankish origin.¹⁰² Arabic-Islamic scholars thus clearly acknowledged the Frankish roots of medieval Catalonia.

6.3.2. Norman 'Franks' in the Mezzogiorno

If we believe that Bertha of Tuscany established contact with Aghlabid North Africa and Abbasid Iraq in around 293/906, claiming that she was a Frankish queen ruling twenty-four Frankish principalities including the city of Rome, we might surmise that rulers in both regions regarded the Apennine Peninsula, or at least parts of it, as 'Frankish' territory as well. This would fit in well with the politics of Carolingian and Ottonian expansion, manifest in the Carolingian annexation of the Langobard kingdom in the eighth century,¹⁰³ the creation of a Carolingian

¹⁰⁰ al-'Umarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, p. 9 (AR): 'wa-ammā al-Katirān wa-hum al-Kītlān wa-hum 'Arab al-Faranj wa-aṣluhum min mutanaṣṣirat Ghassān aṣḥāb Jabala ibn al-Ayham dakhalū bilād al-Rūm wa-tawaghghalū fīmā warāhim ḥattā istawṭanū bi-bilādihiḡ allatī hum bihā al-ān wa-ṣārū min ahlihā wa-lahum malik minhum muṭā' fihim wa-hum ahl barr wa-baḥr...', p. 17 (IT): 'gli Arabi dei Franchi'.

¹⁰¹ Shahīd, 'Ghassān' (1965), p. 1020.

¹⁰² Dealing with Muḥammad Abū 'Āmir al-Ḥājjib al-Manṣūr's raid against Barcelona at the turn of the tenth to the eleventh centuries, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 74, defines the raiding zone as a region ruled by 'the Franks adjoining the territory of France and Rome' (*al-Firanja al-muttaṣila bi-arḍ Ifrānsa wa-Rūma*); Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 183: 'wa-Barshalūna qā'idat malik min mulūk al-Faranj yuqāl lahu al-Barshalūni wa-huwa malik 'alā jins min al-Faranj yuqāl lahum al-Kītlān wa-Barshalūna min jumlat futūḡ al-muslimin thumma irtaja'ahā al-kuffār'; al-Qalqashandī, *subḡ al-a'sḡā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 374, on 'Catalan Franks' (*al-Faranj al-Kītlāniyyin*), and, p. 409, on 'a race of the Franks called Catalans' (*jins min al-Faranj yuqāl lahum al-Qītlān*).

¹⁰³ Gasparri, 'Passagio' (2000), pp. 25–43; Tabacco, 'L'avvento' (2004), pp. 443–80.

kingdom of Italy in the ninth century,¹⁰⁴ and the Ottonian takeover in the tenth century.¹⁰⁵

However, Arabic-Islamic sources dealing with early medieval Italy before the twelfth century rarely define the peninsula or parts of it as 'Frankish'. Ibn Khurdādhbah (d. c.300/912) refers to Rome (*Rūmiyya*), Sicily (*Siqilliya*), and the import of 'Lombard slaves' (*al-khidim al-Lu'bardiyūn*).¹⁰⁶ Ibn Rustah (d. after 300/913) mentions Rome (*Rūmiyya*), Sardinia (*Sardāniyya*), Sicily (*Siqiliya*), a 'city of the Langobards' (*madīnat al-Ankubardiyyīn*), and a 'village called Venice' (*qariya tud'ā al-Bandaqīs*).¹⁰⁷ Although al-Mas'ūdī defines Rome as 'the capital of the realm of great Francia' (*dār mamlakat al-ifranjiyya al-'uṣmā*) in a chapter on Roman history,¹⁰⁸ his ethnographic description of the Apennine Peninsula focuses on the Langobards (*al-Nawkubard*).¹⁰⁹ Reporting on Amalfitan activities in Fatimid Egypt at the end of the tenth century, the Arabic-Christian historiographer Yaḥyā al-Antakī defines the Amalfitans as 'Byzantines' (*Rūm*), thus giving credit to the Byzantine presence in the Mezzogiorno.¹¹⁰ Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 378/988), who visited Sicily in around 362/973,¹¹¹ provides the most differentiated description of the Apennine Peninsula predating the geographical work of al-Idrīsī (d. c.560/1165). He mentions several regions, i.e. the Gulf of Venice (*jūn al-Banādiqa*), Calabria (*arḍ Qulūriyya*), Lombardy (*arḍ al-Ankubardhah*), Apulia (*arḍ Shlūrā?*) as well as various cities including Rome, Melfi, Naples, and Gaeta.¹¹² Ibn Ḥawqal's description of the territories lying north of Gaeta may imply that he regarded this region as Frankish. He writes:

The lands of Naples reach up to the lands of Gaeta. Then their territories border on the Frankish realm (*tattaṣil diyāruhum bi-l-Ifranja*) on the seacoast until it runs parallel to [the coast of] Sicily, leaving it behind until it reaches Tortosa in the territory of al-Andalus.¹¹³

¹⁰⁴ Tellenbach, 'Adel' (1957), pp. 40–70; Keller, 'Struktur' (1967), pp. 123–223.

¹⁰⁵ Pauler, *Regnum* (1982); Zielinski, 'Weg' (2008), pp. 97–108; Kreutz, *Normans* (1996).

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 92, 104, 112, 113–15.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥḥa*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 79, 85, 98, 128–32.

¹⁰⁸ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 181–2, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 246. See Chapters 4.2.1. and 6.4.1.

¹⁰⁹ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 920–22, pp. 151–2 (AR), pp. 347–8 (FR). See Chapter 8.2.3.

¹¹⁰ Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, *Histoire*, ed./trans. Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev (*Patrologia Orientalis*, 23/2), pp. 447–8, speaks of 'the Byzantine-Amalfitan traders who bring their wares to Egypt' (*tujjār al-Rūm al-Malāfiṭa al-wāridīn bi-l-baḍā'i' ilā Miṣr*). Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis* V, ed. Chalmers and Corriente, fol. 327, p. 485, in turn, does not mention the connection between Amalfi and Byzantium. Dealing with the arrival of Amalfitan merchants in Córdoba, he defines them as 'traders of the people of Amalfi, known in al-Andalus as Amalfitans' (*tujjār ahl Malfat, al-ma'rūfūn bi-l-Andalus bi-l-Malfatānīn*).

¹¹¹ Miquel, 'Ibn Ḥawqal' (1971), p. 786.

¹¹² Ibn Ḥawqal, *ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, pp. 202–3.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 203: 'wa-tattaṣil arḍ Nābil bi-arḍ Ghaytah thumma tattaṣil diyāruhum bi-l-Ifranja 'alā saḥīl al-baḥr ilā an tuḥādhi Ṣiqilliyya [sic] wa-tujāwizuhā ilā an tattaṣil bi-Turtūsha min arḍ al-Andalus...'. Cf. the differing translation in Ibn Ḥawqal, *Configuration*, trans. Wiet, vol. 1, p. 197: 'Cette région est suivie de la ville de Gaète, puis le territoire longe le rivage de la mer jusqu'au pays des Francs, parvient en face de la Sicile et la dépasse, pour aboutir à Tortose, dans la péninsule espagnole.'

Ibn Ḥawqal's map of the Mediterranean and its depiction of the Frankish realm in relation to regions and cities of the Apennine Peninsula, does not suggest, however, that he had a clear conception of the Frankish realm's southern extension.¹¹⁴ Only his later Andalusian colleague al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) states clearly that the Frankish sphere extended to the 'island of Rome and the land of the Langobards' (*jazīrat Rūma wa-balad Langubardhiyya*) in the south.¹¹⁵ As we have seen, the later Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) even defined Charlemagne (*Qārḥ al-akbar*) as 'the Frankish ruler of Rome'.¹¹⁶

From the twelfth century onwards, the pope in Rome¹¹⁷ and the Norman rulers of Sicily and the Mezzogiorno were also regarded as 'Frankish'.¹¹⁸ In the case of the latter, Arabic-Islamic sources obviously reflect the Normans' gradual adoption of a 'Frankish' identity in the wake of their settlement, first in northern France, then in southern Italy.¹¹⁹

The Viking Norsemen were known to the Muslims of Spain after several attacks on the Iberian Peninsula in the ninth and tenth centuries. Generally, Arabic-Islamic historiographers applied the ethnonym 'al-Majūs' to these aggressors, a multi-faceted term used for a variety of non-monotheistic peoples.¹²⁰ Depending on their geographical position, Arabic-Islamic scholars of the ninth to the eleventh centuries tended to define these 'Majūs' differently. The Middle Eastern scholar al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905) reported on the first Viking attack on Seville in 229/844. He blamed 'al-Majūs who are called al-Rūs',¹²¹ thus linking them with peoples of northeastern provenance who had become known to the Muslims because of their activities in Constantinople and Eastern Europe, knowledge also expressed in other Arabic terms such as 'Varangians' (*al-Warank*).¹²² Writing in al-Fustāt in Egypt and commenting on another Viking attack on the Iberian Peninsula that took place before 300/912,

¹¹⁴ Ibn Ḥawqal, *ṣūrat al-ard*, ed. Kramers, p. 193.

¹¹⁵ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1532, p. 914.

¹¹⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāḥāda, vol. 4, p. 235: 'malik Rūma min al-Faranja, wa-huwa Qārḥ al-akbar'.

¹¹⁷ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'Bāshghird', pp. 469–70: 'ra'is al-Afranj'; Ibn al-Arṭhūr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 12, AH 623, p. 303 (Leiden), p. 465 (Beirut): 'malik al-Faranj bi-Rūmiyya'; al-Qazwīnī, *āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 397: 'al-bābā alladhī tuṭī'uhu al-Faranj'; Ibn Wāṣil, *muṣfarrij*, ed. Rabī and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 248: 'khalifāt al-Faranj'. See Chapter 7.2. to 7.4.

¹¹⁸ Clément, 'Nommer' (2009), p. 97.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Webber, *Evolution* (2005), pp. 55–106.

¹²⁰ Cf. the terms 'al-Majūs' and 'al-Majūsiyya' in al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, who uses them for paganism in general (§ 5, p. 51, § 43, p. 66, § 73, p. 80), for Zoroastrianism (§ 175, p. 136, § 227, p. 170, § 241, p. 176), religious cults in India (§ 365, p. 248), the Alans (§ 401, p. 265), the pre-Christian Romans (§ 490, p. 308), the pre-Christian Franks (§ 567, p. 340), the Pechenegs (§ 750, p. 445), the king of the Khazars before his conversion to monotheism (§ 752, pp. 446–7), the people al-Burjān (§ 759, p. 450), the eponym of Crete (§ 811, p. 482), the non-Islamic population of Sudan (§ 1449, p. 868), and Ghana (§ 1459, p. 873); cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 747, pp. 48–9 (AR), p. 280 (FR).

¹²¹ al-Ya'qūbī, *al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 354: 'al-Majūs alladhina yuqāl lahum al-Rūs'.

¹²² Cf. Seippel, *Rerum normannicarum fontes* (1928), pp. 42–8, trans. Sammarai, *Sources* (1959). The term 'al-Majūs' is used by all medieval Arab-Islamic authors cited in this collection. Alternatives are 'al-Urmān' (Normans), 'al-Warank' (Varangians), and 'al-Rūs'.

al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) also identified the aggressors as 'al-Rūs' who had come via the Black Sea.¹²³

In line with earlier Andalusian sources,¹²⁴ Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) applies the term 'al-Majūs' to the Vikings attacking al-Andalus.¹²⁵ Describing events in 229/844, he introduces an Arabicized version of the Latin term 'Normanni'. Under the heading 'News of how the fleet of the Normans (*al-Majūs min al-Urdamāniyyīn*), may God curse them, set out', he mentions the arrival of 'the boats of the Normans (*al-Armāniyyīn*) who are known as *al-Majūs* in al-Andalus' on the western coast of the Iberian Peninsula.¹²⁶ Reporting on attacks that took place in 361–62/972–73, Ibn Ḥayyān frequently uses the denomination 'al-Majūs al-Urdumāniyyīn' in a context that clearly shows that Viking attacks on al-Andalus had become an expected menace.¹²⁷ According to Arne Melvinger, Arabicized versions of the term 'Normanni' entered the Arabic language when Norman groups began to launch raids on al-Andalus from the Frankish realm after they had settled in northern France in around 911.¹²⁸ According to this hypothesis, Ibn Ḥayyān would have employed an ethnonym Arabicized in the tenth century to describe events of the ninth and tenth centuries. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, al-Ḥimyarī and Ibn 'Idhārī used a similar term to define Norman groups that had taken part in the Christian conquest of Barbastro in 456/1064.¹²⁹ Al-Ḥimyarī states that the conquest of the city had been carried through by 'the people of Gaul' (*ahl Ghālīsh*) and 'al-Rūdhmānūn', while Ibn 'Idhārī refers to 'al-Urdāmāniyyīn'.¹³⁰

However, these specific terms always appear in connection with Norman groups active on the Iberian Peninsula of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Norman elites who began to play an important role in southern Italy from the eleventh century onwards, were immediately called 'Franks'. A description of Robert Guiscard's military escapades against Byzantium form part of a larger comment on 'Frankish' aggression against the Byzantine Empire by the Mamlūk scholar al-Qalqashandī

¹²³ al-Mas'ūdī, *murīj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 404, p. 193 (AR), p. 147 (FR). In § 458, p. 218 (AR), p. 165 (FR), al-Mas'ūdī claims that 'al-Rūs' were made up of several different peoples, who traded with al-Andalus, Rome, Constantinople, and the Khazars, using the Volga as their main trading route.

¹²⁴ Cf. al-Rāzī (d. 344/955) as reconstructed by Lévi-Provençal, 'Description' (1953), p. 97.

¹²⁵ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtābis II-1*, ed. Makki, trans. Makki and Corriente, fol. 185a–188b, AH 229–30, pp. 485–61 (AR), pp. 312–23 (ES).

¹²⁶ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtābis II-1*, ed. Makki, trans. Makki and Corriente, fol. 185r, AH 229, p. 450 (AR): 'khabar khurūj ustūl al-Majūs min al-Urdamāniyyīn la'anahum Allāh', p. 312 (ES); fol. 185v, AH 229, pp. 450–1 (AR): 'wa-fi ākhir sanat tis' wa-'ishrīn wa-mi'atayn zahara marākib al-Armāniyyīn alladhina 'urifū bi-l-Andalus bi-l-Majūs bi-l-sāhil al-gharbi min balad al-Andalus...', p. 312 (ES). Citing Ibn Ḥayyān, al-Dhahabī, *tārīkh*, ed. al-Tadmuri, vol. 17, AH 231, p. 7, uses the same terminology: 'naqala Abū Marwān b. Ḥayyān...fa-qāla: warada Majūs yuqāl lahum al-Urdumāniyyūn...'. Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Lévi-Provençal and Colin, vol. 2, pp. 87–8, uses the traditional term 'al-Majūs' to describe these events.

¹²⁷ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtābis VII*, ed. al-Hajjī, AH 361, p. 23; AH 362, pp. 67, 78, 93.

¹²⁸ Melvinger, 'al-Mādjūs' (1986), p. 1120.

¹²⁹ On the Norman participation, see Loud, 'Betrachtungen' (1998), p. 119.

¹³⁰ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'fār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Barbashtar', p. 90; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Lévi-Provençal and Colin, vol. 3, p. 225.

(d. 821/1418).¹³¹ Western and eastern scholars such as Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286), Abū l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331), and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) credit 'the Franks' with the conquest of Sicily.¹³² Even al-Idrīsī (d. c.560/1165) defines his patron and benefactor Roger I of Sicily as 'elite of the Frankish rulers'.¹³³

Southerners in general seem to have regarded the so-called 'Normans' involved in the conquest of southern Italy and Sicily as 'Franks', not least because several non-Norman 'Frenchmen' also took part in the conquest. William of Apulia (d. after 1111), a Latin-Christian chronicler of southern Italy who described the Norman take over, used the terms 'Normanni', 'Franci', and 'Galli' interchangeably, while eleventh-century charters from the Italian city Aversa repeatedly mention the invaders' 'Frankish customs' (*mos Francorum*).¹³⁴ Other evidence suggests that Norman invaders of the eleventh century had already adopted a kind of 'Frankish' identity themselves. In his royal writs, the Norman invader of England, William the Conqueror, addressed 'Franci et Angli' and not 'Normanni et Angli', while a Norman who had settled in southern Italy defined himself as being 'de genere Francorum' in a charter.¹³⁵ In view of this, it does not seem surprising that later Arabic-Islamic scholarship regarded the Normans, now an integral part of the Latin-Christian sphere, as 'Franks'.

How difficult it must have been for Arabic-Islamic scholars to define the ethnic identity of migratory groups in medieval Europe is proven by a fourteenth-century reference to Norman England. It is included in a passage on the early Viking attacks against al-Andalus in the middle of the ninth century written by the historiographer of Granada, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375). The latter had no concrete knowledge about the Norman conquest of England (1066), but was dimly aware of a connection between the raiders of early medieval times and the contemporary rulers of England.

In his days [of 'Abd al-Rahmān II, ruled 206–38/822–52], the boats of the *Majūs* entered the cities of Seville, Cádiz, Medina Sidonia and Lisbon, but were eventually defeated. The *Majūs* are those whom the Christians of Castile today call the English (*al-Anqalish*), and the Middle Easterners either Franks (*al-Firanj*) or [people from]

¹³¹ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 408.

¹³² Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Törnberg, vol. 1, pp. 242–34 (Leiden), pp. 338–9 (Beirut): 'wa-lam yazal amr al-Ifranj ba'da hādhā yaqwā wa-yazdād wa-yatassi' mulkuhum ka-l-istilā' 'alā ba'd bilād al-Andalus 'alā mā nadhkuruha wa-ka-akhdhīhim jazīrat Šiqilliya wa-bilād sāhil al-Shām...'; vol. 10, AH 491, p. 185 (Leiden), p. 272 (Beirut); Ibn Saʿīd, *al-jūghrafiyā*, ed. 'Arabī, p. 168: 'wa-fī sharqihā jazīrat Šiqilliya al-mashhūra, dhāt al-mudun wa-l-jibāl wa-l-anhār, wa-kānat qad šafat li-l-muslimīn thumma šafat li-l-Faranj.' According to Ibn Saʿīd, the town of Messina lay at the straits facing the 'Frankish mainland': 'wa-taqa' Masīna allatī tuqābil barr al-Ifranj 'inda l-majāz'. Cf. Abū l-Fidāʾ, *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 2, AH 484, pp. 285–6; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 278: 'wa-kāna malik al-Ifranja yawma'idhin ismahu Bardawil wa-šihrahu Zujār [= Rujār] malik Šiqilliya'; vol. 5, p. 209.

¹³³ al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. Bombaci et al., fasc. V, p. 589: 'khayrat mulūk al-Ifranjiyyin'; trans. Jaubert, vol. 2, p. 74: 'l'élite des princes francs'. Cf. *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, trans. Amari, vol. 1, p. 56 n. 2, on this title. On the Norman kings of Sicily in Arabic-Islamic sources from North Africa, see Simone, 'Mezzogiorno' (1999), pp. 268–89.

¹³⁴ Loud, 'Betrachtungen' (1998), pp. 116–17.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 117–18.

Angleterre (*al-Ankalthīr*). Their realm is situated on two large islands, the diameter of one of them measuring 700 miles, and they are a powerful, courageous and tough people.¹³⁶

6.4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A GENERIC TERM (10TH–15TH CENTURIES)

Depending on their sources and geographic perspective, Arabic-Islamic observers described the Frankish sphere from different angles and at different stages of its development. To a certain degree, Arabic-Islamic scholarship reflects the Frankish expansion onto the Iberian and Apennine Peninsulas as well as the integration of non-Frankish groups into the Frankish world. The question remains, however, if Arabic-Islamic scholars also drew these different ‘snapshots’ together to form a coherent picture of early Frankish expansionism.

6.4.1. Theories of the Pre-Crusade Era

It seems as if certain scholars had already acquired enough information in the course of the tenth century to be able to form a theory on the subject. The earliest proponent of such a theory is al-Mas‘ūdī (d. 345/956) who wrote extensively on the Franks in two extant works, the earlier geo- and ethnographical treatise *murūj al-dhahab*, finished in 336/947, and the later historiographical work *kitāb al-tanbīh*, finished in 345/956, the year of his death.¹³⁷

On first sight, al-Mas‘ūdī’s statements of the Franks in these two works seem contradictory. In the earlier *murūj al-dhahab*, based on the Frankish chronicle presented to the prince-regent al-Ḥakam, the Franks appear as a powerful and well-organized people.¹³⁸ In the later *kitāb al-tanbīh*, they are presented as barbarians who, due to the climate in which they live, have not developed the intellectual facilities characteristic of civilized peoples, a description clearly inspired by ancient Greek ethnography.¹³⁹ However, one feature is common to both works: al-Mas‘ūdī tends to group the Franks together with several northern peoples. In the *murūj al-dhahab* he refers to scholarly consensus when claiming that

¹³⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a’māl al-a’lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 20: ‘wa-fi ayyāmihi, kharajat marākib al-Majūs, fa-dakhalat madīnat Ishbiliya wa-Qādis wa-Shadhūna wa-Uṣbūna, thumma inḥazamū, wa-l-Majūs hum alladhina yusammūnahum al-yawm naṣārā Qashtāla bi-l-Anqalish, wa-ahl al-Mashriq bi-l-Firanj wa-bi-l-Ankalthīr, wa-mustaḡarr mulkihim bi-jazīratayn ‘azīmatayn dhara’ iḥdāhumā sab’a mi’at mil, wa-hum ahl quwwa wa-ba’s wa-shidda.’

¹³⁷ al-Mas‘ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 30, p. 29 (AR), p. 19 (FR); cf. § 3628, pp. 282–3 (AR); al-Mas‘ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 6: ‘ilā waqtinā ḥadhā wa-huwa sanat 345 li-l-hijra’. On his breadth of vision and curiosity, see Shboul, *al-Mas‘ūdī* (1979).

¹³⁸ al-Mas‘ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 910, p. 145 (AR), p. 343 (FR): ‘fa-l-Ifranja ashadd ḥa’ulā’ al-ajnās ba’san wa-amna’uhum janbatan [sic] wa-aktharuhum ‘uddatan wa-awsa’uhum mulkan wa-aktharuhum mudunan wa-aḥsanuhum nizāman wa-inqiyādan li-mulūkihim wa-aktharuhum ṭā’atan’.

¹³⁹ al-Mas‘ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 23–4. On the Greek correlation of climate and human character, see Backhaus, ‘Hellenen’ (1976), pp. 170–85.

the Franks, the Slavs, the Langobards, the Spaniards, Gog and Magog, the Turks, the Khazars, the *Burjān*, the Alans, the Galicians and all the other peoples that we have cited as living in the northern regions, descend from Yafeth, the youngest son of Noah, according to the opinion formulated without objection by researchers and scholars among those who follow the precepts of divine revelation.¹⁴⁰

This notion of unity is also expressed in terms of a political alliance based on ethnic affiliation:

Those who we have mentioned, that is the Galicians, the Franks, the Slavs, the Langobards as well as other peoples, have their territories close to each other and most of them wage war against the people of al-Andalus. . . . Again and again, these neighbouring peoples stemming from Yafeth, i.e. the Galicians, the *Burjān*, the Franks and others, have united against them.¹⁴¹

In the *kitāb al-tanbīh*, al-Masʿūdī provides historical depth to this ethno-political relationship. According to al-Masʿūdī, the early human race split up into seven grand peoples. These peoples differed in character, in the way they shaped their environment, and in language.¹⁴² Speaking one language and ruled by one king, the third group of grand peoples was made up of Greeks, Romans, Slavs, and Franks as well as 'the other peoples that lay behind them in the northern regions'.¹⁴³ In his exposition of Roman-Byzantine history, al-Masʿūdī leaves the realm of prehistoric legend and sketches the notion of a multi-ethnic Frankish world centred on Rome and heir to the ancient Romans. Dealing with the ruling periods of the late antique emperors Maximian, Maxentius, and Constans, he unambiguously defines the 'lands of the Franks' (*bilād al-Ifranja*) as territory under Roman rule.¹⁴⁴ However, he does not seem to have believed that the Franks only constituted one among many peoples subject to the Romans. While other Arabic-Islamic scholars also defined Latin words as 'Frankish',¹⁴⁵ al-Masʿūdī went one step further by claiming that the term 'Caesar' (*qaysar*) pertained to 'the archaic Frankish language' (*al-Ifranjīyya al-ulā*), obviously Latin.¹⁴⁶ Eventually, he even asserted that

¹⁴⁰ al-Masʿūdī, *murāj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 910, p. 145 (AR): 'al-Ifranja wa-l-Ṣaqāliba wa-l-Nawkubard wa-l-Ashbān wa-Yājūj wa-Mājūj wa-l-Turk wa-l-Khazar wa-Burjān wa-l-Lān wa-l-Jalāliqa wa-ghayrihim mimman dhakarnā mimman ḥalla bi-l-jarbī wa-huwa al-shimāl lā khilāf bayna ahl al-baḥth wa-l naẓar min al-sharʿiyyin anna jamīʾ man dhakarnā min ḥaʾulāʾ al-umam min wald Yāfith b. Nūḥ, wa-huwa al-aṣghar min wald Nūḥ. . .', p. 343 (FR).

¹⁴¹ Ibid., § 922, pp. 151–2 (AR): 'wa-man dhakarnā min al-Jalāliqa wa-l-Ifranja wa-l-Ṣaqāliba wa-l-Nawkubard wa-ghayrihim min al-umam fa-diyāruhum mutaḡāriba wa-l-akthar minhum muḥāribūn li-ahl al-Andalus. . . wa-la-rubbamā ijtamaʾa ʾalayhim man jāwarahum min al-umam min wald Yāfith min al-Jalāliqa wa-Burjān wa-l-Ifranja wa-ghayrihim min al-umam', pp. 347–8 (FR).

¹⁴² al-Masʿūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 77.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 83: 'wa-man ittaṣala bi-him min al-umam fi l-jarbī wa-huwa al-shimāl'.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 136, 145, trans. Carra de Vaux, pp. 189, 199–200. See Chapter 4.2.1.

¹⁴⁵ al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau, p. 29 (AR), p. 33 (EN).

¹⁴⁶ al-Masʿūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 123, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 173. Even though he translates 'al-Ifranjīyya al-ulā' with 'ancienne langue des Francs', Carra de Vaux uses the term 'les Latins' for 'al-Ifranja', thus obscuring al-Masʿūdī's terminological nuances. The latter never used Arabic transcriptions of the term 'Latin'. The ethnonym 'al-Laṭīniyyūn' and the language 'al-Laṭīni' only figure in works of later historiographers dealt with in Chapters 3.2.2., 3.2.3., and 4.2.2.

all other Frankish peoples, that is the Galicians, the people of Jáca, the Basques, the *Armānjas* [Germans?], most of the Slavs, the Bulgars and other peoples adhere to Christianity and recognize the authority of the ruler of Rome. Rome is and has always been the capital of the realm of great Francia.¹⁴⁷

This statement is preceded by an episode that relates how the ruler of the city of Rome (*ṣāhib Rūmiyya*), subject to the Byzantine emperor, successfully challenged Byzantine authority by usurping imperial insignia and adopting the title 'king' (*malik*) in 340/951–52. The ensuing military confrontation with the troops sent by the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos was decided in favour of the ruler of Rome who eventually married one of his daughters to the emperor's son.¹⁴⁸

The account seems to be concerned with the Carolingian and Ottonian thrust to the south. The latter had not only led to the incorporation of great parts of the Apennine Peninsula into the Frankish, then into the Eastern Frankish realm, but also to the western revival of the Roman imperial idea, a notion summed up in the concept of *translatio imperii*.¹⁴⁹ Classical elements of Frankish–Byzantine relations, i.e. disputes about the legitimacy of wearing imperial insignia as well as marital connections resulting from diplomatic contact, play a role in this account. Notwithstanding, it is impossible to correlate the events and persons described by al-Mas'ūdī with events and persons identified by scholarship for the decades around the year 340/951–52. At first sight, al-Mas'ūdī's account seems to portray the Ottonian policy vis-à-vis Italy in the middle of the tenth century. The latter involved Otto I's marriage with Adelheid of Burgundy, the widow of King Lothair II of Italy, then Otto's adoption of the royal title 'rex Langobardorum' and his endowment of Berengar of Italy with a golden sceptre symbolizing rule over the 'regnum Italiae' around 951.¹⁵⁰ These measures served to prepare Otto I's imperial coronation and the resulting adoption of imperial insignia. However, this coronation took place in 961, i.e. five years after al-Mas'ūdī's death in 345/956.¹⁵¹ Al-Mas'ūdī's Roman usurper could also be equated with a certain Alberic, who seized power in Rome around 932, adopted the title of 'princeps ac senator omnium Romanorum', opposed Otto I's imperial coronation in the 950s, and ruled the eternal city for twenty-two years. However, Alberic, who even pursued a marital alliance with Byzantium, seized power in 932, not in 340/951–52.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 181–2: 'wa-ṣā'ir ajnās al-ifranjiyya min al-Jalāliqa wa-l-Jāsaqas wa-l-Washkans wa-Armānjas wa-akthar al-Ṣaḡāliba wa-l-Burghar wa-ghayruhum min al-umam fa-dā'inūn bi-l-naṣrāniyya muṇqādūn ilā ṣāhib Rūmiyya wa-Rūmiyya dār mamlakat al-Ifranjiyya al-ūzmā qadiman wa-ḥadithan', trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 246. It is unclear if the term 'Armānjas' can be translated as 'Germains', as proposed by Carra de Vaux.

¹⁴⁸ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 181, writes that the ruler of Rome adopted the title 'king' (*tusammā malikan*) and began to wear a crown (*fa-labasa al-tiāḡ*), to dress in purple (*al-thiyāb al-firfir*), and to claim further insignia for himself, which were actually reserved for the Byzantine emperor (*mimmā yakhtaṣṣ bihi malik al-Rūm*).

¹⁴⁹ Kowalewski, *Theorie* (1923); Guldenfels, *Translatio* (1950); Goetz, *Translatio* (1954); Baar, *Lehre* (1956); Schramm, *Kaiser* (1957); Thomas, 'Translatio' (1997), pp. 944–6.

¹⁵⁰ Schmid, 'Bayern' (1987), p. 88.

¹⁵¹ Althoff, *Ottonen* (2005), pp. 96–101, 112–18.

¹⁵² Kölzer, 'Alberich' (1980), pp. 280–1.

According to Michael de Goeje, the daughter of the 'ruler of Rome' who married the emperor's son, corresponds to the illegitimate daughter of the king of Italy, Hugh of Vienne (ruled 926–47).¹⁵³ Constantine VII's son Romanos had been betrothed to Hugh's daughter Bertha-Eudokia in 944. However, due to Bertha's death in 949, the marriage never took place. Another marriage was arranged with Otto's niece Hadwig, who, however, eventually married Burchard II of Suabia in 954.¹⁵⁴

In view of the difficulty of matching events and persons in al-Mas'ūdī's account with those known to modern scholarship, the passage in question could apply to, maybe even draw together various events that took place between Charlemagne's imperial coronation in 800 and al-Mas'ūdī's completion of the *kitāb al-tanbih* in 345/956. There can be no doubt that the account addresses the dissociation of the 'Frankish' West from Byzantium. It seems to have been constructed from several scraps of information and to synthesize two divergent versions of events. The fact that the Roman ruler's actions are described as an act of usurpation seems to reflect a Byzantine view, the identification of Romans and Franks in the paragraph following the account, a 'western' perspective.¹⁵⁵

Two points are remarkable. The first concerns the notion of unity, expressed in the fact that al-Mas'ūdī classifies a number of obviously different peoples from the north as 'Frankish' and as subject to the authority of Rome. The second point concerns the notion of continuity from ancient times to his own era, expressed in the statement that Rome has always been at the centre of an imposing polity defined as 'Frankish'. It seems important to note that al-Mas'ūdī's concept of a 'realm of great Francia' (*mamlakat al-Ifranjīyya al-'uẓmā*) had been formulated a few years earlier in Greek by the same emperor featuring in al-Mas'ūdī's account, i.e. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos. He used the term 'μεγάλην Φραγγίαν' to define the realm of Charlemagne.¹⁵⁶

As shown earlier, Arabic-Islamic scholars often had problems with both correlating data and deciding between different theories.¹⁵⁷ In this case, the inherent contradictions of al-Mas'ūdī's exposition seem to result from the informational situation of an Arabic-Islamic world that had collected shreds of information about the Frankish sphere for around two and a half centuries and stood at the brink of weaving these fragments together into a coherent theory. Al-Mas'ūdī met this challenge by producing the earliest extant macrohistorical theory on the medieval rise of the Franks in Arabic-Islamic scholarship. He can be considered the first author to use the term 'Frankish', not only as an ethnonym for a specific people, but also as a generic term for the peoples of the Roman and post-Roman world north of the

¹⁵³ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 181 n. r): 'de filia Hugonis sermo est'.

¹⁵⁴ Garland, *Empresses* (1999), p. 126; Althoff, *Ottonen* (2005), pp. 137–8.

¹⁵⁵ König, 'Ausstrahlung' (2012), pp. 214–15.

¹⁵⁶ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed./trans. Moravcsik and Jenkins, cap. 26, fol. 115 Be, p. 108 (EL), p. 109 (EN): 'great Francia'. The accounts of al-Mas'ūdī and Constantine contain other parallel phrasings, but differ much in content. It seems far-fetched to believe that al-Mas'ūdī developed his story of secession on the basis of Constantine's work, written, this may be noted, between 948 and 952, that is before al-Mas'ūdī wrote the *kitāb al-tanbih* in 345/956. See *ibid.*, p. 11 (Introduction).

¹⁵⁷ See Chapter 3.3.3.

Mediterranean. The fact that he also includes the Slavs, the Bulgars, the Turks and even the legendary peoples Gog and Magog in his enumeration, makes it difficult to propose that he accurately equated the Frankish realm with the Roman and post-Roman west. It is clear, nonetheless, that he gave expression to the notion of a dominant and multi-ethnic Frankish sphere in the north, a sphere that had Roman roots but was independent from Byzantium. His belief that this sphere must have extended to the south at some point in time is expressed not only in his claim that the Franks originally hailed from the Mediterranean island of Rhodes, occupying Crete and Sicily thereafter,¹⁵⁸ but also in his statement that North Africa was inhabited by 'Franks' when it was occupied by Berber groups in ancient times.¹⁵⁹

6.4.2. Theories in Reaction to Latin-Christian Expansionism

Al-Mas'ūdī's story of secession took on important variations in later historiography. Šā'id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) reproduced the same narrative but replaced the ethnonym 'Franks' (*al-Ifranj*) with the ethnonym 'Latins' (*al-Laṭīniyyūn*). Inserted at the end of his overview on Roman history, it serves as a sort of epilogue to the latter.¹⁶⁰ As soon as the Arabic-Islamic sphere faced the rising momentum of the so-called Reconquista, the Norman conquest of Sicily and the crusades, the story became part of a larger narrative that served to explain the phenomenon of Latin-Christian expansionism. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) who also proffers data on Carolingian–Umayyad relations in al-Andalus known from Ibn Ḥayyān,¹⁶¹ reproduced al-Mas'ūdī's story of secession at the end of his chapter on Roman history where it serves as an introduction to the following passage on the rise of 'Frankish' power:

After this, the power of the Franks did not stop growing. Their realm grew and extended as is manifest in their conquest of parts of al-Andalus, as we will still mention, in their capture of the island of Sicily as well as the lands on the Syrian coast and Jerusalem, as we will still mention. They eventually even took possession of Constantinople in the year 601 [1204], as we will mention if God wills.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 912, p. 145 (AR), p. 344 (FR): 'wa-kāna awā'il bilād al-Ifranja qabla zuhūr al-islām fi l-baḥr jazīrat Rūdus wa-hiya allatī dhakarnā wa-innahā muqābila li-l-Iskandariyya...thumma jazīrat Iqriṭish wa-qad kānat li-l-Ifranja aydan...wa-kānat Ifriqiya wa-jazīrat Šiqilliya li-l-Ifranja aydan...'

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., § 1107, p. 246 (AR), p. 419 (FR). The editor argues that al-Mas'ūdī misread the term 'Africans' (*Afāriqa*) for 'Franks' (*Ifranja*). See *ibid.*, n. 1 (AR), n. 4 (FR).

¹⁶⁰ Šā'id al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Bū 'Alwān, pp. 98–9. See Chapter 4.2.2.

¹⁶¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 6, AH 164, p. 43 (Leiden), p. 64 (Beirut), on Sulaymān b. Yaḡzān and his invitation of Charlemagne (*Qārṭuh, malik al-Ifranj*) to the Iberian Peninsula; vol. 6, AH 191, p. 138 (Leiden), p. 202 (Beirut), on Louis the Pious (*Ludhriq*) and his unsuccessful attempt at conquering Tortosa.

¹⁶² Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 242–3 (Leiden), pp. 338–9 (Beirut): 'wa-lam yazal amr al-Ifranj ba'da hādha yaqwa wa-yazdād wa-yattasi' mulkahum ka-l-istilā' 'alā ba'd bilād al-Andalus 'alā mā nadhkuruḥu wa-ka-akhdhīhim jazīrat Šiqilliya wa-bilād saḥīl al-Shām wa-l-bayt al-muqaddas 'alā mā nadhkuruḥu wa-fi ākhir al-amr malakū al-Qusṭanṭīniyya sanat iḥdā wa-sitta mi'a 'alā mā nadhkuruḥu in shā' Allāh.'

Ibn al-Athīr applies the ethnonym 'Franks' to all peoples involved in the Reconquista, the Norman conquest of Sicily, and the crusades.¹⁶³ This is also valid for contemporary and later Middle Eastern scholars such as Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), al-'Umārī (d. 749/1349), and, to a certain extent, Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331).¹⁶⁴ As Paul Chevedden has already highlighted in his analysis of Arabic-Islamic historiography on the crusades, the ethnonym 'Franks' does not describe a single people anymore, but serves as a generic term for what we may call 'the expanding peoples of Latin Christendom'.¹⁶⁵ Not only Arabic-Islamic observers such as Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188),¹⁶⁶ but also Latin sources confirm that Middle Eastern Muslims regarded the crusaders, even all Western Europeans as 'Franks'. According to Raymond of Aguilers (d. after 1099), the crusaders 'were known as Franks to their enemies'.¹⁶⁷ According to Otto of Freising (d. 1158), 'the Orientals tend to call all western peoples in this way, because of the ancient dignity of this people, as I believe, and because of its virtues'.¹⁶⁸ Considering the many works of contemporary crusader historiography that give prominence to the ethnonym 'Franks', it seems as if this denomination was propagated by the crusaders themselves, in spite of the diversity of peoples involved.¹⁶⁹

As opposed to their Middle Eastern colleagues, Muslim scholars writing in al-Andalus regarded and continued to regard 'the Franks' as a people or a conglomeration of peoples living in the region adjacent to the Iberian Peninsula. With the exception of the above-mentioned Catalans, they refrain from defining the Christian peoples of the Iberian Peninsula as 'Franks'.¹⁷⁰ In the pre-crusading era, this applies to Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076)¹⁷¹ and al-Bakrī

¹⁶³ Ibid., vol. 10, AH 491, p. 185 (Leiden), p. 272 (Beirut).

¹⁶⁴ See Chapter 6.5.2. ¹⁶⁵ Chevedden, 'Interpretation' (2006), pp. 96–8.

¹⁶⁶ Usāma b. Munqidh, *al-i'tibār*, ed. Hitti, cap. 8, p. 132.

¹⁶⁷ Raimundus de Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, ed. Hugh and Hill, § 168b, p. 52: 'inter hostes autem Francigenae dicebantur'; cf. Haas, 'Kreuzzugschroniken' (2008), p. 88.

¹⁶⁸ Otto Frisingensis, *Chronica*, ed. Hofmeister (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 45), lib. VII, cap. 4, p. 313: '...proceres Francorum – sic enim omnes occidentales populos, ob antiquam gentis illius dignitatem, ut puto, et virtutem, orientales appellare solent...'.
¹⁶⁹ E.g. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Hill; Guibertus de Novigento, *Historia quae inscribitur Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. Huygens. On the diversity of peoples involved, cf. Haas, 'Kreuzzugschroniken' (2008), pp. 86–94.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Clément, 'Nommer' (2009), p. 90.

¹⁷¹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makkī, trans. Makkī and Corriente, fol. 89a, AH 180 (?), p. 94 (AR), p. 17 (ES): 'Abd Allāh recruits fighters against the reigning *amir* Hishām b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, and enters the Frankish realm (*dakhala Ifranja*); fol. 90a, AH 181, p. 97 (AR), p. 20 (ES): 'Abd Allāh seeks refuge with Charlemagne; fol. 95b, AH 185, p. 116 (AR), p. 36 (ES): Carolingian conquest of Barcelona; fol. 100a, AH 191–92, p. 130 (AR), p. 47 (ES): exchange of embassies with Carolingians, hostilities with Louis the Pious; fol. 101b–102a, AH 197, p. 136 (AR), pp. 51–2 (ES): hostilities with the Franks of Barcelona; fol. 186b, AH 229–30, p. 455 (AR), p. 316 (ES): Viking attack on the Franks; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makkī; fol. 189a–189b, AH 232, pp. 2–3: alliance of William of Septimania with Córdoba against Louis the Pious; fol. 221b, p. 130: Charles the Bald produces an image of Jesus; fol. 262b, AH 245, p. 308: Vikings attack an unnamed place in the Frankish realm; fol. 263b, AH 247, p. 311: Vikings attack the Frankish realm (*jihat al-Faranja*); Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis III*, ed. al-'Arabī, AH 284, p. 284: Barcelona capital of the Frankish tyrant (*qā'idat tāghiyat al-Faranja*); Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 179, AH 317, p. 268: decorated Frankish sword (*sayf sarīm ifranji al-jins*); fol. 245, AH 323, p. 363: Barcelona Frankish capital (*qā'idat al-Faranja*); fol. 248–49, AH 323, pp. 366–8: Muslim raid against Frankish

(d. 487/1094).¹⁷² In the period of Latin-Christian expansionism, it is still valid for Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375).¹⁷³ To distinguish between Catalonia and the adjacent Frankish realm, the latter occasionally employs the term 'France' (*Faransa*; *al-bilād al-faransiyya*), once in connection with a Muslim raid against Barcelona and its environs around the year 1000,¹⁷⁴ a second time to describe French involvement in the Castilian civil war of the late fourteenth century.¹⁷⁵ Thus, Andalusian scholars retained a restricted definition of the term 'Franks'.

Maghrebian historiographers and geographers writing after the end of the eleventh century found a compromise. In their works, the term 'Franks' only acquires a generic dimension, if it denotes regions and peoples outside the Iberian Peninsula, excluding the Catalans. Al-Marrākushī (d. after 621/1224), who uses the term to define the Crown of Aragon,¹⁷⁶ but also the Christian enemy encountered by the Almohads in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 609/1212,¹⁷⁷ does not seem to conform. Since the Christian forces were mainly made up of men from

realm (*balad al-Faranja*), including Marseille (*Massaniṭ*) and Barcelona; fol. 257, AH 324, p. 379: Franks cooperate with the master of Barcelona against the Muslims; fol. 289, AH 326, p. 462: Frankish saddle (*ṣarj ifranjī*); fol. 308, AH 328, pp. 404–5: peace treaty with Sunyer, the son of Guifré, 'the Frank' (*al-ifranjī*); fol. 319, AH 329, p. 474: peace treaty with 'Frankish kings' (*mulūk al-Faranja*), among them Sunyer of Barcelona, as well as 'those allied to the Franks' (*mu'āhidi al-Faranja*), including the ruler of Castile; fol. 325, AH 330, pp. 481–2: arrival of the Turks (*al-Turk*) or Petchenegs (*al-Baqanāk*) in al-Andalus after having traversed the Frankish realm (*balad al-Ifranj[a]*) west of their region of origin; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtaba* VII, ed. al-Hajjī, AH 360, p. 23: polemic verses about the hands of the Franks (*ida Ifranja*) in connection with an embassy from Barcelona; AH 363, p. 169: arrival of the envoy of Otto, king of the Franks (*rasul Hūtū, malik al-Ifranj*).

¹⁷² al-Bakrī, *al-masalik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1531–32, pp. 913–14. Since al-Bakrī's chapter on the Franks is fragmentary, it is not clear if he regarded the count of Barcelona (cf. § 1527, pp. 910–11) as 'Frankish'. He acknowledges the distinct character of the Basques (*al-Bashkansh*, *al-Bashkan*, *al-Bashkha*, *al-Washkansh*), mentioned in § 530, p. 325, § 570, p. 342, § 1495, p. 894, § 1531, p. 914, § 1533, p. 915, and clearly identifies the Galicians (*al-Jalāliqa*) and their country Galicia (*al-Jalliqriyya*) as an independent polity divided into four regions, i.e. Braga (*Brāqara*), Asturias (*Ashtrunsh*), a region populated by 'the Portuguese' (*al-Burtuqālsh*), finally Castile (*Qashtila*). See § 1528–29, p. 912.

¹⁷³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 11–12: raid against Narbonne and the Frankish realm (*Ifranja*) under Hishām b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (ruled 172–80/788–96); p. 23, on the Frankish ruler who produced a richly adorned image of Jesus; pp. 114–15, on the cooperation of Muḥammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Jabbār Mahdī (ruled 399/1009) and his supporter, the governor of Toledo Wāḍih, with 'the Franks', i.e. warriors led by the count of Barcelona, Ramon Borrell III, against the caliphal contender Sulaymān b. Ḥakam; p. 196, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-ihāta*, ed. 'Inān, vol. 3, p. 285 with n. 4, on the ruler of Zaragoza, Mundhir b. Yaḥyā al-Tujībī (ruled 420–30/1029–39), credited with having conducted the affairs of the 'chief of the Franks' (*wa-sāsa li-awwal wilāyatihī 'azim al-Firanjā*), probably the ruler of Navarre; p. 286, on the cooperation of Sulaymān b. Hūd al-Judhamī, described as 'attached to the Franks' (*muṭabbī li-l-Ifranj*), with Christian groups known to have attacked the Marches of al-Andalus in 437/1045–46.

¹⁷⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 74, on a raid led by Muḥammad Abū 'Āmir al-Ḥayṭ b. Maṣṣūr against Barcelona, defined as part of 'the Frankish realm adjacent to France and Rome' (*al-Firanjā al-muttaṣila bi-Faransa wa-Rūma*).

¹⁷⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-ihāta*, ed. 'Inān, vol. 2, p. 44, on a 'Frankish host from the continent' (*al-jam' al-ifranjī al-ān min al-arḍ al-kabira*), also defined, p. 47, as 'French lands' (*al-bilād al-faransiyya*) that interfered on the Iberian Peninsula in Sha'bān 768/April 1367, at the time of the Battle of Nájera between Anglo-Gascon and Franco-Castilian forces. This host is also mentioned on pp. 45–7. See pp. 85–6, on the participation of 'the people of France' (*ahl Ifransiyya*) in the Castilian civil war. On Ibn al-Khaṭīb's involvement in these events, see Marquer, 'Figura' (2011), § 1–47.

¹⁷⁶ al-Marrākushī, *al-muḥjib*, ed. Dozy, p. 50.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 236.

Castile, Navarre, and Aragon, al-Marrākushī appears to be among the few western Muslim historiographers who applied the term 'Franks' to Christian peoples of the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁷⁸ However, other passages show that he was clearly able to distinguish between the rulers of Castile, León, and Aragon and that he either employed the term 'Christians' (*al-naṣārā*) or the ethnonym 'al-Rūm' as a generic term for the Christian enemy.¹⁷⁹ In connection with the aforementioned battle, the term 'Franks' may therefore designate the group of French knights who seconded the Iberian Christian forces in the battle.¹⁸⁰ This is corroborated by the fact that, in another context, al-Marrākushī only employs the term 'Franks' for those coming from outside the Iberian Peninsula. This is the case when he describes the support received by the king of Portugal from a crusader fleet made up of fighters from Cologne and Flanders en route to the Holy Land via Portugal in 585/1189:

Then in the year 585/1189, Baṭrū b. al-Rīq [actually Sancho I], may God curse him, advanced upon the city Silves (*Shalab*) on the peninsula of al-Andalus. Then he surrounded it with his troops. From the sea, the Franks supported him with forces and ships, for he had approached them and asked them to help him in exchange for his leaving the countryside to them for plundering whereas the city would be reserved for him.¹⁸¹

In al-Ḥimyarī's (13th–14th cent.) geographic encyclopaedia, terms related to the ethnonym 'Franks' are used in a similar way. Al-Ḥimyarī clearly distinguishes between the sphere of al-Andalus and the Frankish sphere, situating the latter farther east.¹⁸² Occasionally, the term 'Franks' applies to Catalonia.¹⁸³ Sometimes, it is not clear, where a certain toponym is situated.¹⁸⁴ Outside the northwestern

¹⁷⁸ Clément, 'Nommer' (2009), p. 91.

¹⁷⁹ al-Marrākushī, *al-muʿjib*, ed. Dozy, pp. 235–7.

¹⁸⁰ Smith, *Innocent III* (2004), pp. 111–12.

¹⁸¹ al-Marrākushī, *al-muʿjib*, ed. Dozy, pp. 203–4: 'wa-lammā kāna fī sanat 585 qaṣada Baṭrū b. al-Rīq laʾanahu Allāh madinat Shalab min jazirat al-Andalus fa-nazala ʾalayhā bi-ʾasākirihi wa-aʾanahu min al-baḥr al-Ifrañj bi-l-baṭas wa-l-shawānī wa-kana wa-qad wajjaha ilayhim yastadʾihim ilā an yuʾnūhu ʾalā an yajʾal lahum sabī al-balad wa-lahu huwa al-madīna khāṣṣatan...'; cf. Clément, 'Nommer' (2009), p. 91; Meyer, 'Papel' (2000), pp. 48–53, 55–6.

¹⁸² al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawd al-miʾjār*, ed. ʾAbbās, lemma 'al-Andalus', p. 34, clearly distinguishes between al-Andalus and the Frankish sphere. Cf. lemma 'Ifrañja', p. 50, on the Frankish realm east of the Basques; lemma 'Sāsin' [Saxony?], p. 336, on an island/peninsula (*jazīra*) bordering on the Frankish and Slavic spheres; lemma 'Maghunsha', p. 556, on Mainz and the destruction of its bridge during a Slavic attack.

¹⁸³ Ibid., lemma 'Barshalūna', p. 87, on the 'king of the Franks' (*malik Ifrañja*) who resides in Barcelona, 'their capital' (*dār mulkīhim*). In other cases, it is not clear, if al-Ḥimyarī refers to Catalan or Frankish territory. According to lemma 'Bijāna', p. 80, Pechina served as a base for pirates raiding the 'Frankish coasts' (*sawāḥil al-Ifrañja*); lemma 'Bilābiyya', p. 96, may apply to the Basque town Bilbao, situated 'on the Syrian (sic!) coast of the city of Bordeaux on the side of al-Andalus coming from the Frankish lands' (*fī l-ʾudwa al-shāmiyya min madīnat Burdhil bi-nāḥiyat al-Andalus min jihat bilād al-Ifrañja*); lemma 'Ashkaltūriyya', p. 60, 'a territory in the direction of Italy/Antioch [MS: 'Anṭākiya', corrected to 'Tṭāliya' by the editor ʾAbbās] in the Frankish land' (*ard fī nāḥiya min Anṭākiya/Tṭāliya bi-ard Ifrañja*).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., lemma 'Banabāyish', p. 104, situated in the lands of the Franks. The town allegedly lodged fifty blacksmiths who produced arms such as swords and spears. Its inhabitants claimed to be Frankish and were similar to the Franks in the way the people looked, dressed, and behaved; lemma 'Shānis' [Saintes?], p. 337, a city in the lands of the Franks near the city 'Baladīna', which was once attacked by the Normans (*al-Majūs*), had many fish in its rivers including a whale, parts of which were good against disease.

Mediterranean, al-Ḥimyarī applies the term 'Frankish' to the ancient city of Carthage¹⁸⁵ and the crusader fortress Karak.¹⁸⁶

Ibn 'Idhārī (d. after 712/1312–13) also tends to apply the term 'Franks' to groups attached to the county of Barcelona and the emerging Crown of Aragon or to 'Franks' from beyond the Pyrenees.¹⁸⁷ However, in connection with events related to North Africa, Sicily, and the Apennine Peninsula, he extends the term to other groups as well. These include Christians encountered by the Berbers when they settled North Africa,¹⁸⁸ Ottonian forces that defeated and killed the Sicilian *amīr* Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Ḥasan in 372/982 in the 'Battle of Cotrone',¹⁸⁹ as well as Norman troops that attacked al-Mahdiyya in 517/1123.¹⁹⁰

The work of Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), the Maghrebian scholar who later settled in Mamlūk Egypt, gives witness to his use of both the generic 'Middle Eastern' as well as the restricted 'Andalusian' definition of the term 'Franks'. He provides an explanation for the Frankish rise to power that does not reproduce the story of secession featuring in the works of al-Mas'ūdī, Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, and Ibn al-Athīr, but draws a line of continuity between the post-Roman Franks and later Latin-Christian expansionism. He states explicitly that Franks and Goths both lived

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., lemma 'Qarṭājina ifrīqiyya' [Carthage], p. 462, defined as 'Frankish territory' (*ard Ifranja*) in the period before the appearance of Christianity and in earlier times of the Rūm, data taken from al-Mas'ūdī.

¹⁸⁶ In ibid., lemma 'ḥiṣn Karak', p. 203, the 'lands of the Franks' (*bilād al-Ifranj*) clearly designate crusader territory.

¹⁸⁷ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 1, p. 20, on a raid to the Frankish realm (*Ifranja*) under the governor of Ifriqiya, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥabīb, around 135/752; vol. 2, p. 1, on the geographical position of the Frankish sphere vis-à-vis al-Andalus; vol. 2, p. 2, on an ancient people reminiscent of the Vandals or Visigoths called 'al-Bashtarlaqāt' who set out from Rome, ruled the Frankish realm, and then settled on the Iberian Peninsula; vol. 2, p. 4, on the earliest Muslim incursions into the Frankish realm; vol. 2, p. 8, on Roderic's realm in al-Andalus and the adjacent Frankish sphere; vol. 2, p. 12, on the earliest raids in 92/711 against a Frankish realm near Galicia (*Jilliḡiyya*), circumscribed by the city 'Lawtūn', defined as 'capital of the Franks' (*qā'idat al-Ifranj*), the city of Barcelona (*Barshalūna*), the mountains of Pamplona (*jibāl Banblūna*), and the mountains of Carcassonne (*jibāl Qarqūsha*); vol. 2, p. 16, on the raids of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr against 'the lands of the Franks' (*bilād al-Ifranj*) around Zaragoza and near the 'lands of the Basques' (*bilād al-Bashkansh*); vol. 2, p. 21, on Mūsā's description of these 'Franks' in front of the caliph in Damascus; vol. 2, pp. 29–30, on the death of the Andalusian governor 'Uqba b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Salūlī during a raid in the Frankish realm (*ard Ifranja*); vol. 2, p. 64, on a raid against Frankish Narbonne (*Arbuna*) in 177/793; vol. 2, p. 69, on the relations of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān with the Franks around 181/797; vol. 2, pp. 72–3, on Louis the Pious (*Rudhriq ṣāhib Ifranja*) and his attack against Tortosa in 192/808; vol. 2, p. 96, on Norman ships passing the 'wall of the Frankish realm' (*ḥā'it Ifranja*) in 245/859; vol. 2, p. 97, on a Norman attack against the Frankish realm (*Ifranja*) during which they allegedly settled an unidentifiable city now named after them; vol. 2, p. 108, on Charles the Bald (*Qarūlush*) producing an image of Jesus; vol. 3, p. 4, on a raid against the 'lands of the Franks' (*bilād al-Ifranj*) situated around Barcelona, in 393/1003; vol. 3, pp. 93–5, 98, on the 'Frankish', alias Catalan involvement in the civil war between Muḥammad al-Mahdī and his contender Sulaymān b. Ḥakam in around 1009; vol. 3, pp. 160, 163–4, on Franks around Valencia during the early *tā'ifa*-period; vol. 3, pp. 176–7, on the dealings of the *tā'ifa*-ruler al-Mundhir b. Yahyā of the Banū Tujīb with the surrounding Franks.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 20: 'inna l-Barbar ḥīna dakhālū al-Maghrib, wajadū al-Ifranj qad sabaqūhum ilayhi...'

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 238. For Latin accounts of the battle, see Eickhoff, *Theophanu* (1997), pp. 57–79; Banaszkiewicz, 'Ritter' (2006), pp. 145–65.

¹⁹⁰ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 1, pp. 309–10. Cf. Matthew, *Kingdom* (2001), p. 58; Metcalfe, *Muslims* (2009), pp. 160–80.

within the orbit of the Roman Empire and created independent kingdoms as soon as the latter disintegrated.¹⁹¹ This knowledge is also imparted in a chapter that figures under the heading:

News of the Franks concerning what they ruled of the Syrian coasts and plains, how they conquered it, the beginnings and the development of their affairs regarding this issue.¹⁹²

This chapter enumerates the conquests of Sicily, North Africa, and the Syrian Levant and serves as an introduction to a detailed description of the crusaders' activities in the Middle East,¹⁹³ the short-lived Norman conquests of North African territories,¹⁹⁴ and, finally, the conquest of Constantinople in 601/1204.¹⁹⁵ It is characteristic of his western origin that Ibn Khaldūn, as opposed to Ibn al-Athīr, and apart from one exception,¹⁹⁶ does not include the Christian peoples of the Iberian Peninsula in his narrative of the Frankish rise to power. Having been involved in the political affairs of the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghreb, he obviously saw the need to differentiate between the Frankish sphere and the Christian peoples of the Iberian Peninsula. Consequently, the latter are treated in another chapter under the heading:

News on the kings of the family of Alfonso among the Galicians, the rulers of al-Andalus after the Goths and during the era of the Muslims and news about their neighbours the Franks, the Basques and Portugal with an overview on certain parts of their history.¹⁹⁷

All this shows that medieval Arabic-Islamic sources use the term 'Franks' and its derivatives in different ways. The term can apply to (a) the early medieval Franks and their realm as well as to (b) the inhabitants of 'Frankish' extensions in Catalonia, Italy, or in the so-called 'Latin East'. Finally, and in reaction to early medieval Frankish and later Latin-Christian expansionism, it can (c) also serve as a generic term for peoples of Western Europe in the Roman and post-Roman period, either excluding or including the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula. How it was defined

¹⁹¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 2, p. 281: 'fashala amruhum bi-Rūma'; vol. 4, p. 149; vol. 5, p. 209: 'fa-lammā inqarāḍat dawlat ūlā'ika istaqalla hā'ulā' al-Ifranġ bi-mulkihihi wa-iftaraqū mithla dawlat al-Qūt bi-l-Andalus'.

¹⁹² Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 209–10: 'akhbār al-Ifranġ fīmā malakūhu min sawāhil al-Shām wa-thughūrihi wa-kayfa taghallabū 'alayhi wa-bidāyat amrihihi fī dhālika wa-maṣāyiruhu'. Cf. ibid., vol. 6, pp. 424–5, with another short overview on the rise of the Franks.

¹⁹³ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 210–23.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 230–9.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 245–6.

¹⁹⁶ In this exceptional case, Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 4, p. 149, states that early medieval al-Andalus was inhabited by 'Franks of the West, the toughest among them being the Galicians': 'taskunahu umam min Ifranġat al-Maghrib ashaddhum wa-aktharuhum al-Jalāliqa'. This passage may be inspired by al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, who opposes 'Franks' and 'Galicians' in § 910, p. 145 (AR), p. 343 (FR), but claims in § 398, p. 191 (AR), pp. 145–6 (FR), that, according to the Andalusians, the Visigothic king Roderic was of Galician origin, the latter being 'a kind of Franks'. See Chapter 5.2.1.

¹⁹⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 4, pp. 229–36: 'al-khabar 'an mulūk banī Aḍfunsh min al-Jalāliqa mulūk al-Andalus ba'd al-Ghūt wa-li-'ahd al-muslimīn wa-akhbār man jāwarahum min al-Faranġa wa-l-Bashkans wa-l-Burtughāl wa-l-ilmām bi-ba'd akhbārihihi'. Cf. Martínez-Gros, 'L'histoire' (2007), pp. 77–86.

depended on the particular subject of writing, the historical context, and the respective scholar's regional perspective. Middle Eastern scholars of the crusading period, and later, displayed a tendency to define all Western European peoples, including those from the Iberian Peninsula, as 'Franks'. The Latin-Christian expansionist drive into the central and eastern Mediterranean during the high and late Middle Ages had created or fortified the notion of a dominant Frankish sphere situated west of Byzantium. Focused on the history of the Iberian Peninsula, Andalusian scholars tended to apply the term only to the Frankish realm and its Catalan/Aragonese extension, but rarely used it for the other Christian realms of the Iberian Peninsula. North African scholars took up a kind of medial position between 'east' and 'west'. In line with their Andalusian colleagues, they refrained from applying the term 'Franks' to the Christian peoples of the Iberian Peninsula with the exception of the Catalans/Aragonese. But when they mentioned outsiders impinging on Andalusian affairs or considered events in North Africa and the Middle East, they used the term for various Western European peoples.

6.5. DIVERSIFICATION: FRANCE AND THE FRANKS (13TH–15TH CENTURIES)

The ethnonym's failure to become a generic term used by Arabic-Islamic scholars from the Middle East to the Muslim West for all peoples of Latin Christendom can also be explained by the fact that Arabic-Islamic scholars began to acknowledge the diversity of Western European peoples rather early. Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), who dedicated individual chapters to the Slavs (*al-Ṣaḡāliba*), the Franks and Galicians (*al-Ifranja wa-l-Jalāliqa*), and the Langobards (*al-Nawkubard*) only represents one of many examples.¹⁹⁸ From the eleventh century onwards, Latin-Christian expansionism reinforced this notion of diversity by introducing Arabic-Islamic scholars to a number of new Western European ethnonyms.¹⁹⁹ The appearance and diffusion of an Arabic form of the term 'France' (*Faransa* etc.) with a corresponding 'French' ruler (*al-Ifransīs, malik Faransa*, etc.), is particularly interesting in this context, because it bred the need to define 'France' against 'the lands of the Franks' and 'Frenchmen' against 'Franks'.

6.5.1. France and the French King

Terminological variants of the toponym 'France', as opposed to the older 'lands of the Franks' (*bilād al-Ifranja*),²⁰⁰ seem to have been used, at the earliest, by scholars from the Muslim West of the eleventh century. Mentioning 'the lands of France' (*bilād Ifransa*), Ṣā'id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) is among the earliest proponents of

¹⁹⁸ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 905, p. 142, § 910, p. 145, § 920, p. 151 (AR), pp. 341, 343, 347 (FR).

¹⁹⁹ See Chapter 8.

²⁰⁰ E.g. in al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muḥannā, vol. 1, p. 199; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 136.

this new toponym.²⁰¹ Around a century later, al-Idrīsī (d. c.560/1165) provided a very detailed description of the 'region/lands of France' (*iqḷīm/bilād Ifransīya*).²⁰² Later scholars from the Muslim West, such as Ibn Sa'īd (d. 685/1286) and Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375), also used the terms 'France' (*Faransa*), 'French lands' (*al-bilād al-faransiyya*), and 'territory of France' (*arḍ Ifrānsa*).²⁰³ Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) even explained the terminological shift from 'Ifranja' to 'Ifransa', claiming that its inhabitants pronounced the letter '[jīm]' as '[in]'.²⁰⁴

In the Middle East, situated at a greater distance from Western Europe, an Arabic term for 'France' seems to have come into use in the wake of the second or third crusade. In his *kitāb al-jihād*, written soon after the fall of Jerusalem in 1099, al-Sulamī (d. 500/1106) still fails to distinguish between different peoples involved in this first crusade. If he uses an ethnonym at all and does not only refer to 'the infidels' (*al-kuffār*),²⁰⁵ he mentions 'the Franks'.²⁰⁶ The active participation of various European sovereigns in the second, and especially the third crusade, acquainted Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars with new ethnonyms. In connection with the third crusade, Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1235), and Abū Shāma (d. 665/1268) all use the term 'Franks' as a generic term for the crusaders, but distinguish between the king of England (*al-Inkitār*, *malik Inklatīra*, *al-Inklatīrī*, *malik Inkiltār*, etc.),²⁰⁷ the king of the Germans (*malik al-Almān*),²⁰⁸ and the king of France.²⁰⁹

Both Western and Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries frequently deal with the king of France. He is known by names that either describe his function as 'master of France' (*ṣāhib Faransā*, *ṣāhib Ifransa*),²¹⁰ 'king of the French' (*malik Afransīs*, *malik al-Afrans*)²¹¹ or 'king of

²⁰¹ Ṣā'īd al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Bū 'Alwān, p. 97. Cf. Clément, 'Nommer' (2009), p. 79.

²⁰² al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. Bombaci et al., fasc. VII, p. 743; fasc. VIII, pp. 861–6, trans. Jaubert, vol. 2, pp. 243–4, 357–65; Clément, 'Nommer' (2009), p. 80 n. 2.

²⁰³ Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughbrāfiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, pp. 193, 199–200; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 74. In connection with events around the year 767/1366, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-ihāta*, ed. 'Inān, vol. 2, pp. 44, 47, mentions 'a Frankish army coming from the continent' (*al-jam' al-ifranjī al-ātī min al-arḍ al-kabīra*), later defined as 'French lands' (*al-bilād al-faransiyya*).

²⁰⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 5, p. 209. Cf. al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 485.

²⁰⁵ See the partial edition in Sivan, 'Genèse' (1966), p. 210.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 208.

²⁰⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 12, AH 586, p. 33 (Leiden), p. 52 (Beirut); vol. 12, AH 587, p. 42 (Leiden), p. 64 (Beirut); Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, pp. 238, 274, 300–4; Abū Shāma, *al-rawḍatayn*, ed./trans. de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 4), pp. 335, 509; ibid. (RHC hist. or. 5), pp. 8, 10–11, 14, 17–18, 22, 28, 30–1, 37, 44–8, 51–4, 56, 62–5, 68, 71, 73–5, 77, 79, 81.

²⁰⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 12, AH 586, pp. 30–1 (Leiden); Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, pp. 178, 195, 207, 212, 233; Abū Shāma, *al-rawḍatayn*, ed./trans. de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 4), pp. 181, 434–5, 437, 452, 454–61, 472–4, 478–80, 494, 500, 507; ibid. (RHC hist. or. 5), p. 79.

²⁰⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 12, AH 586, p. 33 (Leiden), p. 52 (Beirut); vol. 12, AH 587, p. 41 (Leiden), p. 63 (Beirut); Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, pp. 236, 287; Abū Shāma, *al-rawḍatayn*, ed./trans. de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 4), p. 516; ibid. (RHC hist. or. 5), pp. 6, 30, 46, 53.

²¹⁰ Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughbrāfiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, p. 200; al-'Umarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, p. 1; al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 34.

²¹¹ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 485.

France' (*malik Faransa*),²¹² transcribe a Romance wording, i.e. 'roi de France' (*raydā Farans, al-rīd Ifrans, rawā Farans, etc.*),²¹³ or simply call him 'the French' (*al-Ifransīs, al-Faransīs*).²¹⁴ Ibn Khaldūn drew these different transcriptions together and spoke of:

*al-Faransīs, the tyrant of the Franks... , whose title in the language of the Franks is Rawā Farans which means King of France.*²¹⁵

Under these titles, the French king is referred to in many different contexts, none of which predates the twelfth century. Many details are available on his activities in the Islamic world, e.g. his involvement in the third crusade (1187–92). Ibn Shaddād mentions his arrival near Acre in 587/1191,²¹⁶ his falling ill in Antioch, and his alleged death from this illness, which is said to have been reported to al-Malik al-Ādil by two Franks.²¹⁷ Naming him 'King of the French Philip' (*malik Ifransīs Filīb*), Abū Shāma also describes the king's arrival. He mentions the crusaders' disappointment at the small number of troops brought by the king as well as the loss of a falcon by the latter, which was caught by the Muslims, presented to Saladin, and demanded back by the French king without avail.²¹⁸ He reports that the king's treasurer and other French people (*jamā'a min al-Ifransīsiyya*) were caught during one of Saladin's attacks on the crusader camp at Acre.²¹⁹ Referring to troubles in France, he mentions the king's decision to depart from the Holy Land.²²⁰ He also reproduces the false information that the king died in Antioch,²²¹ and defines count Henry of the Champagne (*al-Kund Harri*) as the French king's nephew.²²² In connection with the fourth crusade, Ibn Khaldūn claims that the ruler of Constantinople married the French king's sister shortly before the crusaders' conquest of Constantinople in 1204.²²³ The capture of Louis IX in Egypt is regularly treated with a certain malicious glee.²²⁴ Al-Qalqashandī claims that, after the failed campaign to Damietta, the French king sent messengers to Egypt, offering, in exchange for Jerusalem, an annual payment of 100,000 *dīnār* and exotic gifts.²²⁵ Drawing on earlier works of historiography as well as the testimony of his grandfather, Ibn Khaldūn describes

²¹² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 5, p. 209: 'mulūk Faransa'.

²¹³ al-ʿUmārī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, p. 1; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, p. 426; al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, pp. 412, 485; vol. 8, pp. 34, 36, 38.

²¹⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 5, p. 245: 'al-Ifransīs', p. 246: 'al-Faransīs'; vol. 6, p. 426; al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, pp. 401, 414, 485.

²¹⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, p. 426: 'al-Faransīs iḡhiyat al-Ifranj... wa-talaqqab bi-lughat al-Ifranj rawā Farans wa-ma'nāhu malik Ifrans'.

²¹⁶ Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, pp. 236–7; cf. Mayer, *Geschichte* (2000), p. 132.

²¹⁷ Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, pp. 236–7, 287.

²¹⁸ Abū Shāma, *al-rawdatayn*, ed./trans. de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 5), pp. 6–7, 28.

²¹⁹ Ibid. (RHC hist. or. 4), p. 516. ²²⁰ Ibid. (RHC hist. or. 5), p. 30.

²²¹ Ibid. (RHC hist. or. 5), p. 46. ²²² Ibid. (RHC hist. or. 5), p. 53.

²²³ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 279; vol. 5, pp. 245–6, seems to be mistaken, cf. Mayer, *Geschichte* (2000), p. 176.

²²⁴ al-ʿUmārī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, pp. 2–3; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, pp. 425–7; al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, pp. 412–14; vol. 8, p. 38. Cf. Eddé, 'Saint Louis' (2000), pp. 72–111.

²²⁵ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 36.

Louis IX's second crusading campaign to Tunis, discusses its origins, and gives different explanations for the king's death.²²⁶

Arabic-Islamic writings also contain information on the French kingdom's relations to other parts of Latin Christendom. The Andalusian geographer Ibn Sa'īd (d. 685/1286) provides details on economic and political relations between France (*Faransā*) and England (*Inkalīra*), claiming that the English provided the French with metals and minerals in exchange for wine, thus enriching the French king. In spite of the English king's large realm and wealth, the latter was subordinate to the king of France and, according to an old tradition, obliged to serve him food during festive banquets. This is an accurate description of the feudal relationship between both kings.²²⁷

Historiographers in the service of the Mamluks provide further information. Ibn Waṣīl (d. 697/1298) explains the role of the French king's brother in the fight between the papacy and the Staufen dynasty and mentions the Angevin take over in Sicily after the death of king Manfred.²²⁸ Muḥī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1292) proffers a detailed description of the so-called Sicilian Vespers, which provides insight into the relations between the ruler of Aragon (*al-Raydarghūn al-barshanūnī*), the French king (*al-Ifransīs*), and the Angevins of Italy. Based on information that had reached the Mamluk court after the arrival of a boat from Messina in Alexandria on Tuesday, 11 Rabi' al-ākhir 683/27 June 1284, it follows events up to the treaty concluded between the ruler of Aragon and the Mamluk sultan in 689/1290.²²⁹ Finally, al-'Umārī (d. 749/1349), who led the Mamluk chancery in Damascus from 740–43/1339–42,²³⁰ provides one of the most detailed discussions of the French king's position vis-à-vis his neighbours in his description of 'the most well-known land-based realms of the venerated of the cross' (*mashāhir mamālik 'ibād al-ṣalīb fī l-barr dūn al-baḥr*).

On first sight, al-'Umārī's king of France is a ruler of superlatives: 'the most majestic Frankish sovereign' (*ajall mulūk al-Faranj*), 'the greatest ruler of the north' (*akbar mulūk Banī l-Aṣfar makānatan*), and 'the ruler most favoured by fate' (*atam-muhum bakhtan*); he is of noble descent (*'ariq al-nasab*) and ruler of an ancient kingdom (*fī l-mulk al-qadīm*) inherited from his predecessors (*ma'khūdhā 'an al-salaf*). He also possesses the most splendid crown and wardrobe (*a'zamuhum tājan wa-takhtan*).²³¹ 'Alfonso, master of the Christian realms in al-Andalus' (*al-Adhfunsh, ṣāhib bilād al-naṣarā bi-l-Andalus*) figures as the king's subordinate and

²²⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, pp. 427–9, p. 426: 'ḥadathanī abī 'an abīhi raḥamahumā Allāh qāla...'

²²⁷ Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrāfiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, pp. 199–200: 'wa-mā'a ghinā' al-Inkitār wa-wasā' mam-lakatihi, fa-innahu yuqir bi-l-saltāna li-l-Faransīs, wa-idhā kāna mujtama' ḥafl, khadamahu bi-an yahūtt quddāmahu zabadiyyat ṭā'ām, [wa-hiya] 'āda mutawāratha'. This passage is partly copied by Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm/Géographie*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, trans. Reinaud, pp. 187–8 (AR), p. 266 (FR). On the feudal relationship, see Ehlers, *Krieg* (2009), pp. 8–11.

²²⁸ Ibn Waṣīl, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Āshūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 249.

²²⁹ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *tashrif al-ayyām*, ed. Amari (BAS), pp. 339–52 (AR), vol. 1, pp. 546–68 (IT).

²³⁰ Salibi, 'Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī' (1971), p. 758.

²³¹ al-'Umārī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, p. 1.

lieutenant (*nā'ibuhu*).²³² On second sight, however, al-'Umarī clearly exposes that surrounding sovereigns were on a par with this outstanding ruler. Robert, ruler of the Provence (*malik Abrans wa-huwa al-Rayrubart*), also possessed a residence, a crown, much money, fortresses, and a large army, which, although smaller than the French king's, was more diversified.²³³ It is the emperor (*al-anbarūr*), the king of the Germans (*sāhib mulk al-Lamān*; *malik al-Lamān*), however, who constitutes the French king's most important and dangerous rival. More powerful because of the number of troops at his disposal,²³⁴ he defeated and subjected the French king, usurped the latter's crown and throne, and reorganized the latter's territories. In consequence, the French had to pay homage to him. Because of this, al-'Umarī claims, the emperor currently held the highest prestige among the Franks.²³⁵ Thus, in spite of all the superlatives used for the French king, al-'Umarī emphasizes the Frankish sphere's bipolar character: the king of France and the emperor, he claims, were both able to dominate the surrounding polities who accordingly paid honours and services to them. Together they constituted the most powerful rulers of the Frankish sphere.²³⁶

In addition to this geopolitical description, Ibn Sa'īd (d. 685/1286) and al-'Umarī also provide information on the interior affairs of the French kingdom, e.g. commenting on the measures taken when it is time to choose a king. The former claims that future kings were chosen from Poitou (*Bīṭū*) if they were lacking in France,²³⁷ while the latter provides a comparatively detailed description of the coronation ritual.²³⁸ Ibn Sa'īd even comments on the king's capital. His description of Paris (*Barīs*) as a tripartite city, with one section reserved for the king (*Faransīs, sultān al-Faranj*), another for the military (*al-jund*), as well as one for the merchants and the rest of the people (*sā'ir tujjārihim wa-ra'iyyatihim*), corresponds roughly to the tripartite reorganization of the city at the hands of Philip II Augustus of France (ruled 1180–1223).²³⁹

6.5.2. France and the Franks

From the eleventh century and, in particular, from the thirteenth century onwards, Arabic-Islamic scholars developed an increasingly clear notion of a realm called 'France'. However, the new 'French' terminology only partly obliterated the older 'Frankish' terminology used for this polity and its ruler. The Middle Eastern scholar Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), for example, does not mention an Arabic term for 'France' in his geographic encyclopaedia. The rather curious and outdated blend of information found in his lemma on 'the Franks' could have also been written before the crusading period:

²³² Ibid., pp. 1, 3. ²³³ Ibid., p. 6.

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 1. ²³⁵ Ibid., p. 5. ²³⁶ Ibid., p. 1.

²³⁷ Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, p. 193: 'wa-minhā tukhtār al-mulūk li-Faransa idhā 'adamū fi Faransa. 'āda mutawāliyya'.

²³⁸ al-'Umarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, p. 2.

²³⁹ Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, p. 193. Cf. Baldwin, *Government* (1991), p. 343: 'Circumscribed by its fortifications, Paris consisted of three distinct sections in 1214: *l'Université, la Cité, and la Ville*.'

Afranja: A great nation that possesses vast lands and many realms. They are Christians and are related to an ancestor whose name is *Afranjarah* whom they call *Farank*. It is adjacent to Rome and the Byzantines, and they are in the north of al-Andalus, extend to Rome in the eastern direction and have *Nūkabardah* as their capital, an imposing city. They have 150 cities, and before the appearance of Islam, their original countries were in the Muslim sphere on the island of Rhodes in the middle of the Syrian Sea that faces Alexandria.²⁴⁰

Yāqūt's lemma contains a hitherto unknown etymology of the term 'Franks' and applies a name to the Frankish capital that is usually used for the Langobards or Lombards in Arabic-Islamic geographical literature. Other data is taken from older sources, in particular al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) who also mentioned 150 cities in the Frankish realm.²⁴¹ Other lemmata in Yāqūt's geographic encyclopaedia show that he applied the term 'Franks' to various Western Europeans, e.g. Normans occupying cities in North Africa,²⁴² Iberian Christians involved in the reconquest of al-Andalus,²⁴³ crusaders in the Syrian Levant²⁴⁴ and on Crete,²⁴⁵ Hungarians,²⁴⁶ the pope in Rome,²⁴⁷ the Pisans,²⁴⁸ the rulers of Sardinia,²⁴⁹ and Lombardy and the Lombards.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁰ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'Afranja', p. 324: 'Afranja: umma 'azīma lahā bilād wāsī'a wa-mamālik kathīra wa-hum naṣārā yunsabūn ilā jidd lahum wa-ismuhu Afranjarah wa-hum yaqūlūna Farank wa-hiya mujāwira li-Rūmiyya wa-l-Rūm wa-hum fī shamālī al-Andalus naḥw al-sharq ilā Rūmiyya wa-dār mulkihim Nūkabardah wa-hiya madīna 'azīma wa-lahum naḥw mi'a wa-khamsīn madīna wa-qad kāna qabla zuḥūr al-Islām awwal bilādihi min jihat al-muslimīn jazīrat Rūdas qibālat al-Iskandariyya fī wasa' baḥr al-Shām.'

²⁴¹ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 911, p. 145 (AR), p. 343 (FR). Cf. Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 2, lemma 'Rūdhis', p. 832, citing al-Mas'ūdī's theory of the Franks' origin from Rhodes.

²⁴² Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'Ifriqiya', p. 329, on the Normans' (*al-Ifrañj*) conquest of North Africa in 543/1148.

²⁴³ Ibid., vol. 1, lemma 'Urilya', p. 229, conquered by the Franks (*al-Ifrañj*) in 533/1138; lemma 'Ashīqa', p. 281, held by the Franks; lemma 'Ifraḡha', p. 323, conquered by the Franks in 543/1148; lemma 'Uqlish', p. 339, ruled by the Franks; lemma 'Bākka', p. 477, held by the Franks; vol. 2, lemma 'al-Zallāqa', p. 939, on the battle between troops led by Alfonso VI of León and Castile (*al-Adfūnsh malik al-Afrañj*) and the Almoravid ruler Yūsuf b. Tashfīn; vol. 4, lemma 'Lashbūna', p. 356, conquered by the Franks in 573/1177.

²⁴⁴ E.g. ibid., vol. 1, lemma 'Antākiya', pp. 385, 387, on a port called 'al-Suwaydiyya', used by the Franks to transport their wares to Antioch. Conquered by the Franks in 491/1097, the city still remained in their hands; lemma 'Barzuwaya', p. 565, and lemma 'Baghrās', p. 694, cities in the Syrian Levant held by the Franks but reconquered by Saladin.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., vol. 1, lemma 'Aqrīsh', p. 337, held by the Franks (*al-Afrañj*).

²⁴⁶ Ibid., vol. 1, lemma 'Bāshghird', pp. 469–70, a land inhabited by a people called Hungarians (*al-Hunkar*), defined as 'a Frankish nation' (*umma min al-Afrañj*). Here, the pope (*al-bābā*) is defined as 'leader of the Franks' (*ra'is al-Afrañj*), while the Muslims from Hungary mentioned in this article claim to speak the 'Frankish language' (*lisān al-Afrañj*), do not shave their beards as do the Franks (*kamā taf'al al-Afrañj*), and wear military dress (*labasa al-silāh*) like the Franks (*mithla l-Afrañj*).

²⁴⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, lemma 'al-bābā', p. 452, on the authority of the pope over 'all lands of the Franks and what lies near them' (*jami' bilād al-Faranj wa-mā yuqāribuhum*).

²⁴⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, lemma 'Bīzān', pp. 787–8, on the Pisans as 'a branch of Franks' (*jil min al-Afrañj*), whom 'we have gotten to know as rich traders in Syria' (*wa-ra'aynāhum bi-l-Shām tujjāran dhawi tharwa*). The encyclopaedia features no lemmata on the Genoese or the Venetians.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. 3, lemma 'Sardāniya', p. 73.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, lemma 'al-Ankaburda', p. 392, on Lombardy as a part of the 'lands of the Franks' (*bilād al-Afrañj*).

Likewise, al-Ḥimyarī's (13th–14th cent.) geographic encyclopaedia does not contain an Arabic transcription of the term 'France' and proffers an outdated description of the Franks in the corresponding lemma. Information on the realm's geographical borders, its neighbours, and the character of its people has been taken from al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094). Deriving in part from al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), it characterizes the Frankish realm of early medieval times.²⁵¹ In other lemmata, the author mentions that Western groups summarized under the term 'Franks' had taken control of the Syrian Levant for a certain period.²⁵²

The above-mentioned texts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries show that a clear-cut and generally accepted distinction between 'French' and 'Frankish' did not exist. Scholars who made use of the new French terminology often did not bother to comment on the difference between 'Franks' and 'French'. Seemingly up to date, the Mamlūk secretary al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), in Egypt, mentions a 'land of France' (*bilād Ifrānsiya*) in the geographical overview at the beginning of his oeuvre,²⁵³ and accurately dates the arrival of the 'French king' (*malik Ifransīs*) in Acre to 12 Rabi' al-awwal 587/9 April 1191.²⁵⁴ However, his chapter entitled 'News on the kings of the Franks and the Galicians' (*dhikr khabar mulūk al-Ifranja wa-l-Jalāliqa*) only reproduces the data on Merovingians and Carolingians already collected by al-Mas'ūdī in the tenth century, summarizing later events as follows:

This is what al-Mas'ūdī proffered on their history in his book entitled *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems* (*murūj al-dhabab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar*). After this their realms grew, their hands reached out and they conquered most western lands (*bilād al-gharb*) as well as others.²⁵⁵

In a chapter entitled 'Mention of what the Franks—may God most high abandon them—have conquered among the Islamic lands on the Peninsula of al-Andalus after the conquest of Toledo', al-Nuwayrī lists places conquered by the 'Franks' (*al-Ifranj*), also called 'al-Rūm', on the Iberian Peninsula up to the year 715/1315.²⁵⁶ In line with other Middle Eastern scholars, he used the term 'Franks' as a generic term for Western Europeans without clarifying the position of 'France' within 'Frankish' Europe.

Other scholars provided some sort of explanation as to how the Franks and France were related to each other. A subchapter in the universal history of the Syrian historiographer Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) entitled 'the nations who entered

²⁵¹ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'yar*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Ifranja', p. 50.

²⁵² In *ibid.*, lemma 'ḥiṣn Karak', p. 203: the 'lands of the Franks' (*bilād al-Ifranj*) clearly designate crusader territory.

²⁵³ al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Qamayḥa, vol. 1, p. 218.

²⁵⁴ al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Fawwāz and Fawwāz, vol. 28, p. 288.

²⁵⁵ al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. aṭ-Ṭawil and Ḥāshim, vol. 15, p. 223: 'hādḥā mā awradahu al-Mas'ūdī min akhbārihim fī kitābihi al-mutarjam bi-murūj al-dhabab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar. thumma ittasa'at ba'da dhalika mamālikuhum wa-inbasaṭat aydayhum wa-istawlū 'alā akthar bilād al-gharb wa-ghayrihā.'

²⁵⁶ al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Tarḥīnī, vol. 24, p. 212: 'dhikr mā istawlā 'alayhi al-Faranj—khadhalahum Allāh ta'ālā—min bilād islāmiyya bi-jazīrat al-Andalus ba'da akhdh Ṭulayṭula.' Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 23, p. 268, where he claims that the Castilian forces led by Alfonso VI in the Battle of Zallāqa (479/1086) were 'Franks'.

the religion of the Christians' only classifies certain societies of Western Europe as 'Frankish'. It suggests that these Frankish societies represented extensions of a medieval Frankish realm known by two names, i.e. 'Faranja' or 'Faransa'. In this passage that employs an ethnic classification not used in the larger oeuvre,²⁵⁷ Abū l-Fidā' distinguishes between the Germans (*al-Almān*), the Burgundians (*al-Burjān*), the Genoese (*al-Janawiyya*), the Venetians (*al-Banādiqa*), the Galicians (*al-Jalāliqa*), and the Hungarians (*al-Bāshqurd*) on the one side, 'the Franks' (*al-Ifranj*) on the other side.²⁵⁸

The Franks are many people and the basis of their lands is *Faranja*, which is also called *Faransa*. It is adjacent to the Iberian Peninsula (*jazīrat al-Andalus*) in the north. Their king is called *al-Faransī* and he is the one who set out for Egypt and took Damietta. . . . The Franks have taken control of the greater part of the Iberian Peninsula and they possess several well-known islands in the Mediterranean (*baḥr al-Rūm*) such as Sicily (*Ṣiqilliya*), Cyprus (*Qubrus*), Crete (*Aqrīṣh*) and others.²⁵⁹

Apparently following the same logic, al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) defines the 'King of France' (*al-rayd Ifrans*; *al-Faransī*) as the ruler of the 'ancient Frankish kingdom' (*mamlakat al-Faranj al-qadīma*) inhabited by 'the French' (*al-Ifrans*).²⁶⁰

In his description of 'the most well-known land-based realms of the venerated of the cross', the Mamluk secretary al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349), in turn, largely ignores the original meaning of the word 'Franks' and uses it as the terminological equivalent to that which modern scholarship would define as 'Latin Christians'. Here, France constitutes an independent and powerful realm within a conglomeration of Frankish societies that inhabit the regions north of the Mediterranean, control several Mediterranean islands, and that in the past had also ruled the crusader principalities in the Middle East.²⁶¹ Having dealt with France (*Faransa*), Christian Spain (*bilād al-naṣārā bi-l-Andalus*), Germany (*mulk al-Lamān*), the Provence (*Abrans*), the Lombards (*al-Lunbardīyya*), Frankish Burgundy (*Burghūniya al-Faranj*), the Venetians (*al-Banādiqa Finīsīn*), the Pisans (*al-Bizān*), the Tuscans (*al-Dushqān*), the Anconitani (*Ankūnitīn*), the Florentines (*Afarantīn*), the Genoese (*ahl Janawa*), the Catalans (*al-Katīrān*, *al-Katīlān*), Cyprus (*Sībīrya*), Sicily (*Ṣiqilliya*), and Mallorca (*Mayūrqa*), al-'Umarī concludes:

all Frankish lands (*jamī' bilād al-Faranj*) are fertile and rich in fruit except for citrus fruits, which do not exist there . . . , and the prices there are either low or tolerable . . .²⁶²

²⁵⁷ Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 4, p. 171, for example, also uses the term 'Franks' to define peoples under the sway of the emperor.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 119–20.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 119: 'wa-minhā: al-Ifranj, wa-hum umam kathīra wa-aṣl qā'idat bilādihim Faranja, wa-yuqāl Faransa wa-hiya mujawwira li-jazīrat al-Andalus min shimalihā, wa-yuqāl li-maliki-him al-Faransī wa-huwa alladhī qaṣada diyār Miṣr wa-akhadha Dimyāt . . . wa-qad ghalaba al-Faranj 'alā mu'zam jazīrat al-Andalus, wa-lahum fī baḥr al-Rūm jaza'ir mashhūra mithla Ṣiqilliya wa-Qubrus wa-Aqrīṣh wa-ghayrihā.'

²⁶⁰ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, pp. 412, 485.

²⁶¹ Cf. al-'Umarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, pp. 11–15, on the downfall of the Latin East.

²⁶² Ibid., pp. 1–11, p. 11: 'wa-jamī' bilād al-Faranj dhawāt khayr wa-fawākiha illā l-fawākiha al-jurūmiyya fa-innahā lā tujad bihā . . . wa-l-a'sār bihā imma rakhi[ṣa] wa-imma mutawassiṭa . . . '

Thus, Arabic-Islamic scholarship of the later Middle Ages provides two models to distinguish between 'Frankish' and 'French', but fails to give a differentiating definition of both. This makes it necessary to define the exact meaning of the term 'Franks' according to context.

6.6. ARABIC-ISLAMIC VERSIONS OF FRANKISH 'ETHNOGENESIS'

Far from being stagnant, Arabic-Islamic definitions of the term 'Franks' evolved considerably over the centuries. The term became known to the Arabic-Islamic sphere either via Byzantium or in the wake of the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. Up to the late eighth century, and as far as this can be reconstructed from later sources, the term seems to have been used exclusively to denote a people that lived west of the Slavic sphere and north of al-Andalus.

Due to the Carolingian expansion into the Spanish Levant at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries, the emerging Catalan sphere also began to carry this ethnonym. Carolingian and Ottonian involvement on the Apennine Peninsula also led to the occasional classification of this region as 'Frankish'. In the work of al-Mas'ūdī, the word 'Frankish' even served as a generic term for genealogically related societies, which cooperated against the Islamic sphere and were attached to the city of Rome for both historical and religious reasons.

The Norman settlement in northern France, their ensuing establishment in southern Italy, their conquest of Sicily, their temporary occupation of parts of North Africa as well as their involvement in the crusading movement, together with other representatives of the Frankish sphere, served to extend the ethnonym to regions farther south and southeast. Latin-Christian expansionism fortified the notion of an expanding Frankish sphere, gave rise to historical narratives of the Frankish rise to power, and certainly helped to promote the ethnonym's function as a generic term for the peoples, societies, and rulers of Western Europe. In consequence, the term took on various facets in Arabic-Islamic scholarship written approximately from the eleventh century onwards.

It was used in connection with different historical phases. As opposed to the Visigothic kingdom, the Frankish realm had never succumbed to Muslim or other rule, with the effect that the ethnonym 'Franks' could not simply be relegated to the realm of history. Given the Carolingian realm's impact on Muslim al-Andalus, its historical dimension was important to medieval Arabic-Islamic historiographers. However, to scholars who wrote after the end of the Carolingian era, it also applied, not only to the successors of Carolingian rule in medieval France and the Spanish Levant, but also to the rulers of Sicily as well as the temporary conquerors of North Africa and the so-called Latin East.

Further removed from the western Mediterranean, Middle Eastern authors of the crusading era and later applied the term 'Franks' to a large variety of Western European peoples, including those of the Iberian Peninsula. They tended to use it

as a generic term for all peoples and societies of Western Europe. In parts of the Middle and the Far East, this usage seems to have continued up to the nineteenth century.²⁶³ Western Muslim scholars also applied the term to Western Europeans active in Sicily, North Africa, or the so-called Latin East. However, because they knew more about the history and geography of the western Mediterranean, they were more cautious to impose the term on all European Christians and excluded the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula with the exception of the Catalans.

In consequence, the term 'Franks' never reached the status of an uncontested generic term for all Christian peoples of Western Europe. This also has to do with the fact that, from the latest since the ninth century, Arabic-Islamic scholars knew that various peoples populated Western Europe. Moreover, Latin-Christian expansionism into the Mediterranean *bâsin* acquainted them with various territories and peoples of Western Europe, among others the kingdom of France, and gave rise to a new ethnographic terminology. Interestingly, Arabic-Islamic scholars never addressed the various semantic levels of the term 'Franks' explicitly and thus failed to reflect on the resulting terminological complications. In spite of its different facets, the term 'Franks', apparently, did not seem ill-defined to medieval Arabic-Islamic scholars.

²⁶³ Lewis and Hopkins, 'Ifrandj' (1971), p. 1044; Lewis, 'Tafarnudj' (2000), p. 81; Subrahmanyam, 'Franks' (2005), pp. 69–100.

From the Patriarch of Rome to the Pope

A centuries-old and most influential institution, the Roman bishopric had at its disposal a far-reaching network of contacts in the late antique and medieval Euromediterranean. The papacy's Mediterranean engagement was reflected in Arabic-Islamic sources that accorded increasing attention to the bishop of Rome over the centuries.

7.1. EARLY LACK OF RECORDS (8TH–9TH CENTURIES)

Papal letters show that the bishop of Rome already maintained sporadic relations with Christians in the pre-Islamic Arab world's immediate surroundings. At the beginning of the sixth century, pope Hormisdas (sed. 514–23) wrote to the 'archimandritae' of Syria.¹ In the year 600, pope Gregory the Great made an effort to alleviate the punishment of a certain 'Anamundarus', possibly the Ghassanid ruler al-Mundhir exiled to Sicily by the Byzantine emperor.² His correspondence with the bishop Marianus of Arabia entailed the donation of Roman relics to this Middle Eastern bishopric.³

7.1.1. Early Encounters between the Muslims and the Bishop of Rome

The earliest recorded encounters between Muslims and the bishop of Rome date from the period of the Arabic-Islamic expansion. Several connections existed between Rome and the patriarchate of Jerusalem, subjected to Arabic-Islamic rule in 638.⁴ Pope Martin (sed. 649–53) seems to have written various letters to Middle Eastern churches under Arabic-Islamic rule, i.e. the bishop of Philadelphia

¹ Hormisdas, *ep. 40*, ed. Thiel, pp. 820–30.

² Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum*, ed. Norberg (CCL 140a), lib. X, cap. 16 (a. 600), p. 845; cf. Shahid, *Byzantium [Sixth Century]*, vol. I,1 (1995), pp. 602–5.

³ Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum*, ed. Norberg (CCL 140a), lib. XI, cap. 20 (a. 601), p. 889.

⁴ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 1, cap. LXXV (Theodorus, sed. 642–49), § 125 (§ I), p. 331: 'Theodorus, natione Grecus, ex patre Theodoro episcopo de civitate Hierusolima...'; *Concilium Lateranense Romanum (a. 649)*, ed. Mansi, vol. 10, pp. 894–6, on a reference to the Muslim expansion by the Palestinian bishop Stephen of Dor(a).

(*Ammān*) as well as the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch.⁵ At a time when the Arabic-Islamic expansion was fully under way, Martin had opposed the Byzantine emperor's monotheletism and supported the usurpation of the exarch Olympios. Among other things, Byzantium accused him of having collaborated with the 'Saracens'. In a letter written in 653, Martin denied these accusations but admitted that some of his clerics had been in touch with them.⁶ In the following century and a half, direct contact seems to have been scarce or non-existent. Although informed about the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula as well as the Muslims' advance into the Frankish realm relatively early, the Roman bishop did not establish direct relations.⁷

These became more frequent when Muslims became increasingly active in Sicily and on the Apennine Peninsula in the ninth century.⁸ A papal legate participated in negotiations between Saracens and the Byzantine patricius Gregorius of Sicily in 813.⁹ The sack of Rome in 846 brought several Muslim raiders into parts of the eternal city.¹⁰ After the Battle of Ostia in 849, Saracen captives were taken to Rome 'causa veritatis ac testimonii' and used as a workforce in the city's building projects.¹¹ The emirate of Bari (847–71) was frequented by Christian pilgrims such as the monk Bernardus who, after visiting the pope in Rome, tried to obtain valid travel documents from the local sultan around 867 to facilitate his journey to Palestine.¹² Around 878, John VIII paid tribute to marauding Muslims as part of a temporary treaty, details of which are not known.¹³ In several letters, he tried to prevent bishops and Christian princes in southern Italy from collaborating with the Saracens.¹⁴

None of these instances of contact between the bishop of Rome and the expanding Arabic-Islamic world is recorded in the extant works of Arabic-Islamic scholarship, for several reasons. The pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arab world was still restricted

⁵ Martinus, *ep. 5*, ed. Migne (PL 87), pp. 153–64; id., *ep. 11*, ed. Migne (PL 87), pp. 175–80. Winkelmann et al., *Prosopographie* (2000), pp. 184–5, questions the letters' authenticity.

⁶ Martinus, *ep. 14*, ed. Migne (PL 87), p. 199A; cf. Rotter, *Abendland* (1986), pp. 182–96; Brandes, 'Krisenbewältigung' (1998), pp. 148–51, 153–4, 159–77.

⁷ See the letter written by Eudo of Aquitaine to pope Gregory II (sed. 715–31), informing the latter about Muslim attacks on the Frankish realm: *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 1, cap. XCI, § 182 (§ XI–XII), pp. 401–2. Also see Hadrianus I's (sed. 772–95) letter to the bishops of Spain: *Codex Carolinus* (*ep. 95*): Hadrianus papa ad episcopos Hispaniae, ed. Gundlach (MGH Epp. 3, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi 1), p. 643. Cf. Ruche, 'Pape' (1996), pp. 205–16.

⁸ Cf. Muscà, *L'Emirato* (1967); Kreutz, *Normans* (1996); Jehel, *L'Italie* (2001), pp. 13–36; Metcalfe, *Muslims* (2009).

⁹ Leo III papa, *ep. 7*, ed. Hampe (MGH Epp. in Quart 5), p. 98; cf. Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), p. 49; Eickhoff, *Seekrieg* (1966), p. 60.

¹⁰ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 2, cap. CIV (Sergius II, sed. 844–47), § 493 (§ XLIII–XLVII), p. 100: 'ecclesiam beati Petri apostolorum principis nefandissimis iniquitatibus praeoccupantes invaserunt'.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, cap. CV (Leo IV, sed. 847–55), § 525 (§ LV), p. 119; cf. Herbers, *Leo IV* (1996), pp. 117–18; Eickhoff, *Seekrieg* (1966), p. 187.

¹² Bernardus, *Itinerarium*, ed. Migne (PL 121), cap. 1–3, cols 569; cf. Micheau, 'Itinéraires' (1979), p. 80.

¹³ Iohannes VIII papa, *ep. 89*, ed. Caspar (MGH Epp. in Quart 7), p. 85; cf. Engreen, 'Pope' (1945), pp. 318–30, esp. 321–2.

¹⁴ E.g. Iohannes VIII papa, *ep. 273*, ed. Caspar (MGH Epp. in Quart 7), p. 241; cf. Daniel, *Arabs* (1975/2004), pp. 76–9; Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), pp. 57–60.

to the Arabian Peninsula and its immediate surroundings.¹⁵ In spite of sporadic encounters, it seems rather unlikely that the Roman church contributed to Middle Eastern affairs, e.g. the Christianization of Arab groups, in a significant manner.¹⁶ Although Christianity plays a role in the earliest Arabic-Islamic texts—first as a spiritual, but increasingly also as a historical phenomenon¹⁷—concrete experiences were not recorded systematically. Under these circumstances, sparse relations with the Roman church failed to be recorded, if they were noticed at all.

Whereas the popes of Late Antiquity had been part of a flourishing Mediterranean ecumene, the early medieval papacy tended to look to the Frankish north, in particular the Carolingian and Ottonian orbit.¹⁸ Vis-à-vis the expanding Arabic-Islamic world, the early medieval popes mainly acted in defence. In the rare circumstances of direct contact documented in the above-mentioned Latin sources, the early medieval papacy dealt with raiders rather than with representatives of Muslim elite culture. Due to the rudimentary character of Muslim infrastructure and scholarship in the recently conquered territories, conquerors and raiders belonged to a different knowledge community than Arabic-Islamic scholars. Not exactly using intellectual means, conquerors and raiders operated at the borders of an expanding Islamic world. Arabic-Islamic scholars, in turn, were active in the urban centres of early Islamic civilization in the Middle East. Such centres of intellectual activity developed slightly later in North Africa, on the Iberian Peninsula, and in Sicily, but never on the Apennine Peninsula in the immediate neighbourhood of papal Rome. Consequently, a direct and up-to-date exchange of information between raiders and scholars must have been rare, to the effect that the latter failed to acquire much information about the papacy.¹⁹

7.1.2. Neglected Traces?

Notwithstanding, Muslim raiders returning to their home countries may have transmitted scraps of information about the sack of Rome and related raiding activities.

The many descriptions of Rome in Arabic-Islamic geography and historiography from the late ninth and early tenth centuries never mention the sack of the city in 846.²⁰ However, they do focus on topics that were of interest to raiders. They emphasize the city's vast extent, grandeur, opulence, and, last but not least, the large quantity of precious objects to be found there, among others in the

¹⁵ See Chapter 2.1.2.

¹⁶ Cf. Trimmingham, *Christianity* (1979); Hainthaler, *Araber* (2007).

¹⁷ König, 'Christianisation' (2009), pp. 438–9.

¹⁸ Herbers, *Geschichte* (2012), pp. 64–114; cf. Hartmann, *Hadrian I* (2006), pp. 157–96, on the relevant turning point. This situation only changed in the eleventh century when the papacy increasingly began to pay attention to the Islamic world, thus becoming one of the leading proponents and instigators of Latin-Christian expansionism. Cf. Hettinger, *Beziehungen* (1993), pp. 72–80; Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981), pp. 15–45.

¹⁹ See Chapter 3.1.1. Cf. Engreen, 'Pope' (1945), p. 322, and his concept of 'border-Christianity'.

²⁰ As described in *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 2, cap. CIV (Sergius II, sed. 844–47), § 493 (§ XLIII–XLVII), pp. 99–101; cap. CV (Leo IV, sed. 847–55), § 495 (§ V), p. 106; Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), pp. 26–7.

church of Saint Peter.²¹ According to Samir Khalil Samir, Giuseppe Mandalà, Marco di Branco, and others, many descriptions of Rome actually apply to Constantinople.²² However, some sources from the period in question draw a clear distinction between both cities.²³ Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhānī (d. after 290/902), for example, mentions a certain Ḥasan b. 'Aṭīyya, who asserted that a city lying beyond Constantinople and named 'Rūmiyya' would some day be conquered (*yufṭah*) by the Muslims.²⁴ Since other predictions of conquest mentioned by this author in the same context also lack a specific chronological or geographical context, it would seem appropriate to classify this statement on Rome along with other topoi of medieval Arabic-Islamic geography. One could also argue, however, that Ibn al-Faqih, without necessarily being aware of events, reproduced a reaction formulated in the aftermath of the Muslim sack of Saint Peter. Indeed, Rome had been sacked, but not conquered.

It is conspicuous that contemporary Latin-Christian and Arabic-Islamic sources are remarkably similar as concerns their description of a shipwreck in the wake of a Muslim raid in the western Mediterranean. In their descriptions of the Battle of Ostia (849) the *Liber pontificalis* and the *Annales Bertiniani* claim that a strong wind drove the Saracen ships returning to North Africa against each other so that they broke apart and sank. The *Liber pontificalis* confirms the authenticity of this piece of news. More accurate, the *Annales Bertiniani* assert that treasures taken from the church of Saint Peter were washed up on the coast.²⁵

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's (d. 257/871) history of the Arabic-Islamic expansion to the west contains very similar narrative elements. Here pillagers returning to North Africa by boat hear a warning voice asking God to drown them all. Although the passengers try to alleviate God's wrath, a strong wind drives the ships against each other and sinks them.²⁶ This story is part of a series of paraenetic anecdotes that feature descriptions of divine punishment brought about by uncontrolled pillaging and the refusal to hand over a certain percentage of the booty to the Muslim

²¹ Cf. Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 113–15; Ibn al-Faqih, *mukhtaṣar*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 149–51; Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥṣa*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 128–30; al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 128, p. 74 (AR), p. 55 (FR); § 722, p. 35 (AR), p. 271 (FR).

²² Samir, 'Confusions' (1991), pp. 93–108; Simone and Mandalà, *L'immagine* (2002); Branco, 'Roma' (2006), pp. 312–20.

²³ Also noted by Scarcia, 'Roma' (2002), p. 137.

²⁴ Ibn al-Faqih, *mukhtaṣar*, ed. de Goeje, p. 149; Möhring, 'Konstantinopel' (1989), p. 86.

²⁵ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 2, cap. CV (Leo IV, sed. 847–55), § 495, 523–5 (§ V, LII–LV), pp. 106, 118–19: 'Omnes enim cum vellent, iniquitatis ac deprædationis scelere perpetrato, ad Africanam qua venerant regionem revertere, vasto maris pelago, vi ventorum procel-larumque, sicut certa relatione cognovimus, Deo permittente demersi sunt...'; cf. Herbers, 'Mirakeln' (2002), p. 124; Herbers, *Leo IV* (1996), pp. 114–15; *Annales Bertiniani*, *pars II auctore Prudentio*, ed. Waitz (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 5), a. 847, p. 35: 'Saraceni, oneratis thesaurorum multitudine, quas ex basilica beati Petri apostoli asportarant, navibus, redire conati, cum inter navigandum Deo et domino nostro Iesu Christo eiusque apostolis ore pestifero derogarent, orto repente inevitabili turbine, conlisis in sese navibus, omnes pereunt; quaedam thesaurorum in sinibus defunctorum, quos mare litoribus reiecerat, inventa, ad beati Petri apostoli memoriam revehuntur.'

²⁶ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 209: 'aṣāba al-nās fihā ghanā'im fa-ghallū fihā ghulūlan kathīran ḥamalūhu fī l-marākib wa-rakibū fihā fa-lammā wasaṭu al-baḥr samī'ū munādiyan yaqūl Allāhum gharriq bihim fa-da'ū Allāh wa-taqalladū al-maṣāḥif qāla fa-mā nashibū an aṣābathum riḥ 'āṣifa wa-darabat al-marākib ba'ḍuhā ba'dan ḥattā takassarat wa-ghuriqa bihim', trans. Jones, p. 23.

authorities.²⁷ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam fails to mention how news about the shipwreck reached Muslim North Africa and places it in a different geographical and chronological context to that of the *Liber pontificalis* and the *Annales Bertiniani*. In Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's version, the story immediately follows his description of the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. His claim that the story was transmitted from Yahyā b. Sa'īd via Mālik b. Anas via 'Abd al-Malik b. Maslama,²⁸ figures of the eighth century, tends to challenge the hypothesis that it is related to the sack of Rome, a city not mentioned once in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's work. If Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's story was inspired by a different shipwreck or even a Qur'ānic verse (10:22),²⁹ then the similarities between the Latin and the Arabic versions would have to be explained as the product of chance and the parallel expression of a specific religious mentality characteristic of early medieval Christian and Muslim authors alike. However, there remains a slight possibility that the Arabic version of the story actually originated in events suffered by Muslims returning to North Africa after the Battle of Ostia. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam finished his history around 860, that is, in the decade following the battle³⁰ and, more important, mentions a dispute concerning the point of departure of the sunken ships: according to the people of Egypt (*ahl Miṣr*), those who drowned in the shipwreck did not hail from al-Andalus but from Sardinia.³¹ The dispute shows that Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam was insecure about how to contextualize the story that, after all, mainly seemed important to him because of its moral value. Considering the geographical proximity of Rome, Sardinia, and the North African coast, news about a Muslim shipwreck after the Battle of Ostia may have found its way to Rome and North Africa, where it was developed and contextualized differently during the ensuing processes of transmission and reception.

Only the Andalusian scholar al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) mentions a pope affected directly by Muslim raids on Rome and the surrounding countryside. A bishop (*usquf*) of Rome named 'Yuwānīsh' is said to have commissioned the construction of a new city beyond the river of Rome.³² This activity recalls the construction of the 'civitas Leonina' at the hands of Leo IV (sed. 847–55), which took place in reaction to the sack of Rome in 846.³³ The bishop's name, however, probably applies to John VIII (sed. 872–82), the pope who was ultimately forced to pay tribute to marauding Saracen groups.³⁴ Al-Bakrī draws no explicit connection between 'Yuwānīsh' and Muslim raids on Rome. Once again, an Arabic-Islamic scholar was unable to contextualize available data.

²⁷ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, pp. 208–10.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 209. ²⁹ Clarke, *Conquest* (2012), p. 30.

³⁰ The list of judges of Egypt attached to the work ends with the year 246/860; cf. Rosenthal, 'Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam' (1971), p. 675.

³¹ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 209: 'wa-ahl Miṣr yankirūna dhālika wa-yaqūlūna anna ahl al-Andalus laysa hum alladhīna ghariqū wa-innamā hum ahl Sardānya...'

³² al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 804, p. 478.

³³ Krautheimer, *Rom* (2004), p. 136.

³⁴ Iohannes VIII papa, *ep.* 89, ed. Caspar (MGH Epp. in Quart 7), p. 85; cf. Engreen, 'Pope' (1945), pp. 318–30, esp. 321–2; Scarcia, 'Roma' (2002), pp. 158–9; Simone and Mandalà, *L'immagine* (2002), pp. 29–30.

Scraps of information about Muslim raids against papal Rome eventually seem to have reached Arabic-Islamic scholars. Since pathways of transmission were long and complex, the available scarce data was often subject to much distortion. Consequently, Arabic-Islamic scholars of the late ninth and later centuries were not able to contextualize this information correctly. If this hypothesis is correct, it would be possible to mitigate the statements of Renato Traini and Umberto Rizzitano, according to whom the Saracen attacks on Rome left no trace in Arabic-Islamic sources.³⁵

7.1.3. Dominance of Late Antiquity in the Earliest Records

The oldest Arabic-Islamic records on the bishop of Rome are from the Middle East and date from the late ninth century. Because of the above-mentioned difficulties of acquiring up-to-date information, this earliest data on the bishop of Rome hails from a much earlier period, i.e. the period of the fourth to the seventh centuries. This is due to the fact that it became accessible via Middle Eastern Christians.

The universal history of al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905), the earliest work to mention the bishop of Rome, contains a detailed excursus on pre-Christian Hellenistic philosophy of religion.³⁶ Its description of Constantine's conversion features strong parallels to the equivalent reports in the late antique works of Lactantius and Eusebius of Caesarea.³⁷ This work is so obviously interspersed with elements of the ancient Greek and eastern Christian heritage that it can be filed among the writings influenced by the Abbasid-sponsored process of translating Greek and Syriac works into Arabic and thus of assimilating the cultural heritage of eastern Christians under Islamic rule.³⁸

Accordingly, al-Ya'qūbī depicts the bishop of Rome as part of the eastern Christian past. He mentions four patriarchates, including one in Rome,³⁹ and refers to the latter's participation in the council of Nicaea.⁴⁰ Probably mixing up the dates, he claims that the sixth (ecumenical) council took place in the ruling period of Heraclius (ruled 610–41), after a certain Qūrus of Alexandria (probably Dioscorus I, d. 454) issued the opinion that divine will and action were one in the Messiah.⁴¹ The patriarch of Rome, al-Ya'qūbī continues, did not participate in this council personally, but sent a written statement that was endorsed by the congregation of bishops.⁴² Curiously, al-Ya'qūbī claims that Heraclius was succeeded by his son Constantine (thirty-two years), another Constantine (eighteen years), and then by

³⁵ Traini, 'Rūmiya' (1995), p. 612; Rizzitano, 'Ītāliya' (1978), p. 274.

³⁶ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 1, pp. 188–94.

³⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 194; cf. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, ed./trans. Moreau (SC 39), cap. 44, 5–6, p. 127; Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. Cameron and Hall, book 1, § 27–41, pp. 80–6. It seems possible that corresponding passages from Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* reached Arabic-Islamic scholars via the work's Syriac version, cf. *Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius in Syriac*, ed. Wright and McLean.

³⁸ Cf. Gutas, *Thought* (1998).

³⁹ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 1, p. 195.

⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 195.

⁴¹ Dioscorus was actually condemned by the council of Chalcedon in 451. Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 1, p. 198, on Dioscorus' views.

⁴² Ibid., vol. 1, p. 198.

the patriarch of Rome who allegedly ruled for a period of three years.⁴³ The text lacks further information on the bishop of Rome. Apparently, al-Ya'qūbī did not make use of data on the Roman bishops of his own time. In consequence, they only feature as late-antique patriarchs who participated in the ecumenical councils of the fourth to seventh centuries.

This way of presenting the bishop of Rome is still characteristic of later works of Arabic-Islamic scholarship, e.g. the works of al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956). The latter also drew on Middle Eastern material. Among his sources, he mentions several works of ancient Greek origin, important parts of Christian scripture such as Paul's letters, the works of contemporary Arabic-Christian historiographers of Melkite, Nestorian, and Jacobite denomination, as well as Byzantine chronicles.⁴⁴ In line with al-Ya'qūbī, al-Mas'ūdī defines Rome as one of four patriarchates,⁴⁵ but is able to proffer more data on the patriarchate's origins. According to al-Mas'ūdī, its existence dates back to the missionary activities of Peter and Paul in the city of Rome where Peter suffered death under Nero and was buried in the city's main church together with Paul.⁴⁶ Quite surprising is that al-Mas'ūdī acknowledges Peter's pre-eminent position as 'leader of the apostles' (*ra'īs al-hawāriyyīn*) and 'successor of Jesus' (*khalīfat Yashū'*), asserting that Rome was the first among the four patriarchates.⁴⁷ The fact that he uses the Aramaic transcription 'Yashū' instead of the usual Arabic transcription 'Īsā' points to an eastern Christian source. Apart from this, al-Mas'ūdī states that the Roman patriarch 'Būlyūs' (Silvester I, sed. 314–35) took part in the council of Nicaea,⁴⁸ that Nestorius was condemned on the initiative of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Rome, 'Qūrillus' (Cyrillus I, sed. 412–44) and 'Kalištūs' (Coelestin I, sed. 422–32),⁴⁹ and that all patriarchs took part in the fifth (ecumenical) council in Constantinople (553) under 'Yūsḥānūs' (Justinian I, ruled 527–65).⁵⁰ In spite of this comparative wealth of information, al-Mas'ūdī fails to mention the pope in connection with events that post-date the sixth century. Again, the bishop of Rome is of importance only to the history of Late Antiquity, not to al-Mas'ūdī's lifetime.

⁴³ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 198: 'malaka baṭraḫ Rūmiyya thalāth sinīn'. It is possible that al-Ya'qūbī mistook the Byzantine administrative title *πατρικίος* for the (religious) title 'patriarch'. Al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 156, 159, for example, distinguishes between 'al-baṭāriqa' with the letter 'qāf', whom he defines (p. 156) as 'Roman-Byzantine holders of offices' (*dhawī al-marātib min al-Rūm*), and 'al-baṭārika' with the letter 'kāf', whom he defines as office holders (*aṣḥāb al-karāsī*) in an ecclesiastical context (p. 159).

⁴⁴ Cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 153–5 (historiographers), p. 160 (biblical texts), pp. 162–3 (Greek writings); al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 717, p. 33 (AR), p. 270 (FR), on a Byzantine chronicle. Since he mentions these works either before or after the passages in question, it is impossible to define which of the works he used for which topic.

⁴⁵ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 146.

⁴⁶ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 128, p. 74 (AR), p. 55 (FR); § 722, p. 35 (AR), p. 271 (FR) with n. 7; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 147. Further Arabic-Islamic references to their activities in König, 'Christianisation' (2010), p. 444 n. 2; König, 'Ausstrahlung' (2010), p. 6 n. 13.

⁴⁷ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 146; cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 1291, p. 339 (AR), pp. 492–3. (FR). This claim is later repeated by Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāhāda, vol. 1, p. 291; vol. 2, pp. 173–5; al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 472; al-Maqrīzī, *al-mawā'iz*, ed. Sayyid, vol. IV, 2, p. 975.

⁴⁸ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 143.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 138.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 152.

Apparently, it was easier for Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars of the late ninth and early tenth centuries to draw on historical information provided by the Christians in their environment than to acquire material about the contemporary bishops of Rome. However, even these eastern Christians were not necessarily informed about what was currently happening in the western patriarchate. The Arabic-Christian scholar Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī who settled in Antioch around 1015 and composed a continuation of the history written by the former patriarch of Alexandria, Eutychius or Saʿīd b. Baṭrīq (d. 328/940), stated:⁵¹

Concerning the patriarchs of Rome, their names have not been transmitted to us with certitude. In fact, the patriarch Saʿīd b. Baṭrīq has mentioned them, one after the other, beginning with Peter, the chief of the Apostles, up to the patriarch Agatho (*Ghābyūs*) [sed. 678–81], in whose times the sixth council of the 289 [a. 680–81] took place in Constantinople under the reign of Constantine, the son of Constance, the ruler of the Byzantines [ruled 654–85], in the time of the caliphate of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [ruled 60–64/680–83]. But he did not say who succeeded him, explaining this in the second part of his book, where he says: “Neither the names of the patriarchs of Rome since the death of the patriarch Agatho have been transmitted to us, nor information concerning them since this time up to the time when I have composed this book.” One has not omitted to inscribe this Agatho in the diptychs since the convocation of the sixth council up to the time after the death of the patriarch Saʿīd b. Baṭrīq, for a rather long period, how long is not known exactly. After him, one mentions another patriarch named Benedict (*Bānadhiktuh*) [Benedict II, sed. 684–85?] and one has not stopped inscribing his name into the diptychs up to the time after the year 390 of the *hijra* [i.e. 999–1000 CE]. After Benedict, there was a certain number of patriarchs, but neither the name nor the memory of any one of them has been recorded in the lands of Egypt and Syria because of the lack of news about them and the geographical distance of their country. This is why one has contented oneself to declare Benedict dead. In our times, one has named a certain patriarch John (*Yuhannā*) [John XVIII, sed. 1004–09?]. One has recorded his name and written it over the name of the deceased Benedict. This is what hinders writing down their names and what excuses me of having passed them over in silence.⁵²

⁵¹ Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 2 (1947), pp. 32–8 (Saʿīd b. Baṭrīq), pp. 49–51 (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd).

⁵² Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, *Histoire*, ed./trans. Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev (*Parrologia Orientalis* 18/5), pp. 706–8: ‘wa-ammā baṭārikat Rūmiyya fa-lam yuḥaṣṣal li asmā’uhum ‘alā l-taḥqīq wa-dhālīka anna Saʿīd b. Baṭrīq al-Baṭrīk dhakarāhum ‘alā l-walā’ min Buṭrus ra’is al-hawāriyyin ilā Ghābyūs al-baṭrīk alladhī fi zamān riṣāsatihi kāna al-majma’ al-sādis wa-huwa al-mā’atā wa-tis’a wa-thamānūn fi l-Qusṭanṭīniyya fi zamān malik Qusṭanṭīn b. Qusṭas malik al-Rūm fi ayyām khilāfat Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān wa-lam yadhkur man šāra ba’dihi wa-qad dhakara dhālīka fi l-niṣf al-thānī min kitābihi fa-qāla wa-lam yaqa’ lanā asmā’ baṭārikat Rūmiyya mundhu māta Ghābyūs baṭrīkuhā wa-lā shay’ min akhbārihim min dhālīka al-waqt ilā an waḍa’tu ḥādḥā ilā kitāb wa-lam yazal Ghābyūs ḥādḥā yudhkar fi l-dhibtikhun mundhu ijtama’a al-majma’ al-sādis ilā ba’dā wafāt Saʿīd b. Baṭrīq al-baṭrīk bi-mudda ṭawila laysat yuḥṣā miqdāruhā wa-dhukira ba’dihi ism baṭrīk ākhar yusammā Bānadhiktuh fa-lam yazal ismuhu madhkūran fi l-dhibtikhun ilā sanat nayyif wa-tis’in wa-thulthumī’a li-l-ḥijra wa-qad kāna šuyyar ba’dā Bānadhiktuh ḥādḥā baṭārika ‘idda illā annahu lam yurfa’ li-aḥad minhum fi bilād Miṣr wa-l-Shām ism wa-lā dhikr li-inqīṭā’ akhbārihim wa-bu’d bilādihim wa-iqtāṣarū ‘alā dhikr Bānadhiktuh al-mutawaffi wa-fi zamāninā ḥādḥā šayyarū ‘alayhā baṭrīkan yusammā Yuhannā wa-rafa’ū ismahu wa-asqāṭū ism Bānadhiktuh al-mutawaffi fa-ḥādḥā huwa al-sabab al-mānī min tadwīn asmā’ihim wa-l-’udhr fi l-iqrāb ‘an dhikrihim...’.

If Arabic-Christian authors writing in Egypt and Syria had problems acquiring up-to-date information about the Roman patriarch, it is not surprising that their Arabic-Islamic colleagues, who largely depended on Christian sources, failed to acquire fuller information and contented themselves with reproducing historical data of late antique origin.

7.2. FRESH INFORMATION FROM THE BORDER ZONES (10TH–13TH CENTURIES)

Soon Arabic-Islamic scholars became less dependent on material recorded by Oriental Christians. From the early tenth century onwards, fresh information about the bishop of Rome was acquired in the border regions between the Arabic-Islamic and the Latin-Christian sphere, i.e. in Byzantium, al-Andalus, Sicily, and Hungary.

7.2.1. Via Byzantium: 'The Pope', Local Ruler of Christian Rome

In the texts discussed so far, the bishop of Rome held the title 'patriarch of Rome' (*baṭrakl/baṭrakh/baṭrik Rūmiyya*) and was defined as one of four patriarchs in the Mediterranean. Ibn Rustah (d. after 300/913), who mentions an alternative title associated with another function, provides the earliest Arabic-Islamic description of the pope that does not depend on late antique source material. Ibn Rustah asserts that the city of Rome 'is a city governed by a ruler called the pope (*al-bāb*)'.⁵³ Its huge church:

contains the graves of two apostles in the west and the east of the church, inlaid with gold. It is said that they belong to Simon Peter and Paul. Every Christian Easter, which is on Thursday, the ruler opens and enters the grave armed with a razor. He then shaves Simon's head and beard, cuts his nails, exits and distributes one hair to each man among the people of his realm. This is an annual custom since 900 years.⁵⁴

Ibn Rustah seems to have drawn on the report of a person called Hārūn b. Yaḥyā who visited parts of the Byzantine Empire during a period of captivity.⁵⁵ Ibn Rustah mentions him at the beginning of his chapter on Constantinople, which also contains the passages on Rome and the pope cited above. Parts of the chapter are written in the form of a dialogue between a first-person narrator and his

⁵³ Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥṣa*, ed. de Goeje, p. 128: 'yudabbir amrahā malik yuqāl lahu al-bāb'. Copied by al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 803–5, pp. 478–9; al-Ḥimiyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, pp. 275–6.

⁵⁴ Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥṣa*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 128–9: 'wa-fi l-kanīsa qabr rajulayn min al-ḥawāriyyin ma'mūl min dhahab... yuqāl li-aḥad ṣāḥibay al-qabayn Sham'un al-ṣafā wa-l-ākhar Bālūs fa-idhā kāna fiṣḥ al-naṣārā fi kull sana wa-huwa yawm al-khamīs jā'a al-malik fa-fataḥa bāb al-qabr wa-nazala ilā l-qabr wa-ma'ahu mūsan fa-ḥalaqa ra's Sham'un wa-liḥyatahu wa-qallama aẓfārahū wa-ṣa'ada wa-qasama li-kull rajul min ahl mamlakatihi sha'ra ḥadhā 'amaluhum fi kull sana mundhu tis'a mi'at sana...'

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 119.

interlocutors from Rome. That these interlocutors were really Latin and not Byzantine Christians is suggested by the fact that they are described as beardless.⁵⁶ According to the first-person narrator,

the people of Rome, big and small, shave their entire beard, not missing a single hair. They also shave the middle of their head. I asked them concerning the reason for shaving their beard, telling them that the beauty of a man lies in his beard, asking them also concerning the purpose of their behaviour towards themselves. They said: "Anyone who does not shave in this way cannot be considered a true Christian. This is the case because Peter and the apostles came to us without staff and pouch, since they were weak and poor whereas we were kings at that time, clothed with brocade and sitting on golden chairs. They called us to the Christian religion, but we did not respond to them. Instead, we seized and tortured them and shaved their heads and beards. But when it dawned on us that they had spoken the truth, we in turn began to shave our beards to compensate for what we committed when we shaved their beards."⁵⁷

Although Hārūn b. Yaḥya is never explicitly equated with this first-person narrator, scholarship generally accepts that he acquired the above-mentioned information.⁵⁸ This does not seem far-fetched, considering that eyewitness accounts from Rome appear to have reached the Islamic world occasionally in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Ibn al-Faḥīh al-Hamadḥānī (d. after 290/902), for example, mentions a group of monks who spent a year in Rome as sources of information.⁵⁹

Regardless whether Hārūn b. Yaḥyā led the above-mentioned conversation, and irrespective of whether he really communicated with people from Rome, it is apparent that Ibn Rustah's description of the pope has a very different and rather 'medieval' flavour. Carrying a new title, Ibn Rustah's pope seems detached from Byzantium and the patriarchal network of the late antique Mediterranean mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī and al-Mas'ūdī. He is the local ruler of a wealthy urban

⁵⁶ Beards are regularly regarded as a distinctive feature of Latin Christians in Byzantine, Latin, and Arabic-Islamic sources, cf. Procopius, *Anekdota*, ed./trans. Veh, cap. VII,7, pp. 60–1; Nikephorus Gregoras, *Historiae*, ed. Niebuhr (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae 19,1), cap. IX,2, p. 396, trans. van Dieten, vol. 2,1, cap. IX,9, p. 83. I would like to thank Lutz Rickelt for providing me with these two references. Also see the picture of 'notarii greci', 'notarii saraceni', and 'notarii latini', the latter without a beard in: Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus siculis*, ed. Kölzer and Stähli, trans. Becht-Jördens, fol. 101; Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'Bāshghird', pp. 469–70, on Muslims from Hungary who do not shave their beards 'as do the Franks' (*kamā tafal al-Afriyā*).

⁵⁷ Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥḥa*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 129–30: 'wa-ahl al-Rūmiyya ṣaḡhīruhum wa-kabīruhum yaḥliqūna liḥāhum kullahā lā yatrūkūna minhā sha'ra waḥida 'alā adhqānīhim wa-yaḥliqūna wasaḥ hāmātīhim fa-sa'altuhum 'an al-sabab fi ḥalq liḥāhim wa-qultu lahum anna zayn al-rajul fi l-liḥā fa-mā murādukum min ḥādḥā alladhī tafalūnahū bi-anfusikum fa-qālū anna kull man lam yaḥliq liḥyatīhi lam yakun naṣrāniyyan khālīṣan wa-dhālika annahu jā'anā Sham'un al-ṣafā wa-l-ḥawāriyyūn lam yakun ma'ahum 'aṣa wa-lā jirāb innamā kānū masākin du'afa' wa-kunnā naḥnu idh dhāka mulūk 'alaynā al-dibāj wa-naḥnu 'alā karāsi al-dhahab yad'unā ilā dīn al-naṣrāniyya fa-lam nujiḥum fa-akhadhnāhum wa-'adhabnāhum wa-ḥalaqnā ru'ūsahum wa-liḥāhum fa-lammā ḡahara lanā ṣidq qawlihim ṣirnā naḥliq liḥānā kaffāratan li-mā irtakabnāhu min ḥalq liḥāhim.'

⁵⁸ Izzedin, 'Hārūn b. Yaḥyā' (1971), p. 232; Lewis and Hopkins, 'Ifrandj' (1971), p. 1044. Möhring, 'Konstantinopel' (1989), p. 71 n. 66, formulates doubts.

⁵⁹ Ibn al-Faḥīh, *mukhtaṣar*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 149–50: 'wa-dhakara ba'd al-ruhbān mimman dakhalaḥa wa-aqāma bihā sana waḥida...'

community, a ruler who upholds a 900-year-old miraculous tradition and religious customs that date back to the early period of the Roman Empire's Christianization. Only in this sense is Ibn Rustah's description of the pope still linked to the Roman heritage.

7.2.2. Via al-Andalus: Chief of Religious Affairs

Information about the early medieval papacy's relations with the Carolingians reached al-Andalus where it was recorded by Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 496/1076) and al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094). We may recall that al-Bakrī refers to a bishop of Rome called 'Yuwānīsh' who commissioned the construction of a new city on the other bank of Rome's river and who may be identified with John VIII (sed. 872–82), the contemporary of Charles the Bald.⁶⁰ In the same passage, al-Bakrī claims that the Roman church of Saint Peter (*Shantā Bāṭir*) contained images of several kings, including of a certain 'Charles' (*Qarluḥ*), in solid gold, a reference that possibly applies to the mosaic of the so-called 'Triclinium Leonianum', an image of Charlemagne, Peter, and pope Leo III in the Lateran.⁶¹ In a context which clearly addresses the activities of Charles the Bald (d. 877), Ibn Ḥayyān claims that a Frankish ruler named 'Qarlush b. Ludhwīq' produced a richly adorned image of Jesus which he sent to the 'master of the golden church' (*sāhib kanīsat al-dhahab*). While Ibn Ḥayyān does not provide further information on this enigmatic personality, the Maghrebian historiographer Ibn 'Idhārī (d. after 712/1312–13), who calls the donor 'Qarūlush', locates the recipient in Rome (*bi-Rūma*).⁶² The *Liber pontificalis* mentions a similar present sent to the pope by the same Charles.⁶³

Latin sources record several encounters between the pope and the Muslim world in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, which involve al-Andalus or regions nearby. According to Liudprand of Cremona (d. 970 or 972), pope John XII (sed. 955–64) sent emissaries to Adalbert, the Lombard king of Italy, who had taken refuge in the Saracen raider colony Fraxinetum in around 963.⁶⁴ The Ottonian chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg (d. 1018) describes a rather unfriendly exchange of envoys between Benedict VIII (sed. 1012–24) and a 'Saracen king' (*rex Saracenus*),

⁶⁰ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 804, p. 478. See Chapter 7.1.2.

⁶¹ Krautheimer, *Rom* (2004), p. 133; another interpretation in Scarcia, 'Roma' (2002), p. 160; Schilling, 'Karl' (2004), p. 218.

⁶² Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muḡtabis II-2*, ed. Makkī, pp. 130–1 with n. 2; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 2, p. 108. Ibn 'Idhārī places the event in the ruling period of Muḥammad I b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (ruled 238–73/852–86). See also Ibn 'Idhārī, *Historias*, trans. Fernandez González, pp. 211–12. Drawing on MS A and B, the translator gives the name of the Frankish ruler as 'Fardhland', a reading refuted by Colin and Lévi-Provençal, but also used by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 23. Cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, vol. 1 (1950), p. 282 n. 3. See Chapter 6.2.1.

⁶³ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 2, cap. CVII (Nicolaus, sed. 858–67), § 600 (§ LII), p. 161: 'Interea Karolus rex sancto apostolo optulit purissimo auro et gemmis constructam uestem, habentem gemmas prasinās, hiacinthinās et albas.' cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, vol. 1 (1950), p. 282 n. 3. See Chapter 6.2.1.

⁶⁴ Liudprandus, *Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis*, ed. Becker (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 41), cap. 4, pp. 160–1; cf. Zimmermann, *Papstregesten 911–1024*, vol. 2 (1998), a. 963, § 312, pp. 95–6; Althoff, *Ortonen* (2005), p. 116.

i.e. the ruler Mujāhid of Denia, in 1016.⁶⁵ Neither episode of encounter is recorded in Arabic-Islamic sources.

More information seems to have been collected in the eleventh century. Following a copy of Ibn Rustah's passages on the pope and the reason for Roman Christians shaving,⁶⁶ al-Bakrī proffers one of the most vivid ethnographic descriptions of Latin-Christian customs in medieval Arabic-Islamic literature. Under the heading 'Some information about the lifestyle of the Romans, their history and their traditions' (*dhikr shay' min siyar al-Rūm wa-akhbārihim wa-madhāhibihim*), al-Bakrī explains why Christians observe Sunday worship, describes the ritual of consuming the eucharist (*al-qurbān*), and deals with gender relations, addressing topics such as everyday dealings between the sexes, marriage, adultery, and divorce as well as men's and women's rights of inheritance. Social phenomena such as distinctive symbols of rule, judicial discrimination of the weak, the consequences of sexual relations with dependent women and the legal status of their children, also kindled his interest. Following this, al-Bakrī deals with the Christian practice of Lent. Here, he distinguishes between the Christian practice under Muslim and under Christian rule (*fi mawḍi' mamlakatihim*).⁶⁷

Al-Bakrī obviously regarded the pope, mentioned only a few paragraphs earlier, as the leader of this Christian community. But as opposed to Ibn Rustah, who reduced the pope to the status of a local urban ruler upholding ancient Christian traditions, al-Bakrī makes it plain that the pope led a Christian community that transcended the urban confines of Rome. According to al-Bakrī, Christian rulers were obliged to fall on their knees before the pope and to kiss his feet. They were only allowed to get up when the pope allowed them to do so.⁶⁸ That the pope's authority reached beyond the eternal city also becomes clear in al-Bakrī's description of the marital scandal involving count Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona (ruled 1035–76), which features the earliest Arabic-Islamic description of the effects of papal excommunication. Rumours circulating in the eastern parts of the Iberian Peninsula must have reached the Andalusian scholar: Al-Bakrī tells us that Ramon (*Ray Mund b. Balanqir b. Burri*) set out for Jerusalem in 446/1054 and fell in love with the wife of his host during his stop in Narbonne. On his way back from Jerusalem to Barcelona, he abducted and married the woman. Supported by her family, Ramon's former wife went to Rome to complain to 'her superior' (*ʿazīmuhā*), 'the chief of religious affairs' (*ṣāhib al-dīn*) called 'the pope' (*al-bābah*). Producing witnesses, she complained that her husband had left her for no reason—an action not permitted in the Christian religion, al-Bakrī comments. Therefore, the pope barred Ramon's access to churches, denied him burial, and ordered the Christian community to exclude him. Ramon, however, successfully mobilized several clerics and bishops with the aid of bribes and intrigues. In the pope's presence, the latter asserted that Ramon was related too closely to his former wife, and that his new

⁶⁵ Thietmar Merseburgensis, *Chronicon*, ed. Holtzmann (MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9), lib. VII, cap. 45 (31), pp. 452–3. For the context, see Bruce, 'Piracy' (2010), pp. 235–48.

⁶⁶ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 803–05, pp. 478–9.

⁶⁷ Ibid., § 806–08, pp. 479–80. See Scarcia, 'Roma' (2002), pp. 129–72.

⁶⁸ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 803–05, pp. 478–9.

wife had been too closely related to her former husband. Because of this, the pope revoked his earlier measures.⁶⁹

In this way, al-Bakrī describes the pope's wide influence among Christians. Unfortunately, he does not circumscribe this Christian sphere apart from mentioning the Christians of Rome, of the Iberian Peninsula, and Christian rulers outside Rome. Neither does he name his sources. He may have acquired his knowledge about Christian customs and traditions through contact with Iberian Christians. This does not rule out, however, that al-Bakrī also received information from eyewitnesses who had been in Christian territories adjacent to Muslim al-Andalus or even in Rome itself. His observation that Christians under Muslim rule practised Lent more strictly than Christians under Christian rule,⁷⁰ his reference to inhabitants of Rome who went on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela,⁷¹ and his knowledge about the image of Charles in one of Rome's churches,⁷² certainly point in this direction.⁷³

7.2.3. Via Sicily and Hungary: Supreme Christian Authority

In Sicily, the geographical work of al-Idrīsī (d. c.560/1165) proves that data about the pope was available to Muslims of the island and, thanks to their connections with the rest of the Islamic world, maybe to the latter. Employed at the Norman court of Roger II,⁷⁴ al-Idrīsī had access to the networks maintained by Sicily's ruling elite and was thus able to draw on source material not available to other Arabic-Islamic scholars of his time.⁷⁵ Al-Idrīsī asserts that Rome is 'one of the pillars of the Christians' (*rukn min arkān al-naṣārā*)⁷⁶ and then describes the city of Rome:

one can see the palace of the ruler called pope (*al-bābā*) in Rome. This ruler is more powerful than all other rulers who assign to him the position of the Creator (*yuqīmūnahu maqām al-bārīʾ jall wa-ʿazz*). He governs with justice, punishes oppressors, protects the weak and the miserable and prevents that wrong is committed. His power surpasses that of all other Christian rulers (*mulūk al-Rūm*), and none of them can oppose his will. The grandeur and magnificence of Rome are such that it is impossible to describe them appropriately. The dependences of this city are numerous and famous. Among them are Magliano, Ostia, Mentana and Castello.⁷⁷

⁶⁹ Ibid., § 1527, pp. 910–11; cf. Aurell, *Noces* (1995), pp. 261–78.

⁷⁰ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 808, p. 480.

⁷¹ Ibid., § 1489, p. 891.

⁷² Ibid., § 804, p. 478.

⁷³ Cf. Simone and Mandalà, *L'immagine* (2002), p. 17.

⁷⁴ Cf. Houben, *Roger II* (2002), pp. 102–7, on the employment of al-Idrīsī.

⁷⁵ On al-Idrīsī's sources, see Ducène, *Poland* (2008), p. 9; Ducène, 'Sources' (2012), pp. 128–30.

⁷⁶ A citation taken from Ibn Hawqal, *sūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, p. 202.

⁷⁷ al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. Bombaci et al., fasc. VII, pp. 751, 752: 'wa-fi madinat Rūma qaṣr al-malik al-musammā al-bābā wa-laysa fawqa l-bābā fawq fi l-qadr wa-l-mulūk dūnahu wa-yuqīmūnahu maqām al-bārīʾ jall wa-ʿazz yaḥkum bi-l-ḥaqq wa-yataḥarrā al-maẓālim wa-yarfuq bi-l-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-l-masākīn wa-yanfī al-ḍaym ʿan al-muhtaḍamin wa-ḥukmuḥu nāfidh maḍīn ʿalā jamīʾ mulūk al-Rūm wa-lā yaqdir aḥad minhum yarudd ʿalayhi. wa-madinat Rūma akbar min an tūṣaf aw yuḥāt bi-awṣāf maḥāsinuhā kathīra wa-ḥusnā. wa-li-madinat Rūma bilād kathīra wa-qawāʾid mashhūra fa-minhā Awrat wa-Māl Malyār wa-Wastū wa-Mant Yaʾnī wa-Qashāl.'

Although al-Idrīsī reproduces well-known topoi associated with Rome in Arabic-Islamic literature, his access to different sources is reflected in this very explicit definition of the pope's role within Christendom. Al-Bakrī had already highlighted the pope's authority vis-à-vis the rulers of Christianity by describing the conventions of protocol and the mechanisms of excommunication. Even more poignantly, al-Idrīsī assigns a position of absolute spiritual authority to the pope. This clearly corresponds to the image promoted by the reform papacy in the wake of Gregory's VII (sed. 1073–85) *dictatus papae*.⁷⁸ It seems justified to suppose that al-Idrīsī reproduced a definition that was current in Norman Sicily with its close, albeit problematic ties to the reform papacy of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷⁹ His rather positive description of the pope as a ruler caring for the maintenance of justice reflects an internal Christian perspective not necessarily shared by other Muslim observers of the crusading period, as will be seen shortly. In this way, al-Idrīsī merged traditional Arabic-Islamic material on the city of Rome with a Christian definition of the papacy.

Al-Idrīsī was not the only Muslim in Sicily informed about the pope. In an effort to win support for his protégé, the future Frederick II, pope Innocent III (sed. 1198–1216) addressed two letters to the Muslims of Sicily in 1199 and 1206. In the earlier letter, directed at 'all Saracens established in Sicily', Innocent warned these Muslims not to cooperate with Frederick's rival Marcovald.⁸⁰ In the later letter, addressed to the 'qāḍī and all leaders of the communities of Entelle, Platani, Iato and Celso as well as all other Muslim leaders and Saracens established in Sicily', Innocent again appealed to his addressees to support Frederick.⁸¹ In spite of Innocent's pleas, the Muslims of Sicily did not support the future emperor, engaged in fighting with him in the following years, and were eventually deported to Apulia in the 1220s.⁸² Given the precarious situation of the Sicilian Muslims under Frederick II, extant Arabic-Islamic sources failed to take notice of these two instances of direct communication between the pope and an almost-neighbouring Muslim community and focused on these Muslims' fate.⁸³

Although in no way comparable to Sicily, twelfth-century Hungary also featured a substantial Muslim population that necessarily held a different perspective on the 'Latin West' than its coreligionists in the heartlands of Islam.⁸⁴ Two Arabic-

⁷⁸ On Gregory VII's ideas for church reform, see Cowdrey, *Gregory VII* (2004), pp. 495–583.

⁷⁹ Holtzmann, 'Rapporti' (1958), pp. 20–35; Deér, *Papsttum* (1972); Morton, 'Alexander II' (1975), pp. 362–82.

⁸⁰ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, ed. Huillard-Bréholles and de Albertis de Luynes, vol. 1, 1, pp. 37–40; 'Innocentius... universis Saracenis in Sicilia constitutis...', esp. p. 38; cf. Taylor, *Muslims* (2005), p. 5.

⁸¹ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, ed. Huillard-Bréholles and de Albertis de Luynes, vol. 1, 1, pp. 118–20, 118: 'Archadio et universis Gaietis Antelle, Platane, Jaci, Celsi et omnibus Gaietis et Saracenis per Siciliam constitutis...'; cf. Taylor, *Muslims* (2005), pp. 5–7, 86.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 5–13.

⁸³ E.g. al-Himyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Lūjāra', p. 514; al-Yūnīnī, *dhayl*, s. ed., vol. 3, AH 676, pp. 254–5.

⁸⁴ On Muslims in Hungary and the two sources dealt with in the following paragraphs, see Lederer, 'Islam' (1992), pp. 1–23; Berend, *Gate* (2001), pp. 64–8, 84–7, 237–44; Carlos, *Muslims* (2014), pp. 229–50.

Islamic authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries confirm that information about the papacy was transmitted via Hungary to the Islamic world. The Andalusian traveller Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (d. 565/1169–70) visited Hungary (*bilād Unqūriyya; Bāshghurd; Bāshghūrd*) in 545/1150, and stayed there for a few years before travelling in the Middle East.⁸⁵ In Hungary, Abū Ḥāmid received information about Rome (*Rūmiyya*) which is recorded in his *al-mu'rib 'an ba'd 'ajā'ib al-Maghrib*, written in the years before 556/1161, and in the *tuhfat al-albāb wa-nukhbat al-a'jāb*, written around 557/1162.⁸⁶

In the earlier *al-mu'rib*, Abū Ḥāmid clearly distinguishes between Rome (*Rūmiyya al-'uẓmā*) and Constantinople (*al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*), placing Hungary in the area between both cities.⁸⁷ In this account, Constantinople is ruled by the 'master of Constantinople' and 'ruler of the Rūm' (*malik al-Rūm*).⁸⁸ The later description of Rome in the *tuhfat al-albāb* seems to conflate Rome with Constantinople. Here Abū Ḥāmid claims that Rome (*Rūmiyya, Rūmiyya al-'uẓmā*) was surrounded by the Black Sea (*al-baḥr al-aswad*), a description that applies to Constantinople.⁸⁹ Then again, he asserts that the city was ruled by a person of over-riding importance for Christians whose position was equivalent to that of the caliph. This description applies to the pope rather than to the Byzantine emperor.⁹⁰ Abū Ḥāmid's portrayal of Rome in the *tuhfat al-albāb*, allegedly, is based on the testimony of Hungarian Muslims who had visited the city.⁹¹ According to a rather obscure passage, they dissuaded him from travelling to Rome because of political tensions in the city, claiming that several princes (*al-umarā'*) were involved in a territorial fight which 'the supreme ruler' (*al-malik al-akbar*) was not able to calm.⁹² According to Césaire Dubler, this concurs with the fact that pope Eugene III (sed. 1145–53) had difficulties dealing with the local Roman aristocracy led by Arnold of Brescia and consequently only spent one-eighth of his papacy in Rome.⁹³ However, considering that the 'supreme ruler' allegedly married his daughter to the brother of the Hungarian king, Abū Ḥāmid is probably referring to the Byzantine emperor rather than the pope in this context.⁹⁴

In spite of these incongruities, Abū Ḥāmid's works suggest very strongly that information about Rome and the pope was available to Hungarian Muslims and, thanks to their relations with the Islamic Middle East, to the latter also. This is

⁸⁵ Abū Ḥāmid, *tuhfa*, ed. Ferrand, pp. 194–5; Abū Ḥāmid, *al-mu'rib*, ed. Dubler, § 27–34, pp. 27–37; cf. Hrbek, 'Bericht' (1955), pp. 205–30; Dubler, *Abū Ḥāmid* (1953), pp. 123–32.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 131–2.

⁸⁷ Abū Ḥāmid, *al-mu'rib*, ed. Dubler, § 29, p. 29: 'wa-tilka al-wilāya min Rūmiyya al-'uẓmā ilā ḥadd Qusṭanṭīniyya'. There is another reference to Rome at *ibid.*, § 34, p. 35.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, § 30, pp. 31–2.

⁸⁹ Abū Ḥāmid, *tuhfa*, ed. Ferrand, p. 193.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 194: 'wa-yusammā dhālika al-malik 'indihi al-malik al-raḥīm bi-manzilāt al-khalifa fi l-muslimin wa-jamī' al-naṣārā yarjī'ūna ilā ḥukmihi wa-yuṭī'ūna qawlahu.'

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 194–5: 'kuntu fi Bāshghūrd sanat khams wa-arba'in wa-khamsimī'a kāna baynī wa-bayna Rūmiyya ayyām yasīra wa-sa'altu ba'd al-muslimin alladhina yusāfirūna ilayhā mimman fi Bāshghūrd 'an ṣifatihā fa-wuṣifa li ka-mā katabtuhu hāhunā...'

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 194–5.

⁹³ Dubler, *Abū Ḥāmid* (1953), p. 234. Cf. Maleczek, 'Eugen III' (1989), pp. 78–80; Horn, *Studien* (1992), pp. 175–82.

⁹⁴ Byzantine–Hungarian relations, including marital relations were intensive in this period. Cf. Stephenson, 'Manuel I' (1994), pp. 251–77; Vajay, 'Prinzessinnen' (1979), pp. 15–28.

confirmed by the geographer Yāqūt (d. 626/1229). He recounts that he encountered a group of blond and fair-skinned Ḥanafī Muslims in Aleppo who defined themselves as 'al-Bashghardiyya'. One of them explained that they were from the realm of a Frankish people called 'al-Hunkar' which bordered on the lands of the pope in the south, information that is followed by Yāqūt's definition of the pope's position within Christendom.⁹⁵

7.3. NEW DATA THANKS TO LATIN-CHRISTIAN EXPANSIONISM (12TH–15TH CENTURIES)

Up to this point, transmission depended on people who lived in the border zones between the Latin-Christian and the Arabic-Islamic sphere. Information on the papacy was then recorded by Arabic-Islamic scholars, who resided under Latin-Christian rule such as al-Idrīsī, inhabited a region near the border zone such as al-Bakrī, visited the border zone such as Abū Ḥāmid, or encountered persons who inhabited or had visited the border zone as in the case of Yāqūt and Ibn Rustah.

7.3.1. Popes and Muslim Rulers

At the end of the eleventh, and particularly from the late twelfth century onwards, the papacy became involved in direct exchange with Muslim rulers around the Mediterranean. In 1076, pope Gregory VII exchanged letters with the Ḥammādid ruler al-Nāṣir (ruled 454–81/1062–88).⁹⁶ Correspondence became more frequent in the second half of the twelfth century. Radulfus de Diceto (d. 1199–1200) recorded two Latinized letters written to the popes Alexander III (sed. 1159–81) and Lucius III (sed. 1181–85) by the Ayyubid sultans Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and al-ʿĀdil.⁹⁷ The *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi* contains the two letters written by Innocent III (sed. 1198–1216) to the Muslims of Sicily.⁹⁸ A compilation produced by Karl-Ernst Lupprian features more than a dozen letters from the period ranging from 1199 to 1251, written by the popes Innocent III, Honorius III (sed. 1216–27), Gregory IX (sed. 1227–41), and Innocent IV (sed. 1243–54) to several Muslim rulers in the eastern and western Mediterranean. Among these, we find five letters addressed to various Almohad caliphs, one to the Almohad governors of

⁹⁵ Yāqūt, *muʿjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'Bāshghird', pp. 469–70.

⁹⁶ Gregorius VII, *Registrum*, ed. Caspar (MGH Epp. selectae in us. schol. 2/1), cap. III, 21, pp. 287–8; Mas Latrie, *Traité*, vol. 1 (1866), pp. 7–8; cf. Courtois, 'Géorgie VII' (1945), pp. 97–122, 193–26; Hettinger, *Beziehungen* (1993), pp. 169–70, 185–6; Cowdrey, *Gregory VII* (1998), pp. 493–4; Mastnak, *Peace* (2002), pp. 85–7; Kedar, 'Religion' (2008), pp. 408–9.

⁹⁷ Radulfus de Diceto, *Opera historica*, ed. Stubbs (RS 68), vol. 2, pp. 25–6; cf. Möhring, 'Konstantinopel' (1989), pp. 76–7; Ḥamza Shihāta, *al-ʿalāqāt* (1989), pp. 90–6; Möhring, 'Briefe' (2000), pp. 197–216.

⁹⁸ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, ed. Huillard-Bréholles and de Albertis de Luynes, vol. 1, 1, pp. 37–40, 118–20; Taylor, *Muslims* (2005), pp. 5–7, 86.

Ceuta and Béjaïa, three to the Hafsids of Tunis, four to the Ayyubids of Cairo, two letters respectively to the Ayyubid rulers of Damascus and Aleppo, and even one letter to the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad. The compilation also features Latinized letters addressed to Gregory IX by the sultan of Konya as well as to Innocent IV by the Ayyubid governors and rulers of Damascus, Homs, Karak, and Cairo.⁹⁹ According to present knowledge, only one single Arabic original, a letter written in 1250 by the Almohad caliph al-Murtaḍā to Innocent IV, has survived.¹⁰⁰

This correspondence ended rather abruptly in 1251, in the pontificate of Innocent IV.¹⁰¹ Analysis of the above-mentioned papal letters and their Latinized replies in the context of 'international' relations in the Mediterranean suggests that they were the product of a short period of 'experimental diplomacy' limited to the late twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. In a period characterized by the frequent interaction of Christian and Muslim rulers, popes and Muslim rulers exchanged letters in the hope of pursuing their respective aims.¹⁰² The popes lacked the means to enforce their demands. Dependent on the assistance and goodwill of others, they were soon outstripped by more efficient Latin-Christian powers. When their efforts to propagate the Christian faith, to protect Christians under Muslim rule, and to intervene in various political issues repeatedly failed to bear fruit, the papacy apparently concluded that there was no point in corresponding directly with Muslim rulers. The latter, in turn, seem to have harboured growing doubts as to the purpose of communicating with the leading representative of an institution that, due to its commitment to a specific religious ideology, was unable to endorse the more pragmatic approach pursued by the economically attractive European maritime powers. In consequence, this phase of 'experimental diplomacy' ended after approximately half a century, shortly after the death of Frederick II.¹⁰³

Direct contact seems to have been scarce in the following 150 years. According to al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), papal envoys (*rusul bābā al-Faranj min madīnat*

⁹⁹ Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981). See Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), pp. 279–97, for a recent analysis.

¹⁰⁰ Tisserant and Wiet, 'Lettre' (1926), pp. 30–3; Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981), pp. 199–203. Dealing with Ayyubid letters to Lucius III, Ḥamza Shihāta, *al-'alāqāt* (1989), p. 97, ponders on the question as to whether Saladin and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil deliberately concealed this correspondence so as not to antagonize Muslim opinion or if historiographers of the period simply failed to take note of this correspondence.

¹⁰¹ Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981), pp. 26, 45, is not aware of any letters exchanged with the Mamluk Middle East after 1251. Mas Latrie, *Traité*s (1866), vol. 1, pp. 17–19, only cites papal letters written to Christians under Muslim rule, not the Muslim rulers themselves, in the pontificates of Nicolas IV (1290), Boniface VIII (1295), and Martin V (1419). However, al-Maqrīzī, *al-sulūk*, ed. ʿAṭā, vol. 3, AH 727, p. 100, mentions another exchange of letters for the year 727/1327; cf. Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), p. 281. With regard to the Muslim West, the catalogue *Lux in Arcana* (2012), p. 25, published by the Vatican Secret Archives, presents the only extant Arabic original written by the Almohad caliph Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Murtaḍā to Innocent IV in 648/1250, and comments: 'Later on, contact between the papal court in Rome and the kingdom of Morocco began to taper off, and they eventually ceased altogether. Six hundred years were to pass before sultan Hassan I (1836–1894) dispatched a special embassy to Leo XIII, in 1888, on the occasion of the pope's episcopal jubilee.'

¹⁰² Cf. Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), pp. 278–9, for a more detailed description of the context.

¹⁰³ Cf. König, 'Phase' (2015).

Rūma) brought another letter in 727/1327, and were sent back with a reply. He confirms, however, that:

since the times of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb [d. 647/1249], no envoys have come from the pope to Egypt.¹⁰⁴

In view of this, it is not surprising that the Mamluk secretary al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) with his undeniable knowledge about late medieval international affairs,¹⁰⁵ had problems finding letters, either to or from the popes in the archives of the Mamluk administration. Commenting on what earlier Mamluk secretaries, i.e. al-ʿUmārī (d. 749/1349) and Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh (fl. 762–78/1361–76) had written on official correspondence with the popes in their manuals for governmental secretaries, he cites Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh as follows:

The *tathqif* [by Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh] says: “this is what I have found written down. During my time in office [i.e. in the 60s and 70s of the fourteenth century], nothing was written to him [i.e. the pope]. Furthermore, I know neither what used to be written to him nor which forms of address were employed.” Ibn Faḍl Allāh [al-ʿUmārī] does not say anything to the contrary in [his work] *al-taʿrīf*. I myself have seen in some of the files (*al-dasātīr*) that he [i.e. the pope] has been written to only once, and that the document was made up in half by the preceding document.¹⁰⁶

Other medieval Arabic-Islamic scholars completely ignored the above-mentioned correspondence. However, al-Qalqashandī's statement that the pope was addressed with the honorary title ‘friend of sultans’ (*ṣadiq al-salātīn*) would hardly make sense, if direct relations had not been more intensive than can be gleaned from the scarce extant material in narrative sources.¹⁰⁷ In any case, contemporary Arabic-Islamic historiographers, at least from the Middle East, clearly acknowledged the papacy's involvement in activities that directly concerned the Islamic world.

7.3.2. The Papacy and the Crusading Movement

From the third crusade onwards, Arabic-Islamic scholars became increasingly aware of the pope's role in supporting and organizing crusading enterprises.¹⁰⁸

According to Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), the pope encouraged the crusaders besieging Acre in 586/1190, in a letter informing them that he had called upon all Frankish rulers to come to their aid.¹⁰⁹ Abū Shāma (d. 665/1268) and al-Dhahabī

¹⁰⁴ al-Maqrīzī, *al-sulūk*, ed. ʿAtā, vol. 3, AH 727, p. 100: ‘wa-lam tuqaddim rusul min ʿinda l-bāb ilā Miṣr mundhu ayyām al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb’. Cf. Beihammer, ‘Kirche’ (2013), p. 281.

¹⁰⁵ Sartain, ‘Relations’ (1996), pp. 85–91.

¹⁰⁶ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 43: ‘qāla fī l-tathqif: hādhā mā wajadtuhu maṣṭūrān wa-lam yuktab ilayhi shayʿun fī muddat mubāsharati, wa-lā adri fī ayy shayʿ kāna yuktab ilayhi wa-lā ʿarifū taʿrīfahu. wa-lam yataʿarraḍ lahu al-maqqar al-shihābī b. Faḍl Allāh fī l-taʿrīf jumlatan, wa-raʾaytu fī baʿd al-dasātīr annahu lam yuktab ilayhi illā marra wāhida, wa-anna l-kitāba ilayhi fī qaṭʿ al-niṣf maʿa al-kitāba al-mutaqaddima.’ Cf. Beihammer, ‘Kirche’ (2013), pp. 280–2.

¹⁰⁷ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 6, p. 173; vol. 8, p. 43.

¹⁰⁸ Beihammer, Kirche (2013), p. 276.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Törnberg, vol. 12, AH 586, p. 34 (Leiden), p. 53 (Beirut). On the siege of Acre, see Mayer, *Geschichte* (2000), pp. 130–4.

(d. 748/1348 or 753/1352) cite a letter written in 586/1190–91 by Saladin to the caliph in Baghdad. In this letter, Saladin comments:

The pope in Rome has ordered these people to abstain from drinking and eating. He has told them: "Whoever does not set out for the deliverance of Jerusalem shall be banned. He will be barred from marriage and commensality (*lā mankaḥ lahu wa-lā maṭ'am*).¹¹⁰" This is why they come in masses and voluntarily curtail the length of their lives. He has said to them: "I will arrive in spring, having mustered a large host." If this damned one (*al-mal'ūn/al-lā'in*) sets out, nobody will want to stay behind. We will see all of them who ascribe a family and a son to God [i.e. the Christians] coming with their wives and children. This is what explains the behaviour of these people, their fanaticism in going astray (*ta'aṣṣubihim fī ḍalālihim*) and their obstinacy in holding on to error (*lajājatihim fī ghawāyatihim*).¹¹⁰

The pope also features in other letters exchanged by Muslim rulers. Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1235) and Abū Shāma (d. 665/1268) claim that the Seljuq ruler Quṭb al-Dīn asked Saladin for help against the pope (*al-bābā*) in 588/1192. Saladin, however, did not believe Quṭb al-Dīn's assertion that the pope was encamped with an army in Constantinople.¹¹¹ According to Ibn Shaddād, the English king, Richard I, referred to the pope during his negotiations with Saladin in 587/1191–92, claiming that he needed the pope's permission to marry his sister to a Muslim, in this case Saladin's brother al-Malik al-'Ādil. If the pope refused, he would give his niece in marriage since he did not need a papal permission to do this.¹¹²

Several sources report that a papal representative fell into Muslim hands during the crusader campaign directed against the Egyptian city of Damietta. When a group of Franks had been taken captive around the city in 618/1221, the Franks offered to hand over the city in exchange for a safe-conduct. As a guarantee, the Franks provided hostages, among others a papal deputy (*nā'ib al-bābā*) whose name is occasionally given as 'al-Lukāf' or 'al-Lūkān'.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Abū Shāma, *al-rawdatayn*, ed./trans. de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 4), p. 480: 'wa-inna l-bābā alladhī bi-Rūmiyya qad ḥarrama 'alayhim maṭ'imahum wa-mashāribahum wa-qāla man lā yatawajjah ilā l-Quds mustakhlīṣan fa-huwa 'indī muḥarram lā mankaḥ lahu wa-lā maṭ'am fa-li-ajl hādha yataḥafatūna 'alā l-wurūd wa-yataḥalakūna 'alā yawmihim al-maw'ūd wa-qāla lahum innanī waṣīl fī l-rabī' jāmi' 'alā istinfār shamal al-jamī' wa-idhā nahada hādha al-mal'ūn fa-lā yuq'ad 'anhu aḥad wa-yaṣīl ma'ahu bi-ahlihi wa-walidhi kull man yaqūl li-llāh ahl wa-walad fa-hādha sharḥ hā'ulā' wa-ta'aṣṣubihim fī ḍalālatihim wa-lajājatihim fī ghawāyatihim.' Almost identical: al-Dhahabī, *tārīkh*, ed. Tadmuri, vol. 41, AH 586, pp. 57–8. Cf. Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), p. 277.

¹¹¹ Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, pp. 326–7; Abū Shāma, *al-rawdatayn*, ed. de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 5), p. 64. On Quṭb al-Dīn in the third crusade cf. Mayer, *Geschichte* (2000), p. 129.

¹¹² Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, p. 203; cf. Mayer, *Geschichte* (2000), p. 135; Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), p. 277.

¹¹³ Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 12, AH 614, p. 216 (Leiden), p. 330 (Beirut); Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 618, p. 98 and n. 3 (*al-Lukāf*); Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 3, AH 618, p. 162; Ibn Taghribirdī, *nujūm al-zāhira*, ed. Shams al-Dīn, vol. 6, AH 616, p. 213 (*al-Lūkān*). According to Mayer, *Geschichte* (2000), pp. 198–200, the pope sent two legates to Damietta in 1218, Robert de Courson and Pelagius of Albano. The former soon died while the latter was obliged to lead peace talks with al-Kāmil. Thus, 'al-Lukāf'/'al-Lūkān' probably refers to Pelagius. Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 618, p. 97, reproduces a (fictitious?) speech held by al-Malik al-Kāmil in front of his advisors. Referring to weary soldiers, the sultan argues for the necessity of accepting the Frankish offer to end hostilities, which could continue for a long period in view of potential reinforcements sent by the Franks and the pope beyond the sea.

Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) mentions the pope in connection with a conflict between the crusaders and the Armenians in 623/1226. The Armenians had revolted against Frankish rule and had taken the son of the ruler of Antioch captive. When the latter wrote to the pope asking for permission to attack the Armenians, the pope refused on the grounds that the Armenians were also Christians. This, however, did not prevent the ruler of Antioch from proceeding with his plans.¹¹⁴

7.3.3. The Papacy's Conflict with the Staufen Dynasty

Relations between the papacy and the Staufen dynasty receive a lot of attention in Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic historiography of this period. In connection with Frederick II's diplomatic efforts to take hold of Jerusalem by negotiating a truce with the Ayyubids, al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352) mentions the emperor's exchange with the Ayyubid sultan al-Kāmil in 625/1227. Frederick allegedly claimed to be the greatest ruler beyond the sea, and asserted that the pope and all other rulers of this area were aware of his visit and his objective of regaining Christian rule over Jerusalem. If the sultan was prepared to help him, he should hand the city over to him in exchange for money.¹¹⁵

In 659/1261, the Mamluk sultan Baybars sent Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298) on a diplomatic mission to the court of Manfred of Sicily. This journey enabled the historiographer to acquire information on the relations between popes and emperors in general and between the popes and the late Staufen dynasty in particular. According to Ibn Wāṣil, Frederick II (*Fardarik*) had lost his father in his early youth and was confronted with several Frankish lords who all strove for the imperial office, hoping that the pope would delegate it to them. Claiming that he did not feel capable of assuming this office, Frederick spoke to each Frankish lord separately. He urged each lord to give him the floor in the electoral assembly convened by the pope. Each time he promised to use his prestige as the son of the last emperor to support the election of the respective lord. However, instead of adhering to his promise, Frederick crowned himself emperor during the congregation in the great church of Rome and then fled with a group of German supporters. In the ensuing period, several of his actions provoked the papal ban (*taḥrīm*).¹¹⁶

Ibn Wāṣil claims that Frederick II had a very low opinion of the papacy and the criteria of choosing a pope. In a conversation with the *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn b. al-Shaykh in Acre, the emperor is said to have asked the latter about the origins of the caliphate. True to Abbasid ideology,¹¹⁷ Fakhr al-Dīn responded that the caliphate had its origins in the family of the prophet whose members held the office up to his day. In reaction, Frederick accused the Franks of being idiots who raised an ignorant and stupid man from a heap of manure and appointed him as representative of Jesus in spite of the fact that he was not related to the latter.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Törnberg, vol. 12, AH 623, pp. 303–4 (Leiden), p. 465 (Beirut).

¹¹⁵ al-Dhahabī, *īarikh*, ed. al-Tadmuri, vol. 45, AH 625, p. 30; cf. Leder, 'Kaiser' (2008), p. 88.

¹¹⁶ Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, pp. 250–1.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Kennedy, *Caliphate* (1986), pp. 41–2, on Abbasid theories of political legitimacy.

¹¹⁸ Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 251; cf. Gabrieli, *Historians* (1984), pp. 281–3; Hillenbrand, *Crusades* (2000), p. 320; Leder, 'Kaiser' (2008), p. 88.

Ibn Wāṣil comments that the pope detested the emperor (*al-anbaratūr*) and his sons Conrad (*Kurrā*) and Manfred (*Manfrīd*) because of their sympathy for the Muslims.¹¹⁹ Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), and Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405) even report on a papal attempt on the emperor's life that is also mentioned by Matthaeus Parisiensis (d. 1259).¹²⁰ In 644/1246 the pope allegedly sent out emissaries to murder the emperor, promising them—Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, al-Dhahabī, and Ibn al-Furāt claim—the emperor's estates as a reward. According to all four authors, the emperor heard of the pope's plans and took countermeasures by placing a slave in his bed. The assailants believed the slave to be the emperor and killed him. Then they were seized, massacred, skinned, filled with straw, and nailed to the doors of the emperor's palace. According to Ibn Kathīr and Ibn al-Furāt, this incited the pope to send out an army to attack the emperor.¹²¹

Ibn Wāṣil was well aware of the pope's implication in the end of Staufen rule. In the war between Manfred of Sicily and the pope, Manfred had initially been victorious. However, after his return from Manfred's court, Ibn Wāṣil heard that the pope and the French king's brother had agreed to take action against Manfred.¹²² The pope allegedly gave orders to seize and murder him. In 663/1265, the French king's brother then assumed rule in Manfred's territories.¹²³

Arabic-Islamic historiographers of the ensuing period must have understood that the demise of the Staufen dynasty deprived the Islamic Middle East of a reliable political partner—another factor that may have contributed to ending the phase of 'experimental diplomacy' mentioned above.¹²⁴ According to the Egyptian historiographer al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), the Mamluk sultan Baybars (ruled 658–76/1260–77) summoned and severely reprimanded representatives of the military orders (*buyūt al-firanjiyya*) in 661/1263. Among other things, he complained that, in spite of a promise of safe-conduct, his messengers to the Seljuqs had been arrested in Cyprus. This should have led to countermeasures on the side of the Franks, who ought to have informed the pope and Frankish rulers of what had happened.¹²⁵ This lack of reliability may have reinforced the Mamluks' will to take action against the crusaders. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) claims that Baybars took possession of the castle of Antioch in 673/1275, which had been held by the Franks and had belonged to the 'their patriarch in Rome whom they call the pope'.¹²⁶

¹¹⁹ Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Āshūr, vol. 4, AH 626, pp. 248–9; Cf. Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 4, AH 697, pp. 50–1.

¹²⁰ Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Madden, vol. 3, a. 1246, pp. 11–12.

¹²¹ Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, *mir'āt al-zamān*, ed. facs. Jewett, pp. 505–6; al-Dhahabī, *tārīkh*, ed. Tadmuri, vol. 47, AH 644, p. 27; Ibn Kathīr, *al-bidāya*, ed. al-Turkī, vol. 14, AH 644, pp. 288–9; Ibn al-Furāt, ed./trans. Lyons, vol. 1, AH 644, p. 11 (AR), vol. 2, p. 9 (EN). Cf. Leder, 'Kaiser' (2008), p. 90.

¹²² Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Āshūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 249.

¹²³ Ibid., vol. 4, AH 626, p. 251. ¹²⁴ See Chapter 7.3.1.

¹²⁵ al-Maqrīzī, *al-sulūk*, ed. 'Aṭā, vol. 1, AH 661, p. 553; cf. Holt, *Diplomacy* (1995), pp. 13, 69; Weil, *Geschichte*, vol. 4 (1860), pp. 45–6.

¹²⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 5, p. 450: 'li-batrakihim bi-Rūma alladhī yusammūnahu al-bābā'.

Historiographers of the Mamluk era also paid attention to what happened in the central Mediterranean after the end of Staufen rule. In his biography of the Mamluk sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (ruled 678–89/1279–90), Muḥī al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1292) mentions the death of pope Martin IV (sed. 1281–85), the ensuing election of Honorius IV (sed. 1285–87), and comments on events following the so-called Sicilian Vespers and the Aragonese takeover in Sicily and southern Italy:

Fresh news was brought by the arrival of a ship from Naples to Alexandria on 12 Rabī‘ al-ākhir 683/28 June 1285. Those arriving reported that the pope, the caliph of the Franks, had died and that the Franks had appointed another one among the twelve cardinals (*al-kardhanāl*) by the name of Giacomo Savelli (*Jākumū Sabbalū*). In addition, [they reported] that he had imposed an armistice on the Genoese and their enemies, that the people of Sicily had sent an envoy to him in two corvettes because of the armistice and the liberation of the captured prince, the son of Charles (*al-ibrins b. Sharlūn*), that sixty corvettes had been constructed in Sicily, and that this pope had communicated in all directions that they should not move without his orders.¹²⁷

Mamluk lack of trust vis-à-vis the pope is well expressed in a treaty concluded between the king of Aragon and the Mamluk sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, which is cited by Muḥī al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Zāhir directly after the passage quoted above. In this treaty, concluded in 689/1290, the pope is clearly portrayed as a potential aggressor. It obliges the king of Aragon to avert and, if necessary, to repel any kind of aggression against the Mamluk realm initiated by the pope or any other Christian power. The king pledges not to support the pope or other powers and to inform the sultan about any offers of alliance that could harm the Mamluks.¹²⁸

Unlike the Persian *History of the Franks* produced under Ilkhanid rule by Rashīd al-Dīn,¹²⁹ Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars fail to provide information on the popes of the fourteenth century. A final reference to the papacy’s involvement

¹²⁷ Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *tashrif al-ayyām*, ed. Amari (BAS), p. 341 (AR): ‘wa-mimmā tajaddada wurūd markab fi thānī ‘ashar shahr rabī’ al-ākhir (ya’nī sanat 683) min Nābul ilā l-Iskandariyya wa-khabbara man waṣala fīhi anna l-bāb khalīfāt al-Faranj halaka wa-aqāma al-Faranj ghayrahu min al-kardhanāl al-ithnā ‘ashar shakhṣan yusammā Jākumū Sabbalū wa-annahu shara’a fi l-ṣulḥ bayna al-Janawiyya wa-a’dā’ihim wa-anna ahl Ṣiḡilliya sayyarū ilayhi rasūlan fi ghurābayn bi-sabab al-ṣulḥ wa-khalās al-ibrins b. Sharlūn al-mu’taqal fi Ṣiḡilliya wa-annahu qad ‘ummira fi Ṣiḡilliya sittūn ghurāban wa-anna hādihā al-bāb sayyara ilā kull jiha bi-annahum lā yataḥarrakūna illā bi-amrihi’, trans. Amari (BAS), vol. 1, p. 548 (IT). On the captivity of Charles II, see Kiesewetter, *Anfänge* (1999), pp. 160–99.

¹²⁸ Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *tashrif al-ayyām*, ed./trans. Amari (BAS), p. 346 (AR): ‘wa-‘alā annahu mata ṭalaba al-bāb bi-Rūmiyya wa-mulūk al-Faranj wa-l-Rūm wa-l-Tatār wa-ghayruhum min al-malik al-raydarāghūn aw min ikhwatīhi aw min bilādīhi injādan aw mu’āwana bi-khayyāla aw rajjāla wa-māl aw marākīb aw shawāni aw silāḥ lā yuwāfiqūhum ‘alā shay’ min dhālika lā fi sirr wa-lā fi jahr wa-lā yu’ayyin aḥadan minhum wa-lā yuwāfiqūhu ‘alā dhālika wa-mata ittālā’a ‘alā anna aḥadan minhum yaqṣud bilād mawlānā al-sultān bi-muḥāraba aw bi-maḍarra yusayyir yu’arrif mawlānā al-sultān bi-khabarihim wa-bi-l-jiha allatī ittafaqu ‘alā qaṣdihā fi aqrab waqt qabla ḥarakatihim min bilādīhim wa-lā yukhfīhi shay’an min dhālika’, vol. 1, pp. 559–60 (IT). Cf. Holt, *Diplomacy* (1995), pp. 129–40.

¹²⁹ Probably drawing on the chronicle of Martinus Oppaviensis for his lists of emperors and popes, Rashīd al-Dīn, *Frankengeschichte*, trans. Jahn, pp. 56–93, traces these lists up to the fourteenth century. Cf. Jahn, ‘Abendland’ (1976), pp. 15–16.

in the crusading movement is found in the work of al-Maqrizī. He claims that the pope convoked the council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–44) at the initiative of the duke of Milan and then entrusted the latter with the leadership of a new crusade. However, strife between Venice and Milan thwarted its realization:

Then the news arrived that the duke of Milan (*dūkāt Milān*), that is the master of Milan, one of the Frankish principalities (*tāʾifa min al-Faranj*), had invaded the realm of Venice (*mamlakat al-Bunduqiyya*) and that they did not stop to wage war against each other. This duke presides over a spacious territory, possesses authority and is described as intelligent and learned. He used to rule over Genoa for a while until it detached itself in the year 840 [1436–37]. Around this time he wrote to the pope (*al-bābā*) in Rome asking and imploring him to meet up with him at a convention where the priests, monks and eminent people from among the Byzantines (*al-Rūm*) and Franks (*al-Faranj*) would come together to agree on matters of faith (*li-yattafiqū jamīʿan ʿalā amr dīnī yaʿqidūhu*). The latter answered to the effect that they all came together in Ferrara (*Farāra*), situated in a part of the territory belonging to the duke of Milan that borders on the territory of Florence (*mamlakat Farantin*). It was a huge convention, so they soon lacked space. In consequence, they all went to the city of Florence (*madīnat Farantin*) where they took up residence in summer and autumn. Then they split up and everyone returned home. While he was on the way, the Venetians (*al-Banādiqa*) attacked the duke without warning. This led to a great battle, during which as many people were killed as God willed it. The duke of Milan suffered a most terrible defeat: the majority of his soldiers were slaughtered and his riches were plundered. Praise to God for this, for it is said that his meeting with the pope took place because he wanted to set out against the Muslims and wanted the pope to invest him with the appropriate position and leadership. But God halted his pursuit.¹³⁰

The form and contents of this passage suggest strongly that al-Maqrizī received this news from a representative of one of the maritime republics active in Egypt who, by the middle of the fifteenth century, increasingly began to receive regular reports on the affairs of the Apennine Peninsula thanks to ‘newsletters’ circulating in the mercantile diaspora.¹³¹

¹³⁰ al-Maqrizī, *al-sulūk*, ed. ʿAṭā, vol. 7, AH 843 (11 Shaʿbān), p. 446: ‘wa-qadama al-khabr bi-anna dūkāt Milān—yaʿnī šāhib Milān—wa-hiya tāʾifa min al-Faranj, tajāwaza mamlakat al-Bunduqiyya, wa-lam yazālū yuḥāribūnahum, wa-li-dūkāt hādhā mamlaka muttasiʿa, wa-lahu satwa, wa-yuṣaf bi-ʿaql wa-maʿrifa, wa-kāna qad malaka Janawah muddatan, thumma intuziʿat minhu fi sanat ʿarbaʿin wa-thamānīmīʿa, fa-lammā kāna fi hādhihi al-ayyām kataba ilā l-bābā bi-Rūmiyya yasʿaluhu wa-yarghab ilayhi fi an yajtamiʿa bihi fi mahfal yajtamiʿu fihi al-qissisūn wa-l-ruhbān wa-aʿyān al-Rūm wa-l-Faranj, li-yattafiqū jamīʿan ʿalā amr dīnī yaʿqidūhu, fa-ajābahu ilā dhālika, fa-sārū jamīʿan hattā rawāfū ʿalā Farāra—wa-hiya fi ʿaraf mamlakat dūkāt Milān bi-jiwār mamlakat Farantin, wa-kāna dhālika jamʿan ʿazīman bi-ḥaythu dāqa bihim al-fadāʾ, fa-sārū bi-ajmaʿiḥim wa-nazalū arq madīnat Farantin, wa-dhālika fi faṣl al-ṣayf wa-faṣl al-kharif, thumma iftarāqū, wa-ʿada kullun minhum ilā waṭanihi, fa-baynamā al-dūk sāʾir idh ʿaraqahu al-Banādiqa ʿalā ḥini ghafla, fa-kānat baynahumā waqʿa ʿazīma, qutila fiḥā mā shāʾ Allāh, wa-inhazama dūkāt aqbaḥ hazīma, wa-qad funiya muʿzam ʿaskarihi wa-nuhibat amwāluhu, wa-li-llāh al-ḥamd, fa-innahu yuqāl inna ijtimāʾahu bi-l-bābā kāna bi-sabab muḥārabatihi li-l-muslimin, wa-an yufawwiḍ ilayhi al-taṣarruf wa-l-ḥukm, fa-kafā Allāh amrahu.’ On the council, see Setton, *Papacy*, vol. 2 (1978), pp. 58–62; Meuthen and Märkl, *15. Jahrhundert* (2006), pp. 65–7.

¹³¹ Christ, ‘Newsletter’ (2005), pp. 42–3.

7.3.4. Papal Involvement in the Muslim West

Arabic-Islamic historiography of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries from the Maghreb and the shrinking sphere of al-Andalus only rarely refers to the pope.

Al-Marrākushī, who finished his history of al-Andalus and the Maghreb around 621/1224, mentions neither Rome nor the pope.¹³² Ibn Sa'īd (d. 685/1286) ignores Rome and the pope in his historiographical work, but brings up both subjects in his geographical work, where he mentions the location of Rome giving a short definition of the city as 'the residence of the pope' (*qā'idat al-bābā*).¹³³ In his history of the Maghreb and al-Andalus, finished in around 712/1312–13, Ibn 'Idhārī mentions Rome in various contexts,¹³⁴ but only refers to the pope once. Elaborating on a passage taken from Ibn Ḥayyān, that is also reproduced by the later Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn 'Idhārī mentions a 'master of the golden church in Rome' (*ṣāhib kanīsat al-dhahab bi-Rūma*) who received a richly adorned image of Jesus sent by a certain Charles (*Qarūlush*).¹³⁵ The lemma on Rome in al-Ḥimyarī's (13th–14th cent.) geographic encyclopaedia *al-rawḍ al-mi'ār* only contains data already known from the works of Ibn Rustah and al-Bakrī.¹³⁶ The anonymous geographical-historiographical work *dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, probably produced in the Maghreb of the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries, fails to mention the pope and only refers to Rome in connection with ancient Roman rule over the Iberian Peninsula.¹³⁷

Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375), the influential *wazīr* of Granada, is the only Western Muslim scholar who provides original and comparatively recent information on the pope. In a chapter dedicated to the Christian realms of the Iberian Peninsula that draws on the report of a Jewish emissary from Castile, the court physician Yūsuf b. Waqār al-Isrā'īlī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb addresses papal support for the creation of Portugal in 1179. The pope had acknowledged the kingship of a certain duke called Alfonso (*Alfunsh*),

who was called duke (*dūqan*) and after that king (*malikan*) by permission of the pope, the highest priest (*al-qissīs al-a'ẓam*) in Rome.¹³⁸

¹³² al-Marrākushī, *al-mu'jib*, ed. Dozy. ¹³³ Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughnāfiyyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, p. 169.

¹³⁴ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 1, p. 17 (emperor Heraclius); vol. 2, p. 2 (Roman Spain), p. 14 (Roman Seville), p. 18 (Roman conquest of Jerusalem), p. 294 (Roman pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela).

¹³⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 108: 'wa-huwa—a'nī Qarūlush—alladhī 'amala ṣūrat 'Īsā min thalāthimi'at raṭl min dhahab khālīṣ, wa-ṣaffahā bi-l-yāqūt wa-l-zabrajad ayḍan, fa-lammā akmalā dhālika, sajada lahu wa-asjada lahu jamī' ahl Ifranja fī dhālika al-tārikh, thumma dafa'ahu ilā ṣāhib kanīsat al-dhahab bi-Rūma.' Cf. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makkī, pp. 130–1; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 67. See Chapters 6.2.1. and 7.2.2.

¹³⁶ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'ār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Rūma', pp. 274–6, esp. 275: 'yudabbir amrahū bi-Rūma al-bābāh. wa-yajib 'alā kull malik min mulūk al-naṣārā idhā ijtama'a bi-l-bābāh an yanbatih 'alā l-ard bayna yadayhi, fa-lā yazāl yuqabbil rijlay al-bābāh wa-lā yarfa' ra'sahu ḥattā ya'muru al-bābāh bi-l-qiya'm.' Cf. Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥḥa*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 128–32, al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 803–05, pp. 478–9.

¹³⁷ *dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed./trans. Molina, pp. 84, 87, 89–91.

¹³⁸ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 331, 336: 'thumma malaka ba'dahu ibnuhu Alfunsh wa-tasamma dūqan, thumma ba'da dhālika malikan, bi-idhn al-bābā al-qissīs al-a'ẓam bi-Rūma.' Cf. Jarār, *zamān* (2004), p. 190.

Another reference to the pope dates back to the thirteenth century. According to this passage, reproduced later by al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632), the *ṭāʾifa*-ruler Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Hūd of Murcia sent a certain Abū Ṭālib b. Sabʿīn to the pope in Rome. Ibn al-Khaṭīb identifies Abū Ṭālib with the brother of Abū Muḥammad b. Sabʿīn, the scholar said to have written a reply to the so-called ‘Sicilian questions’ ascribed to Frederick II and/or his entourage.¹³⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb describes the circumstances of this delegation as well as Abū Ṭālib’s reception as follows:

Our teacher Abū l-Barakāt reported: Our teachers from among the Oriental scholars reported to me that the *amīr* Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Hūd concluded a peace treaty with the tyrant of the Christians (*tāghiyat al-naṣārā*). The latter then broke the treaty, failed to fulfil the stipulations and compelled the former to turn to the greatest *comes* (*al-qūmis al-aʿẓam*) in Rome. He delegated Abū Ṭālib b. Sabʿīn, who is the brother of the above-mentioned Abū Muḥammad, as his ambassador to lay the existing treaties before him. He [Abū l-Barakāt] reported: When he reached the residence (*bāb*) of this aforementioned person in Rome, a country not frequented by Muslims, and his cause was examined and he was asked about his identity, this priest (*al-qiss*) spoke the following words to those of their scholars (*ʿulamāʾihim*) who stood around him, their meaning being translated to Abū Ṭālib: “Know that, among the Muslims of our day, there is no-one more knowledgeable about God than the brother of this man.”¹⁴⁰

According to Michele Amari, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Hūd, the vassal of Fernando III of Castile and León, decided to get in touch with the pope after having been chased from his residence in Murcia by Fernando’s son, the future Alfons X, in 1243. Pope Innocent IV (sed. 1243–54) acceded to the papacy in exactly this year and was, Amari claims,

a man of science who, before his exaltation, had passed as a friend of Frederick II. Consequently, it does not seem improbable that Innocent had heard about this philosopher [i.e. Ibn Sabʿīn] who, one or two years before, had sent rather remarkable answers to the emperor.¹⁴¹

Amari’s argument tallies with the fact that Innocent IV knew Frederick II personally and resided in Rome until 28 June 1244, when pressure exerted by the emperor drove him from the city.¹⁴² Juan Torres Fontes, Robert Burns, and Paul Chevedden believe that the embassy took place around twenty years later, in 1264–65, i.e. in the pontificate of Urban IV (sed. 1261–64) or Clemens IV (sed.

¹³⁹ Their ascription to Frederick II is questioned by Akasoy, *Philosophie* (2006) and defended by Mandalà, ‘Prologo’ (2007), pp. 25–94, both with further literature.

¹⁴⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-ihāṭa*, ed. ʿInān, vol. 4, pp. 34–5: ‘wa-ḥaddathanī shaykhunā Abū l-Barakāt, qāla ḥaddathanī ashyākhunā min ahl al-mashriq, anna l-amīr Abā ʿAbd Allāh b. Hūd, sālama tāghiyat al-naṣārā, fa-nakatha ʾahdahu, wa-lam yafī bi-sharṭihi, fa-iḍṭarrahū dhālika ilā mukhātabatūhi ilā l-qūmis al-aʿẓam bi-Rūma, fa-wakkala Abā Ṭālib b. Sabʿīn, akhā Abī Muḥammad, al-mutakallam ʾanhu, wa-l-istizhār bi-l-ʾuqūd bayna yadayhi. qāla fa-lammā balagha bāb dhālika al-shakḥ al-madhkūr bi-Rūma, wa-huwa balad lā yattaṣil ilayhi al-muslimūn, wa-nuẓira ilā mā bi-yadihi, wa-suʾila ʾan nafsihi, kallama dhālika al-qiss man danā minhu maḥallahu min ʾulamāʾihim bi-kalām, turjima li-Abī Ṭālib bi-mā maʾnahu, ilā lamū anna akhā ḥadhā laysa li-l-muslimīn al-yawm aʾlam bi-llāh minhu.’

¹⁴¹ Amari, ‘Questions’ (1853), p. 252; cf. Horst, *Sultan* (1997), p. 92.

¹⁴² Roberg, ‘Innozenz IV’ (1991), cols 437–38.

1265–68), both of whom did not reside in Rome.¹⁴³ According to their argument, the plea for help must have been formulated shortly before the *ṭāʾifa*-principality ultimately succumbed to Christian rule in the wake of the great Mudéjar-revolt of 1264.¹⁴⁴ Finally, Anna Akasoy points to the fact that the *ṭāʾifa*-ruler Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Hūd ceased to rule in 635/1238. If at all, the breach of an armistice in 1234 or Fernando's conquest of Córdoba in 1236 could have incited Abū Ṭālib's mission to Rome. Since she questions Frederick's authorship of the so-called 'Sicilian questions', she also formulates doubts as to the authenticity of the mission, but provides no explanation as to why and to what end Ibn al-Khaṭīb's report should have been construed.¹⁴⁵

Ibn al-Khaṭīb claims to have received news about the embassy not from Iberian but from Middle Eastern informants via the intermediary Abū l-Barakāt. Arabic-Islamic scholars in touch with the courts of Frederick II and his son Manfred come to mind as potential transmitters.¹⁴⁶ Amari assumed that a Muslim ruler from the Iberian Peninsula would have only appealed to the pope 'as a last resort' and would have preferred to conceal this embassy vis-à-vis his Muslim neighbours. This could explain why Ibn al-Khaṭīb had to draw on Oriental informants and why historiographers from the Muslim West apart from him and the compiler al-Maqqarī failed to report on this diplomatic mission.¹⁴⁷

It remains unclear why Western Muslim historiography and geography contain so little information about one of the leading representatives of high and late medieval Latin Christendom. On the Iberian Peninsula, this may have to do with the fact that the papacy mainly operated in the background, supporting the Christian drive to the south and the establishment of a Christian infrastructure in the 'reconquered' territories instead of maintaining its own direct relations with the peninsula's Muslim rulers.¹⁴⁸ This does not rule out that some Arabic-Islamic scholars were aware of the papacy's contribution to the 'Reconquista'. Al-Qalqashandī's (d. 821/1418) use of the honorary title 'Supporter of the Pope' (*ṣahīr pāpā Rūmīyya* with the Persian letter 'پ') for the king of Aragon (*al-rid Araghūn*) implies knowledge about existing links between Iberian Christians and the bishop of Rome.¹⁴⁹

While the lack of Andalusian records seems explicable, the absence of records on the pope in the Maghreb and North Africa defies all explanation. In 1076, Gregory VII responded to a letter by the Ḥammādid ruler al-Nāṣir.¹⁵⁰ In 1199, Innocent

¹⁴³ Roberg, 'Urban IV' (1997), col. 1284; Hayez, 'Clemens IV' (1983), cols 2141–42.

¹⁴⁴ Torres Fontes, 'Tratados' (1997), pp. 43–53; Burns and Chevedden, *Cultures* (1999), p. 233.

¹⁴⁵ Akasoy, *Philosophie* (2006), pp. 14–15.

¹⁴⁶ On these scholars, see Hasse, 'Mosul' (2000), pp. 145–63; Leder, 'Kaiser' (2008), pp. 82–91.

¹⁴⁷ Amari, 'Questions' (1853), pp. 251–2.

¹⁴⁸ Vones, 'Einflussnahme' (2011), pp. 400–1. On various forms of papal activism on the Iberian Peninsula cf. Linehan, *Church* (1971); Vones, *Historia* (1980); Engels, 'Südwesten' (2001), pp. 82, 84, 86–7; Linehan, 'Legation' (2001), pp. 236–56; Herbers, 'Papsttum' (2002), pp. 25–60; Fleisch, 'Rom' (2008), pp. 135–89; Vones, 'Papsttum' (2009), pp. 157–71; cf. Deswarte, *Chrétienté* (2010), with a full overview.

¹⁴⁹ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-aʾshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 6, p. 176; vol. 8, p. 36. On the title as such, see vol. 6, p. 89.

¹⁵⁰ Gregorius VII, *Registrum*, ed. Caspar (MGH Epp. selectae in us. schol. 2/1), cap. III, 21, pp. 287–8.

III commended the Trinitarian order as a means of exchanging captives of war to the Almohad caliph al-Nāṣir.¹⁵¹ In 1219, Honorius III appealed to the Almohad caliph al-Mustaṣṣir to ensure that Christians under his rule had the right to practise their faith.¹⁵² In 1233, Gregory IX urged the Almohad caliph al-Rashid to accept the Christian faith, warning him that enmity towards the latter would force the pope to call back those Christians in the caliph's service.¹⁵³ In 1235, Gregory IX responded to the Hafsīd ruler Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā and sent a Franciscan envoy for further negotiations.¹⁵⁴ In 1246, Innocent IV asked the same ruler as well as his governors in Bējaia and Ceuta not to obstruct the work of the bishop Lope Fernandez de Ayn and his Franciscan entourage in their efforts to provide pastoral care to Christians in the Hafsīd realm.¹⁵⁵ In the same year, Innocent IV thanked the Almohad caliph al-Sa'īd for the benefits and privileges granted to the church in his realm and congratulated him on a military victory achieved with the help of Christian mercenaries called into the country by his predecessors. Urging the caliph to accept the Christian faith, he appealed to him to grant secure places of refuge near the coast to the Christians of his realm, since several of them had become victims of recent unrest.¹⁵⁶ In 1250, Innocent IV received a letter by al-Sa'īd's successor, Abū Ḥaḥṣ 'Umar al-Murtaḍā.¹⁵⁷ Not satisfied with the caliph's response, Innocent IV criticized the Muslim ruler for his failure to protect the Christians in his realm in 1251, threatening to call back all Christians under his rule if he refused to comply with the pope's demands.¹⁵⁸ However, in spite of this intensive exchange of letters, neither the late medieval papacy nor its correspondence with several Almohad and Hafsīd rulers is mentioned in Arabic-Islamic sources from Ifriqiya and the Maghreb.

7.4. THE POPE'S POSITION WITHIN (LATIN) CHRISTENDOM (13TH-15TH CENTURIES)

Although they failed to provide full coverage of papal-Muslim relations, Arabic-Islamic scholars of the late Middle Ages, certainly from the Middle East, clearly understood what the papacy represented. Judging from the few extant references to the papacy in the works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb and the correspondence of various popes with North African rulers, this also applies to the Muslim West with some reservations. The use of certain titles but also full-fledged definitions of the papacy show how its role within the Christian world was understood.

¹⁵¹ Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981), pp. 106–7.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 139–40.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 176–8.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 179–81.

¹⁵⁷ Tisserant and Wiet, 'Lettre', pp. 27–53; El-Bondack, *Marge* (1951); Lupprian, *Beziehungen* (1981), pp. 199–203.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 204–5.

7.4.1. The Roman Patriarch of Late Antiquity

In the late ninth and the early tenth centuries, al-Ya'qūbī and al-Mas'ūdī still defined the pope as one of four patriarchs who held a position of spiritual authority within the late antique Roman Empire.¹⁵⁹ Later Arabic-Islamic historiographers who wrote on the period of Late Antiquity also used the title 'patriarch' (*batrak*, *batrakh*, *batrik*). Al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) proffers two versions of Constantine's conversion to Christianity—one describing a divine vision in the context of a battle, the other crediting the bishop of Rome with having healed Constantine of leprosy.¹⁶⁰ He may have taken this information, already mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), from the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, which deals with this topic in more detail.¹⁶¹

A group of historiographers active in Mamluk Egypt of the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries displayed renewed interest in the late antique history of the papacy. They deal with topics already addressed by al-Mas'ūdī, but provide more and different information that seems to have been drawn from local Egyptian tradition. Ibn Khaldūn's (d. 808/1406) explanation of the title 'pope' is based on the Arabic-Christian chronicle written by the Coptic historiographer Ibn al-'Amīd (d. 672/1273).¹⁶² Certain passages in the works of al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) bear great resemblance to corresponding passages in Ibn Khaldūn, suggesting that they were copied. In other cases, they seem to have used independent sources that also draw on local Egyptian traditions.

In the tenth century, al-Mas'ūdī had already drawn a connection between the apostle Peter and the Roman patriarchate and had pointed to Rome's pre-eminent position as the earliest and most important among the four patriarchates, an assertion repeated by Ibn Khaldūn, al-Qalqashandī, and al-Maqrīzī.¹⁶³ Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqrīzī add that the apostle Peter convoked a meeting of Jesus' disciples in Rome where they defined the canonical scriptures of Christianity with the help of Peter's pupil 'Aqlīmāntūs' or 'Qalīmūs' (Clemens?).¹⁶⁴ Peter was then succeeded by 'Aryūs' (Linus?) who, al-Maqrīzī explains, was the first patriarch of Rome and held the office for twelve years. From this time on, the patriarchal seat was occupied continuously.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 1, pp. 195, 198; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 138.

¹⁶⁰ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 498, p. 312. Al-Ya'qūbī, *tārikh* ed. al-Muhannā, vol. 1, p. 194, only mentions Constantine's vision of a cross before a battle.

¹⁶¹ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 498, p. 312; cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 137–8; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, § 214, pp. 369–70. Al-Bakrī repeatedly cites the latter work, cf. Badawī, *Urūsyūs* (1982), pp. 23–4; *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Penelas, pp. 73–4.

¹⁶² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 291; cf. Issawī, 'Ibn Khaldūn' (1998), p. 64.

¹⁶³ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 146; cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 1291, p. 339 (AR), pp. 492–3 (FR); Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 290–1; vol. 2, p. 175; al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 472; al-Maqrīzī, *al-mawā'iz*, ed. Sayyid, vol. IV, 2, p. 975.

¹⁶⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 290; vol. 2, p. 174; al-Maqrīzī, *al-mawā'iz*, ed. Sayyid, vol. IV, 2, p. 974; al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 160.

¹⁶⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 291; vol. 2, p. 175; al-Maqrīzī, *al-mawā'iz*, ed. Sayyid, vol. IV, 2, p. 974.

The late medieval scholars also proffer alternative information on the period of ecumenical councils. According to al-Mas'ūdī, the Roman patriarch who attended the council of Nicaea was called 'Būlyūs'.¹⁶⁶ Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqrīzī claim that his name was 'Salṭūs' and that he had not participated personally, but had sent two priests who, together with the other patriarchs and bishops, condemned Arius in his name.¹⁶⁷ In connection with the ruling period of the emperor Valens (*Wālis*), al-Maqrīzī relates that the bishop of Rome offered asylum to the patriarch of Alexandria, 'Buṭrus' (Petrus II, sed. 373–80), who fled jail after having been deposed during strife about the doctrines of Arius.¹⁶⁸ Al-Mas'ūdī's report on Nestorius' condemnation at the hands of the Alexandrian patriarch 'Qūrillus' (Cyrilus I, sed. 412–44) and the Roman patriarch 'Kaliṣṭūs' (Coelestin I, sed. 422–32)¹⁶⁹ is enlarged by Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqrīzī who explain that the patriarch of Alexandria, 'Karilus'/'Kurillus', had received a treatise written by Nestorius and had demanded the latter to recant. When Nestorius failed to react, the Alexandrian patriarch wrote to his Roman colleague 'Iklimus' and the other patriarchs. Together they called upon Nestorius to recant, and convoked the council of Ephesos when he refused.¹⁷⁰

Based on local Egyptian tradition recorded by the Coptic historiographer Ibn al-'Amīd, Ibn Khaldūn, copied by al-Qalqashandī and al-Maqrīzī, explains how the title 'pope' came into being.¹⁷¹ Peter's disciple, the evangelist Mark, established the first Christian community in Alexandria. A certain 'Ḥanāya' or 'Anyānū' (Anianus, sed. 61–82) became the first patriarch of the city. He surrounded himself with twelve priests, who appointed a new patriarch from among their midst at the death of each patriarch. Until the times of the patriarchs 'Dīmītriyūs' (Demetrius, sed. 189–232) and his successor 'Hiraql' (Heraclas, sed. 232–48) no bishops were appointed. When this was eventually done, confusion reigned with regard to the correct title to be used vis-à-vis one's ecclesiastical superior, because both the priests and the bishops now called their next superior 'father' (*ab*). To distinguish between the different offices within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, they decided to use the title 'pope' (*al-bābā*), that is 'father of fathers' (*ab al-abā*), for the patriarch. This title was then transferred to the patriarch of Rome when it became clear that he was entitled to the higher rank. Rome ranked higher than Alexandria, al-Qalqashandī explains, because the apostle Peter founded the Roman patriarchate whereas the Alexandrian patriarchate had only been founded by Peter's disciple Mark.¹⁷² Unfortunately, none of the authors specifies when this transfer took place.

¹⁶⁶ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 143.

¹⁶⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 177; al-Maqrīzī, *al-mawā'iz*, ed. Sayyid, vol. IV,2, p. 982.

¹⁶⁸ al-Maqrīzī, *al-mawā'iz*, ed. Sayyid, vol. IV,2, p. 985.

¹⁶⁹ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 138.

¹⁷⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, p. 179; al-Maqrīzī, *al-mawā'iz*, ed. Sayyid, vol. IV,2, p. 987.

¹⁷¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 291: 'wa-ḡahara ḥādhā al-ism awwal ḡuhūrihi bi-Miṣr 'alā mā za'ama Jurjis b. al-'Amīd'.

¹⁷² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 289–91; vol. 2, pp. 174–5; al-Qalqashandī, *subh al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 472; al-Maqrīzī, *al-mawā'iz*, ed. Sayyid, vol. IV,2, p. 975; cf. Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), p. 282. The higher rank of the Roman patriarch is already mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 146.

It is probably no coincidence that scholars active in Mamlūk Egypt displayed this strong interest in papal history. In Egypt, with its important role for late antique Christianity, the history of the late antique patriarchs was of higher relevance to the collective memory of Christians than in other parts, especially the west of the Islamic world.

7.4.2. From the Ruler of Rome to the Leader of Christendom

In Arabic-Islamic sources from the tenth century onwards, the bishop of Rome bears the title 'pope'. Ibn Rustah (d. after 300/913), who uses the title for the first time, defines the pope as the ruler of urban Rome. In his wake, al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) and al-Ḥimyarī (13th–14th cent.) state that Rome is a city 'whose affairs are administrated by a ruler called the pope'.¹⁷³ Later sources also use the title 'ruler/master of Rome' (*sāhib Rūmiyya*).¹⁷⁴

Several sources suggest that the pope was not the only medieval ruler in and of Rome. Since the tenth century, sources mention the rebellion of a 'ruler of Rome' (*sāhib Rūmiyya*) against the Byzantine emperor, which is said to have taken place in 340/952. However, the 'Roman ruler' who usurps imperial insignia in the course of this rebellion, is never equated with the pope.¹⁷⁵ Since the twelfth century, Arabic-Islamic sources point out repeatedly that Rome was also the residence of a 'ruler of the Franks' (*malik al-Afranj*) or 'ruler of the Germans' (*malik al-Almān*).¹⁷⁶

Authors of the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries took notice of the pope's enlarged sphere of influence. Already before the crusading period, al-Bakrī highlights that Christian rulers have to demonstrate submission to the pope in the official protocol.¹⁷⁷ Al-Idrīsī (d. c.560/1165) and al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349) define the localities Magliano, Ostia, Mentana, and Castello as dependencies of Rome in connection with their references to the pope.¹⁷⁸ Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) claims

¹⁷³ Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥḥa*, ed. de Goeje, p. 128: 'yudabbir amrahā malik yuqāl al-bāb'; al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 803–05, pp. 478–9; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Rūma', pp. 275–6.

¹⁷⁴ Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥḥa*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 128–32; al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 803–05, pp. 478–9; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 12, AH 586, p. 34 (Leiden), p. 53 (Beirut); vol. 12, AH 614, p. 216 (Leiden), p. 330 (Beirut); vol. 12, AH 623, pp. 303–4 (Leiden), p. 465 (Beirut): 'al-bābā, malik al-Faranj bi-Rūmiyya al-kubrā'; Ibn Wāṣil, *mufaḥḥiṣ*, ed. Rābi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 618, p. 98; vol. 4, AH 626, p. 248; Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 3, AH 618, p. 162; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Rūma', pp. 275–6.

¹⁷⁵ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 181; Šā'id al-Andalusī, *tabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Bū 'Alwān, p. 99; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 1, p. 242 (Leiden), pp. 338–9 (Beirut). See Chapters 4.2.1. to 4.2.3. and 6.4.1. to 6.4.2.

¹⁷⁶ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 2, lemma 'Rūmiya', p. 867; al-Qazwīnī, *āthār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 397; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 92.

¹⁷⁷ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 803–05, pp. 478–9. The Arabic-Islamic sphere thus became aware of the pope's rising authority much earlier than Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), p. 269, believes.

¹⁷⁸ al-'Umarī, *masālik al-abṣār*, ed./trans. Schiaparelli, p. 307 (AR), p. 312 (IT); al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. Bombaci et al., fasc. VII, p. 752.

that the pope also ruled Pisa.¹⁷⁹ Other scholars confer a 'Frankish' dimension to papal rule.¹⁸⁰ Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) defines him as 'leader of the Franks' (*ra'īs al-Afranj*) who is obeyed by the entire Frankish world.¹⁸¹ Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) calls the pope 'ruler of the Franks in Rome' (*malik al-Faranj bi-Rūmiyya al-kubrā*).¹⁸² According to al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283), all Franks were obliged to obey the pope.¹⁸³ Ibn Wāsil (d. 697/1298) defines him as 'caliph of the Franks' (*khalīfat al-Faranj*)¹⁸⁴ and asserts that 'according to their legal customs' (*fi shari'atihim*) every affair had to be decided by the pope.¹⁸⁵ Together with Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405) and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) he mentions the pope's role in the coronation of emperors.¹⁸⁶ This papal function is also reflected in the official title 'crown of Christian rulers' (*mumallik al-mulūk al-naṣrāniyya*) to be used in written correspondence with the pope according to al-Qalqashandī.¹⁸⁷ The latter defines the pope as 'friend of kings and sultans' (*sadiq al-mulūk wa-l-salātīn*), thus emphasizing his high rank.¹⁸⁸ Occasionally, he also confers the title 'comforter of the pope' (*mu'izz al-bābā* or even *mu'izz imām Rūmiyya*) as well as 'supporter of the pope' (*ẓahīr bābā Rūmiyya*) on several Latin-Christian rulers, such as the doge of Venice (*dūk al-Banādiqa*),¹⁸⁹ the ruler of Montferrat (*malik Mūnfrād*),¹⁹⁰ a certain Frankish king called 'Firānk', probably Frederick II,¹⁹¹ and the king of Aragon.¹⁹²

The most explicit and detailed definition of papal rule is provided by al-'Umari (d. 749/1349). He defines Rome as 'the seat of the greatest tyrant' of the Christians (*maqarr tāghūtihim al-akbar*). All Melkite rulers (*jami' mulūk al-malikiyya*) were subject to him. He ruled them with justice and according to the principles of their predecessors. The spiritual rulers (*al-falakiyya*) obeyed him and hoped for his intercession in both this and the next world. The pope regulated their divergencies and

¹⁷⁹ Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, pp. 209, 211. Although Abū l-Fidā' claims to have used Ibn Sa'id as a source, Ibn Sa'id, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. 'Arabī, pp. 169, 182, draws no connection between Pisa and the pope.

¹⁸⁰ See Chapter 6.

¹⁸¹ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'Bāshghird', pp. 469–70.

¹⁸² Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 12, AH 623, pp. 303–4 (Leiden), p. 465 (Beirut).

¹⁸³ al-Qazwīnī, *āthār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 397.

¹⁸⁴ Ibn Wāsil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 248.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 249.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, AH 626, pp. 250–1; Ibn al-Furāt, AH 644, ed./trans. Lyons, vol. 1, p. 11 (AR), vol. 2, p. 9 (EN); Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 292; cf. Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), p. 278.

¹⁸⁷ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 43; cf. Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), pp. 178–9.

¹⁸⁸ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, pp. 42–3; cf. Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), pp. 178–9.

¹⁸⁹ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 6, p. 179; vol. 8, pp. 47–8.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 178.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 117–18. The ruler in question allegedly received a letter sent by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Kāmil in Sha'bān 630/May 1233. That Frederick II, banned by Gregory IX in 1227 and 1228, should feature as 'the comforter of the imām of Rome' may be due to the fact that the letter was written between the Peace of San Germano (1230) and the death of Herman of Salza (1239), cf. Houben, *Friedrich II* (2008), pp. 47–8, 54–5. Gabrieli, *Historians* (1984), p. 280 n. 5, regards the use of this title, in this case by Frederic, as 'one of the ironies of protocol'.

¹⁹² al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 6, pp. 89, 176; vol. 8, p. 36.

differences, coalitions, and agreements.¹⁹³ In line with other Arabic-Islamic scholars, al-'Umarī makes it plain that papal leadership was ultimately based on religious authority. Authors commenting on the pope's religious adherence, unanimously claim that he belonged to the faction of Melkite Christians.¹⁹⁴

The pope's religious authority is described as follows: al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) defines him as a 'religious leader' (*sāhib al-dīn*).¹⁹⁵ Al-Idrīsī (d. c.560/1165) even asserts that Christian rulers conferred the rank of the Creator upon him,¹⁹⁶ while Abū Ḥāmid (d. 565/1169–70) highlights that all Christians had recourse to his judgements and followed his commands.¹⁹⁷ Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1235) calls him 'chief of the Christian religion' (*kabīr dīn al-naṣrāniyya*),¹⁹⁸ while Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298), and Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405) report, that he is regarded as the representative or successor of the Messiah (*nā'ib al-masīḥ/khalīfat al-masīḥ*).¹⁹⁹ Speaking of the Franks, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) calls him 'their leading patriarch' (*baṭrakuhum al-a'ẓam*).²⁰⁰ Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) defines him as 'caliph of the Christians' (*khalīfat al-naṣārā*).²⁰¹

Aside from using the definition 'the great priest in Rome' (*al-qissīs al-a'ẓam bi-Rūma*),²⁰² the Andalusian historiographer Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375) calls the pope 'the great comes' (*al-qūmis al-a'ẓam*).²⁰³ This definition equates the papal office with the specifically Andalusian office of the *qūmis*, an Arabic transcription of the Latin title *comes*. This title was used not only to designate counts in the service of a Christian king, but also to define a Christian functionary who represented the Christian community vis-à-vis its Muslim overlords and collected the Christians' taxes for the Muslim authorities, approximately since the times of the first Umayyad *amīr* 'Abd al-Raḥmān I (ruled 138–72/756–88).²⁰⁴ By assigning this title to the pope in connection with the aforementioned Muslim embassy to Rome, Ibn al-Khaṭīb pointed to the pope's function as the chief representative of the Christian world.²⁰⁵

¹⁹³ al-'Umarī, *masālik al-abṣār*, ed./trans. Schiaparelli, pp. 306–7 (AR), p. 312 (IT) with n. 2; cf. Möhring, 'Konstantinopel' (1989), p. 76.

¹⁹⁴ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 147, claims that, in his time, in 325/936, all patriarchs adhered to the Melkite form of Christianity. Also see Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 292; al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 42.

¹⁹⁵ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1527, pp. 910–11.

¹⁹⁶ al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. Bombaci et al., fasc. VII, p. 752: 'yuqīmūnahu maqām al-bārī' jall wa-'azz...'; cf. Möhring, 'Konstantinopel' (1989), p. 75.

¹⁹⁷ Abū Ḥāmid, *tuhfa*, ed. Ferrand, p. 194: 'yarjī'ūna ilā ḥukmihi wa-yuṭī'ūna qawlahu'. In his description of the city 'Rūmiyya al-'uẓmā', Abū Ḥāmid seems to speak about Rome and the pope. In other passages, however, he seems to deal with Constantinople, as on p. 193, where he claims that the Black Sea (*al-baḥr al-aswad*) surrounded the city on three sides. See Chapter 7.2.3.

¹⁹⁸ Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, p. 304.

¹⁹⁹ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'Bāshghird', pp. 469–70; Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 249; Ibn al-Furāt, ed./trans. Lyons, vol. 1, AH 644, p. 11 (AR), vol. 2, p. 9 (EN).

²⁰⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 92.

²⁰¹ Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 209.

²⁰² Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 336.

²⁰³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-ihāta*, ed. Inān, vol. 4, pp. 34–5.

²⁰⁴ Chalmers, 'Qūmis' (1986), p. 376. ²⁰⁵ See Chapter 7.3.4.

The greatest number of papal titles is listed by the Mamluk chancery official al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418).²⁰⁶ Correcting hypotheses formulated in the earlier manual for secretaries by Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, he underscores that the pope cannot be compared to the Mongol Ilkhan since the pope was responsible for religious (*amr diyānatihim*), the Ilkhan for secular affairs (*amr al-mulk*).²⁰⁷ In the section dedicated to the titles to be used in letters to the pope, al-Qalqashandī defines him as 'Mighty one of the Christian community' (*aẓīm al-milla al-masīhiyya*), 'Paragon of the community of Jesus' (*quḍwat al-tā'ifa al-'isawiyya*), 'Refuge of patriarchs, bishops, priests and monks' (*malādh al-batārika wa-l-asāqifa wa-l-qusūs wa-l-ruhbān*), 'Reciter of the gospels' (*tālī al-injīl*), and as 'the one who informs his religious community about what is forbidden and what is licit' (*mu'arrif tā'ifatihi bi-l-tahrīm wa-l-tahlīl*). The title 'Protector of bridges and canals' (*ḥāfiẓ al-jusūr wa-l-khuljān*) may represent a distorted version of the very old Latin title 'pontifex maximus'.²⁰⁸ That the medieval pope convoked assemblies which discussed religious and political issues is acknowledged by al-Maqrizī (d. 845/1442) who reports on the pope's convocation of the council of Ferrara-Florence in 843/1439, where Franks and Byzantines discussed questions of faith and planned a new attack against the Muslims.²⁰⁹

Several Arabic-Islamic scholars draw parallels between the papacy and Muslim offices of spiritual authority. Yāqūt compares the pope with the Muslim 'Commander of the faithful' (*amīr al-mu'minīn*).²¹⁰ Yāqūt, al-Qazwīnī, and al-Qalqashandī also use the title 'Imām'.²¹¹ Others compare him with the caliph, defining him as 'caliph of the Franks' (*khalīfat al-Faranj*), such as Ibn Wāṣil, or as 'caliph of the Christians' (*khalīfat al-naṣārā*) such as Abū l-Fidā'. More nuanced, Abū Ḥāmid and al-Qalqashandī claim that he fulfilled the functions of a caliph among the Christians.²¹²

Some sources provide further details. The work of Ibn Wāṣil contains the deprecatory remark ascribed to Frederick II who criticized that the pope could not lead his genealogy back to Christianity's founding figure.²¹³ Ibn Wāṣil mentions that

²⁰⁶ On a systematic comparison with their Latin equivalents, see Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), pp. 292–7.

²⁰⁷ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 42.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 43. On the Arabic translation of 'pontifex maximus', see Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 179 n. 12. Another interpretation in Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), p. 286 with n. 101.

²⁰⁹ al-Maqrizī, *al-sulūk*, ed. 'Aṭā, vol. 7, AH 843 (11 Sha'bān), p. 446. On the council of Ferrara-Florence, see Setton, *Papacy*, vol. 2 (1978), pp. 58–62; Meuthen and Märkl, *15. Jahrhundert* (2006), pp. 65–7.

²¹⁰ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'Bāshghird', pp. 469–70.

²¹¹ Ibid., vol. 2, lemma 'Rūmiya', p. 867; al-Qazwīnī, *āthār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 397; al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 7, pp. 117–18.

²¹² Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Āshūr, vol. 4, AH 626, pp. 248, 251; Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 209. Abū Ḥāmid, *tuhfa*, ed. Ferrand, p. 194, probably does not refer to the Byzantine emperor in this context, even though other parts of this passage obviously apply to Constantine: 'wa-yusammā dhālika al-malik 'indihim al-malik al-raḥīm bi-manzilat al-khalifa fi l-muslimīn wa-jamī' al-naṣārā yarjī'ūna ilā ḥukmihi wa-yuṭī'ūna qawlahu'; al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 42: 'al-qā'im 'indihim maqām al-khalifa'.

²¹³ Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Āshūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 251.

the pope had to be a monk who was replaced by another monk at his death.²¹⁴ According to al-ʿUmārī, the Christians claimed hypocritically that the pope was chaste and unmarried, did not succumb to any luxury as regards clothes, drink, and food, neither ate meat nor animal products such as milk and honey, thus being the strictest among the patriarchs and monks.²¹⁵

7.4.3. Papal Means of Exercising Power

From the eleventh century onwards, Arabic-Islamic authors began to define the pope's instruments of power within the Christian world. They recognized that his power over Christians lay in his commonly accepted right to claim obedience, to allow and forbid certain actions, and to ban individuals.²¹⁶ The consequences of the papal ban were first described by al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) in his reference to papal involvement in the marriage scandal of count Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona.²¹⁷ Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) claims that someone who failed to obey the pope was regarded as a rebel who merited exile or even death. Since the pope was able to deny access to women, clothing, and nourishment, nobody was able to defy him.²¹⁸ Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) explains that the pope's word was regarded as equal to the word of the prophets and therefore not questioned. The Franks treated those banned by the pope like outcasts.²¹⁹ Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1235) illustrates the pressure exerted by the Christian community to follow papal precepts. He claims that the English king Richard I feared marrying his sister to the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil without papal permission.²²⁰

Notwithstanding, Arabic-Islamic scholars also seem to have been aware of the limits of papal power. Although historiographers of the crusading period clearly portray the pope's role as an initiator, propagandist, mobilizer, and inner-Christian mediator, they also show that his decisions were not always respected. Ibn al-Athīr makes it plain that the crusaders of Antioch ignored the papal veto against an attack on Christian Armenia.²²¹ Ibn Wāṣil mentions the pope's role during the coronation of the emperor, but reports that Frederick II took the liberty of crowning himself²²² and of heaping the pope with insults in front of a Muslim interlocutor.²²³ Equally clear are al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352), Ibn

²¹⁴ Ibid., vol. 4, AH 626, p. 249.

²¹⁵ al-ʿUmārī, *masālik al-absār*, ed./trans. Schiaparelli, pp. 306–7 (AR), p. 312 (IT).

²¹⁶ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1527, pp. 910–11; Yāqūt, *muʿjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'Bāshghird', pp. 469–70; vol. 2, lemma 'Rūmiya', p. 867; Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 249; al-Dhahabī, *tārīkh*, ed. Tadmuri, vol. 41, AH 586, p. 58; Ibn al-Furāt, ed./trans. Lyons, vol. 1, AH 644, p. 11 (AR), vol. 2, p. 9 (EN); al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 472.

²¹⁷ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1527, pp. 910–11; cf. Aurell, *Noces* (1995), pp. 261–78.

²¹⁸ Yāqūt, *muʿjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 2, lemma 'Rūmiya', p. 867.

²¹⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 12, AH 586, p. 34 (Leiden), p. 53 (Beirut).

²²⁰ Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, pp. 303–4; Mayer, *Geschichte* (2000), p. 135.

²²¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 12, AH 623, pp. 303–4 (Leiden), p. 465 (Beirut).

²²² Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, pp. 250–1.

²²³ Ibid., vol. 4, AH 626, p. 251.

Kathīr (d. 774/1373), and Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405) in passages that describe how Frederick II dealt with the papal bloodhounds who tried to murder him.²²⁴ According to al-Dhahabī, Frederick II regarded himself and not the pope as the most powerful ruler beyond the sea.²²⁵ By stating that the pope regularly made efforts to urge the Franks to submit to an emperor who would be able to function as an arbiter among them, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) makes plain that the pope only represented one of several authorities in the inner-Christian power game.²²⁶

7.5. THE RISE OF AN INSTITUTION

Arabic-Islamic sources written between the ninth and the fifteenth century approximately cover the history of the papacy from the early beginnings of the Roman patriarchate to the council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–44). However, none of the above-mentioned scholars gives a coherent overview on the history of the papacy. The individual records on the papacy are fragmentary as is the case with most medieval records on phenomena that are separated from the respective observer by a distance defined in terms of time, space, language, religion, and, in the widest sense, of cultural heritage. If one compares Latin-Christian records on the caliphate, from the earliest references of the eighth century to its description by Guillelmus Adae in the fourteenth century, it is possible to reconstruct an equally rich and multifaceted picture, which, however, is also made up of various fragments of much more limited content.²²⁷ A reader of medieval Arabic-Islamic works of scholarship is confronted neither with a lack of information nor with a lack of curiosity for the papal office—on the contrary. The later works of Ibn Khaldūn, al-Qalqashandī, and al-Maqrīzī in particular, prove that data about the papacy was accumulated over the centuries, enabling later generations to provide a fuller definition and a brief, albeit incomplete outline of its history.

Direct encounters between the seventh and the late ninth century were practically left undocumented, for two main reasons. On the one hand, Arabic-Islamic genres of literature dealing with the non-Islamic world had not been sufficiently developed yet. On the other hand, existing relations with the papacy mainly

²²⁴ al-Dhahabī, *tārikh*, ed. Tadmuri, vol. 47, AH 644, p. 27; Ibn Kathīr, *al-bidāya*, ed. al-Turkī, vol. 14, AH 644, pp. 288–9; Ibn al-Furāt, ed./trans. Lyons, vol. 1, AH 644, p. 11 (AR), vol. 2, p. 9 (EN).

²²⁵ al-Dhahabī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Tadmuri, vol. 45, AH 625, p. 30.

²²⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 292. See Chapter 8.2.2.

²²⁷ Cf. *Continuatio Byzantia-Arabica*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 13, 17, pp. 337–8; *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), § 9, 12, pp. 337–8 et *passim*; Bernardus, *Itinerarium*, ed. Migne (PL 121), cap. 2, col. 569; *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Hagenmeyer, cap. XXI, 1, and XXI, 7, pp. 313, 321; Otto Frisingensis, *Chronica*, ed. Hofmeister (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 45), lib. VII, cap. 3, p. 312; Willelmus Tyrensis, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens (CCCM 63A), lib. 19, cap. 20–2, pp. 889–92; Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale*, ed./trans. Donnadieu, cap. VII–IX, pp. 142–6; Wilhelm von Tripolis, *Notitia de Machometo*, ed./trans. Engels (CIC Series Latina 4), cap. 13, p. 249; Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 2, a. 1193, pp. 399–401; Guillelmus Adae, *De modo Sarracenos extirpandi*, ed. Kohler (RHC doc. arm. 2), p. 535; cf. Oesterle, 'Papst' (2008), pp. 57–72; Möhring, 'Konstantinopel' (1989), p. 73 n. 75.

involved Muslim raiders not necessarily apt at producing historiographical records. The earliest records date from the ninth century, draw on data provided by eastern Christians, and focus on the late antique patriarch of Rome. From around the same time onwards, various informants situated in the border zones connecting the Latin-Christian with the Arabic-Islamic orbit—i.e. Byzantium, al-Andalus, Sicily, and Hungary, began transmitting information about the contemporary papacy that was more up to date, including fresh definitions and observations concerning the pope, his Roman environment, and his function within Latin Christendom. Latin-Christian expansionism of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries finally established the papacy as one of the leading representatives of the northern Christian world. Consequently, it was now repeatedly treated in Arabic-Islamic historiography and other genres, especially in the late Ayyubid and Mamluk Middle East, less in the Muslim West.²²⁸

Arabic-Islamic records on the papacy cannot generally be classified as polemic. The pope does not constitute a regular target of Muslim theologians and polemicists who ignore him more often than not. Muslim specialists on religious history, such as Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) and al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), do not even mention the bishop of Rome although they deal with the history of the early church in detail.²²⁹ Anti-Christian polemicists and apologists such as Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq (9th cent.) and the anonymous al-Imām al-Qurṭubī (13th cent.) equally ignore him.²³⁰ Only the Ḥanbalī theologian and jurisconsult Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) categorizes the pope among those 'going astray' (*al-dālāl*) who are capable of diabolical miracles (*khawāriq shayṭāniyya*).²³¹ In another context, he mentions the pope among those who base their authority on direct contact with God, and explains that nobody has the right to consider himself the mouthpiece of God. Whoever claimed such a thing, was a liar,²³² the pope a hypocrite (*al-munāfiq*) among others.²³³ Historiographers, in turn, mainly used polemical vocabulary when they were dealing with events of the crusading period. Abū Shāma (d. 665/1268) and al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352) cite a letter written by Saladin in 586/1190–91 who, commenting on the pope's ability to mobilize Christians against Muslims, calls him 'the damned one' (*al-mal'ūn/al-la'in*).²³⁴ Al-Dhahabī and al-'Umarī use Arabic terms related to the concept of tyranny, which also has a religious connotation, in the sense that it is opposed to 'islām', i.e. submission to God. The former defines the pope as 'the tyrant (*tāghīya*) known as the pope, may God damn him', while the latter defines him as the 'great tyrant' (*tāghūt*), who resides in Rome, a high-density area of 'venerators of the

²²⁸ Cf. Beihammer, 'Kirche' (2013), pp. 275–6.

²²⁹ Ibn Ḥazm, *al-faṣḥ*, ed. Naṣr and 'Umayra, vol. 1, pp. 109–11; vol. 2, pp. 2–77; al-Shahrastānī, *Livre des religions*, trans. Gimaret and Monnot, vol. 2, p. 627.

²³⁰ Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq, *al-radd 'alā l-tathlith*, ed./trans. Thomas; al-Imām al-Qurṭubī, *al-i'lām*, ed. Hijāzī al-Saqqā.

²³¹ Ibn Taymiyya, *al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. b. Ḥasan b. Nāṣir et al., vol. 2, p. 343. Among those 'going astray', Ibn Taymiyya also counts 'false prophets' belonging to the religious history of Islam.

²³² Ibid., vol. 3, p. 500.

²³³ Ibid., vol. 6, p. 423.

²³⁴ Abū Shāma, *al-rawḍatayn*, ed./trans. de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 4), pp. 429–30, 480; al-Dhahabī, *tārīkh*, ed. Tadmurī, vol. 41, AH 586, pp. 57–8.

cross' (*'ibād al-ṣalīb*).²³⁵ One should consider, however, that descriptive passages of neutral and explanatory character are much more frequent. All polemical statements date from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, i.e. from a period when the pope was a driving force behind the crusading movement. This leads us to an analysis of the effects of Latin-Christian expansionism on the production of Arabic-Islamic records on medieval Western Europe.

²³⁵ al-'Umārī, *masālik al-abṣār*, ed./trans. Schiaparelli, pp. 306–7 (AR), p. 312 (IT).

The Expanding Latin-Christian Sphere

Already one and a half centuries before pope Urban II preached the First Crusade, al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) regarded the Carolingian thrust into the Spanish Levant and the campaigns against Muslims in southern Italy as expressions of cooperative action against Islam by the Christian progeny of Yafeth.¹ These campaigns in the late eighth and the ninth centuries constituted the prelude to a period that can justifiably be termed an 'age' of Latin-Christian expansionism.² The Norman invasion of Sicily in the eleventh century and the series of campaigns that made up the crusades and the so-called Reconquista wrested various territories from Muslim control.

8.1. THE DOCUMENTARY EFFECTS OF EXPANSIONISM (12TH–15TH CENTURIES)

This onslaught certainly had an impact on how Muslims perceived and recorded the Latin-Christian world. Comparable to the Arabic-Islamic expansion with regard to its long-term effects on images of the 'Other',³ Latin-Christian expansionism produced a certain trauma in the Islamic world which, seen in conjunction with the Western impact since the age of colonialism, still influences Muslim perceptions of 'the West' today.⁴

8.1.1. 'Trauma' and Perplexity

Arabic-Islamic sources provide insight into contemporary reactions to Latin-Christian aggression, not only because they describe them, but also because their authors curse and denigrate the adversary who, in this context, is clearly classified as the erring religious 'Other'.

¹ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 910, p. 145 (AR), p. 343 (FR); § 922, pp. 151–2 (AR), pp. 347–8 (FR). See the translated quotations in Chapters 6.4.1. and 8.2.3.

² Cf. Bartlett, *Making* (1993); France, *Crusades* (2005); see also the multi-volume series by James Muldoon and Felipe Fernández-Armesto (eds), *The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000–1500*, 12 vols (2007–2014).

³ Sénac, *L'Occident* (2000), p. 22; Sénac, *Carolingiens* (2002), p. 23; König, 'Perceptions' (2012), pp. 18–19, on the effects of the Arabic-Islamic expansion on medieval Western European Christian images of Islam; partly mitigated by Tolan, *Saracens* (2002), p. 71, who points to the variety of images. Monocausal and polemic, Madden, 'Crusades' (2004), Part 1, forcefully propounds the hypothesis that the Arabic-Islamic expansion provoked the crusades.

⁴ Cf. Micheau, 'Croisades' (2000), pp. 52–71; Riley-Smith, 'Islam' (2008), pp. 151–67; Zouache, 'Ecrire' (2012), pp. 120–47; the Preface to Qāsim, *al-khalfiyya* (2004).

Describing a battle with Carolingian forces around Barcelona in 197/812–13, the Andalusian historiographer Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) relates that the victorious Muslims were called to prayer from above a pile of ‘heads of infidels’ (*ruʿūs al-kafara*) taken from the ‘enemies of God’ (*aʿdāʾ Allāh*).⁵ Arabic-Islamic authors writing on the crusades often combine the ethnonym ‘Franks’ with an almost ritualized curse, e.g. ‘may God curse them’ (*laʿanahum Allāh*)⁶ or ‘may God desert them’ (*khadhalahum Allāh*).⁷ Sent to the Hafsīd court of Ifriqiya in 635/1238, the Andalusian jurisconsult Ibn al-Abbār recited a highly emotional poem that employs an imagery of mosques converted to churches, of the Muslim call to prayer replaced by the sound of church bells, and of veiled women distributed as prey among Christians, with the explicit aim of arousing the compassion and enlisting the support of his North African coreligionists to repel the Christian onslaught on Valencia.⁸

Modern scholarship tends to emphasize that Muslims in the age of Latin-Christian expansionism nurtured an image of Western Europeans as aggressive barbarians.⁹ It has also brought to attention that Latin-Christian aggression went hand in hand with the rise of *jihād*-ideology in the Muslim world from al-Andalus to the Middle East.¹⁰ A superficial survey of the sources conveys the impression that Arabic-Islamic historiographers of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries focused on what Muslims suffered from the Latin-Christian agents of expansionism, but remained comparatively silent with regard to the societies and political structures in Western Europe backing the expansionist drive. On second sight, however, the extant texts betray that Latin-Christian expansionism into the Mediterranean significantly contributed to spreading information about Western European societies in the Arabic-Islamic world.

Paul Chevedden already pointed out that several Arabic-Islamic scholars were well aware of the fact that Latin-Christian alias ‘Frankish’ societies were expanding, conquering Muslim-held territory on the Iberian Peninsula and Sicily, in North Africa, and the Middle East. By applying the term *jihād* to these campaigns, these scholars clearly recognized the religious dimension of this expansionist drive.¹¹ A letter written by Saladin to one of the provinces and recorded by Abū Shāma (d. 665/1268) provides a corroborating example. Saladin contrasts Muslim inertia

⁵ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makkī, trans. Corriente and Makkī, fol. 102a, AH 197, p. 136 (AR), pp. 51–2 (ES).

⁶ E.g. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 10, AH 492, p. 193 (Leiden), p. 281 (Beirut); vol. 10, AH 495, p. 236 (Leiden), p. 343 (Beirut); vol. 11, AH 541, p. 70 (Leiden), p. 108 (Beirut); Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, p. 156.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 78, 90, 110.

⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 6, pp. 386–7; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, trans. de Slane, vol. 2, pp. 308–9. On the symbolic value of the Muslim call to prayer as opposed to the sound of church bells, cf. Tolan, ‘Racket’ (2008), pp. 147–60.

⁹ E.g. Hillenbrand, *Crusades* (2000), pp. 271–3; Leclercq, *Portraits* (2010).

¹⁰ Muslim West: Fierro, ‘Success’ (1997), pp. 155–78; Buresi, ‘Réaction’ (2003), pp. 229–41; Viguera Molins, ‘Réactions’ (2003), pp. 243–51; Middle East: Elisséef, ‘Reaction’ (1993), pp. 162–72; Ephrat and Kabha, ‘Reaction’ (2003), pp. 47–58; Leder, ‘Resurgence’ (2011), pp. 81–102; Mallett, *Reactions* (2014).

¹¹ Chevedden, ‘Interpretation’ (2006), pp. 94–100. Note that Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 1, p. 287, regards the military form of *jihād* as a concept particular to Islam.

with the Franks' religious zeal, probably with the aim of exhorting his addressees to take up arms:

In their lands, on their islands, there is no king, no leader, no prince, not a single noble who, following the example of his neighbour, would fail to come to the battlefields and to rival with his peers in regards to zeal and efforts. Sacrificing their life to defend their religion is something that does not seem much to them. They help their wretched people by sending arms of all sorts, even if it may cost their whole fortune. The only impetus to their actions and the sacrifices they impose is the defence of what they venerate and the honour of their religion.¹²

Other sources indicate that contemporary Muslims pondered the question as to how the Christian faith could be used to legitimize violent action. According to the Genoese historiographer Cafaro (d. 1166), 'Saracen' envoys to the Genoese besieging the city of Caesarea pointed to the discrepancies between Christian ideals and crusader action, i.e. violence and military aggression in the name of Christ.¹³ While Cafaro may have used this anecdote to express criticism of crusading activity,¹⁴ Arabic-Islamic sources show that some Muslims were perplexed by Latin-Christian violence against Jews and Muslims.¹⁵ The Egyptian scholar al-Qarāfi (d. 684/1285), for example, clearly failed to understand why periodical spouts of violence against Jewish citizens occurred regularly in several Western European cities,¹⁶ and comments in another passage:

Today's Christians all admit that they are incorruptible perpetrators who reject their own laws and follow their instincts. This is so in spite of the fact that theirs is a religion that endorses submission, the rejection of fighting and vengeance, the renunciation of defensive actions against infidels as well as of violent uprising. According to the gospels: "Whoever slaps your cheek, turn him the other one." To complete this, another preceding chapter says: "Love those who make you angry and pray for those who curse you", which seems sufficient [to make my point]. They say: If the Messiah – peace be upon him – had wanted us to wage war, he would not have submitted, and Paul says in his eleventh letter: "Flee from all desires and open yourself to the Lord and to the faith, to love and to submission. Avoid discussions because they engender fighting, for it is not licit for a servant to fight." This is what Paul says, but in spite of this, they are today the most dedicated people to fighting, the most eager to spill blood and to succumb to their desires. However, they agree with these two precepts, and – when they do so – they acknowledge that they transgress their laws and follow their desires.¹⁷

¹² Abū Shāma, *al-rawḍatayn*, ed./trans. de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 4), pp. 429–30: 'wa-lam yabqa malik fi bilādihim wa-jazā'irihim, wa-lā 'aẓīm wa-lā kabīr min 'uẓamā'ihim wa-akābirihim, illā jārā jārāhu fi miḍmār al-injād, wa-bārā nāzirahu fi l-jadd wa-l-ijtihād, wa-istaqallū fi ṣawn millatihim badhl al-muhaj wa-l-arwāh, wa-amaddū ajnāsihim al-anjās bi-anwā' al-silāh, ma' akfā' al-kifāh, wa-mā fa'alū mā fa'alū, wa-lā badhalū mā badhalū, illā li-mujarrad al-ḥamiyya li-muta'abbadihim, wa-l-nakhwa li-mu'taqadihim...'

¹³ Cafaro, *Annales Ianuae*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 18), a. 1101, p. 13.

¹⁴ Cafaro took part in this crusading campaign, cf. Classen, 'Res' (1999), p. 397.

¹⁵ On Muslim criticism of Christian violence since the ninth century, cf. Kedar, *Crusade* (1998), pp. 97–8.

¹⁶ al-Qarāfi, *al-ajwiba al-fākhira*, ed. al-Shahāwī, p. 26; cf. Fritsch, *Islam* (1930), p. 149.

¹⁷ al-Qarāfi, *al-ajwiba al-fākhira*, ed. al-Shahāwī, pp. 148–9: 'al-naṣārā al-yawm kulluhum mu'tarifūn bi-annahum 'uṣā junā, rāfiḍūn li-sharā'i'ihim, muttabi'ūn li-ṭabā'i'ihim, wa-dhālika anna

Among the most well-known texts on the Muslim perceptions of the crusaders are the memoirs of Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188). In a chapter dedicated to the crusaders' character, he derides their primitive medicine, their strange sexual morals, their irrational judicial system, but also acknowledges their first steps at acculturation in a new Middle Eastern environment and the occasional friendly gesture towards a Muslim ally.¹⁸

Such passages show that the Latin-Christian onslaught made contemporary Muslims reflect on the character and nature of the aggressors. From there, it was only a small step to give thought to their background, i.e. the geographical, political, and social structures supporting Latin-Christian expansionism.

8.1.2. The Rise of Knowledge about Western European Geography

Latin-Christian expansionism led to the diffusion of information about medieval Western Europe in all parts of the Islamic world bordering on the Mediterranean. Geographers of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries in Sicily, al-Andalus, the Maghreb, Ifriqiya, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq did not simply reproduce the geographic and ethnic categories used by their predecessors of earlier centuries but kept track of important geopolitical changes in the lands of the northern Christians. Even Mongol Persia produced a respectable history of the Franks in Persian that deals with events up to the early fourteenth century.¹⁹

In the ninth century, the Persian geographer Ibn Khurdādhbah described Europe (*Ūrūfa*), a geographical entity reaching down to Tangier and the frontiers of Egypt (*ilā ḥadd Miṣr*), in the following way: al-Andalus, formerly ruled by a people named 'Asbān' under the king 'Lūdhriq', bordered on the Frankish lands (*Faranja*), which extended around a 1,000 miles (*alf mil*) in diameter. In the north of al-Andalus, he located the city of Rome (*Rūmiyya*), a people called 'Burjān' as well as the lands of the Slavs (*buldān al-Ṣaqālib*). Then followed the island of Thule (*Tūliyya*) and, in another part of the encompassing ocean (*Lūqyānūs*), twelve islands called the British Isles (*jazā'ir Barāṭānya*).²⁰

This can be contrasted to the geography of al-Idrisī (d. c.560/1165), which provides a detailed overview on the various regions of Europe. Written under the auspices of the Norman court in Sicily, its geographic vision ranges from the Muslim and Christian parts of the Iberian Peninsula via the Mediterranean islands, various

madhhabahum al-istislām wa-tark al-qitāl wa-l-intiṣār, wa-'adam mudāfa'at al-kuffār wa-tark al-akhdh bi-l-tha'r, li-mā fi l-injil: man laṭamak 'alā khaddika fa-ḥawwil lahu al-ākhar. wa-qad taqaddama ḥadhā al-faṣl mustaw'iban, wa-fihi: aḥibbū mubghidikum wa-ṣallū 'alā lā'inikum wa-kafiya bi-hadhā. wa-yaqūlūna: law arāda al-masiḥ ('alayhi al-salām) al-ḥurūb lam yastaslim, wa-qad qāla Būlus fi l-risāla al-ḥādiya 'ashar: iḥrab min jamī' al-shahawāt wa-is'a li-l-rabb wa-l-imān wa-l-widd wa-l-taslim, wa-utruk al-munāza'at fa-innahā tūrith al-qitāl, wa-laysa yaḥill li-'abd an yuqātīl. wa-hadhā qawl Būlus wa-ma'a dhālika fa-hum al-yawm ashadd al-nās qitālan wa-ḥirṣan 'alā safk al-dimā', wa-ittibā' al-ahwā', wa-hum muwāfiqūn 'alā l-faṣlayn, fa-hum ḥina'idhin mu'tarifūn bi-kufrihim bi-l-sharā'i' wa-ittibā' al-ṭabā'i'.

¹⁸ Usāma b. Munqidh, *al-i'tibār*, ed. Hitti, pp. 132–41.

¹⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318), *Frankengeschichte*, trans. Jahn.

²⁰ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 90, 92–3, 155–7, 231.

locations in Italy, France, and the British Isles including Ireland, central and eastern Europe, to the countries surrounding the Baltic Sea.²¹

The geography of Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286) from al-Andalus, copied in great parts by his later Syrian colleague Abū l-Fiḍāʾ (d. 732/1331), contains ample information about the regions bordering the Mediterranean. He mentions the Iberian Peninsula—i.e. the remains of Muslim al-Andalus, Galicia with its capital at Zamora, and the cities of León and Santiago de Compostela, Portugal, Navarre, Castile, and Catalonia.²² He deals with the islands of the western Mediterranean—i.e. the Balearics, Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily,²³ and characterizes several locations in southern France—i.e. the powerful region of Toulouse, Narbonne as an important reloading point for ores and minerals from England and Ireland, as well as the rich merchants of Montpellier and Marseille.²⁴ On the Apennine Peninsula, he mentions Calabria with Naples and Salerno, Rome, Pisa, and Genoa, Lombardy with its centre in Milan, Apulia with the Muslim colony of Lucera, Venice, a city ruled by a doge (*al-dūj*) with its wooden buildings, waterways, and money market, finally the coastal towns of Hungary on the Adriatic Sea.²⁵ Ibn Saʿīd also deals with central and Western Europe, i.e. the mountains of Croatia, the lands of Germany ruled by the emperor with its unidentifiable capital 'Bayṣah',²⁶ as well as France with its royal capital in Paris, the Gulf of Brittany, and the Poitou.²⁷ In the northern seas, he locates Ireland, an important exporter of tin, and curiously distinguishes between the island of Britain with its capital in Bristol, and the island of England with its capital in London and many cities.²⁸ A passage is dedicated to economic exchange between the rulers of England and France, the former paying precious metals in exchange for wine from the latter.²⁹ In the cold northern regions, he makes note of several islands inhabited by swimming and fish-eating white bears with soft fur as well as precious gyrfalcons that are imported by the sultan of Egypt for a very high price.³⁰ Although surplus information thins out the further one goes north, Ibn Saʿīd mentions the most important Western and central European regions relevant to the medieval Mediterranean.

8.1.3. An Updated Political Map of Western Europe

Less extensive with regard to geographical data but with more details on the political landscape of Western Europe are two works written by members of the Mamlūk chancery, al-ʿUmārī (d. 749/1349) and al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418).

Al-ʿUmārī's *masālik al-abṣār* contains a synoptic survey of 'the most well-known land-based realms belonging to the venerated of the cross' that draws on the testimony

²¹ al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. Bombaci et al., fasc. V–VIII (the fourth to the seventh climate), pp. 523–963, trans. Jaubert, vol. 2, pp. 1–430; cf. the Introduction to al-Idrīsī, *Géographie*, trans. Jaubert and Nef.

²² Ibn Saʿīd, *al-jughhrāfiyā*, ed. al-ʿArabī, pp. 166–7, 178, 180–1, 192.

²³ Ibid., pp. 168–9, 182.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 181–2.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 168–9, 182–3, 193–4.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 183, 193–4, 200.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 181, 192–3.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 181, 199–200. See Chapter 8.2.1.

²⁹ Ibn Saʿīd, *al-jughhrāfiyā*, ed. al-ʿArabī, p. 200.

³⁰ Ibid.

of a Genoese dependant (*aḥad mamālik*) to the Mamluk *amīr* Bahādūr al-Muʿizzī.³¹ Al-ʿUmarī portrays the king of France (*al-raydafarans*) and the emperor (*al-anbarūr*), the ruler of the Germans (*ṣāhib mulk al-Lamān*), as the two greatest Frankish rulers who receive homage from all minor polities in their periphery.³² These included Alfonso (*al-Adhfūnsh*), the ruler of Christian al-Andalus,³³ Robert, the ruler of the Provence (*malik Abrans wa-huwa al-Rayrubart*),³⁴ and the Catalans (*al-Katirān*, *al-Katilān*).³⁵ Although the Burgundians' (*al-Burghuniyyūn*) territory lay within the German realm, they were not governed by the emperor.³⁶ The Venetians (*al-Banādiqa* or *Finisin*), the Pisans (*al-Bizān*), the Tuscans (*al-Dushqān*), the Anconitani (*Ankūnitin*), the Florentines (*Afarantin*), and the Genoese (*ahl Janawa*), in turn, lacked a king and were governed by communal authority, a concept explained by al-ʿUmarī and transcribed as 'ḥukm kumūn'.³⁷ The Lombards (*al-Lanbard*), divided into two parties with the cities of Monferato and Ferrara at the respective centre, were governed by a 'marquis' (*markiz*), a Byzantine (*Rūmī*) official nominated by the rulers of Constantinople.³⁸ Finally, al-ʿUmarī also mentions the inhabitants of Cyprus (*Sibiriyya*), Sicily (*Siqilliyya*), and Mallorca (*Mayūrqa*)³⁹ as well as the Franks who, before their expulsion, inhabited the Syrian Levant.⁴⁰

Al-ʿUmarī's report largely reproduces the perspective of his Genoese source of information. Comparatively up to date as regards the geopolitical setting of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the secretarial manual of al-Qalqashandī proves, however, that the chanceries of Mamluk Egypt and Syria were not dependent on one single informant. Since al-Qalqashandī refers to the customs paid by 'Frankish traders' (*tujjār al-Faranj*) when they entered an Egyptian harbour,⁴¹ he may have received information through such channels. However, the vast bulk of data derives from older Arabic-Islamic historiography⁴² while most geo- and ethnographical descriptions are based on the geographical standard works of his time.⁴³ In addition, the legacy of several generations of Mamluk chancery secretaries furnishes evidence for the protocol of communication with European powers. Al-Qalqashandī regularly cites two older manuals—the *tathqif al-taʿrif* by Ibn Nāzir al-Jaysh (fl. 762–78/1361–76)⁴⁴ and the *al-taʿrif bi-l-muṣtalah al-sharif* by al-ʿUmarī.⁴⁵ He also made use of a compilation of treaties collected by Muḥammad

³¹ Amari (al-ʿUmarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, pp. 3–4) may err in identifying Bahādūr al-Muʿizzī with the Ilkhanid ruler Abū Saʿīd Bahādūr Khān. Tsugitaka, 'Proposers' (1998), pp. 89, 92, mentions a Mamluk *amīr* in Egypt carrying the same name.

³² al-ʿUmarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, pp. 1–6 (AR); see Chapter 6.5.1.

³³ al-ʿUmarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, pp. 1, 3.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 6.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 8–9.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 11

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 11–13.

⁴¹ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 3, p. 463; vol. 6, p. 83.

⁴² Ibid., vol. 1, p. 370 (Ibn Khaldūn); vol. 5, p. 237 (al-Rāzī); vol. 5, pp. 238–41, 381–2, 406 (*kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*).

⁴³ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 370, 405 (al-Idrīsī); vol. 5, pp. 227, 370, 374, 404, 414; vol. 8, p. 48 (Ibn Saʿīd); vol. 5, pp. 228, 233, 370, 373, 403–8, 410, 414–15 (Abū l-Fidāʾ); vol. 5, p. 371; vol. 6, p. 84; vol. 13, p. 276 (al-Himyarī).

⁴⁴ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 176, 178–80; vol. 8, pp. 34, 43; cf. Bosworth, 'Ibn Nāzir al-Djaysh' (2004), p. 395.

⁴⁵ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 3, p. 322; vol. 6, p. 176; vol. 8, p. 36.

b. al-Mukarram (d. 711/1312?), one of sultan Qalāwūn's (ruled 678–89/1279–90) scribes, under the title *tadhkirat al-labīb wa-nuzhat al-adīb*.⁴⁶ Commenting on the official correspondence with the pope, he even claims to have gone through the files to look for specimens of letters and treaties.⁴⁷ Since he is able to describe the physical appearance of letters that reached Egypt from Christian polities on the Iberian Peninsula,⁴⁸ and to explain the linguistic problems connected with the drafting of treaties between Frankish and Muslim rulers,⁴⁹ he must have occasionally handled such documents himself.

As opposed to al-'Umarī, al-Qalqashandī does not provide a single and comprehensive 'snap-shot' of contemporary Western Europe. This is due to the work's character as an organized compilation. Al-Qalqashandī was clearly able to assign certain polities, e.g. the empire of Alexander⁵⁰ or the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo,⁵¹ to the realm of history. However, as soon as he wrote about quasi-contemporary Western Europe, he threw together various snippets of information that belong to different chronological strata in that they reproduce that which various authors of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries wrote on a specific subject. Not surprisingly, al-Qalqashandī occasionally had problems reconciling the extant evidence.⁵² Since these snippets are distributed all over his manual, it seems as if he had no real understanding of the history and political landscape of Western Europe. But although the compilation can hardly be called systematic from a historiographical point of view, its author certainly had an impression, albeit vague and slightly ahistorical, of political constellations north of the Mediterranean.

Al-Qalqashandī focused on polities that were in direct and regular contact with the Islamic world. The far north completely escaped his attention, while England, Germany, and even France only appear in connection with their crusading activities. His geographical description of England (*jazīrat al-Ankalīra*) is copied from the work of Ibn Sa'īd with its reference to the activities of Richard the Lionheart.⁵³ 'Germany' (*mamlakat al-Almān*) is only mentioned in connection with its participation in the third crusade during the reign of Saladin.⁵⁴ Even the French people (*al-Afrans*) and their king (*al-Faransīs, rayd Ifrans*) only feature in a Mediterranean context, e.g., in connection with the marriage of the king's daughter to the Byzantine emperor at the end of the sixth/twelfth century, his involvement in the conquest of Constantinople, his Egyptian campaign, his capture in Damietta, and his offer to buy Jerusalem for a certain price per year.⁵⁵

Powers that interacted regularly with the Islamic world such as the crusaders, receive more attention.⁵⁶ Proffering substantial passages on the Christian powers

⁴⁶ Ibid., vol. 14, p. 70. Muḥammad b. Mukarram, author of the famous Arabic dictionary *lisān al-'Arab*, may be identical with this compiler, cf. Fück, 'Ibn Manẓūr' (1971), p. 864.

⁴⁷ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 43.

⁴⁸ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 123.

⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. 14, pp. 70–1; cf. Wansbrough, *Lingua* (1996), pp. 78–9.

⁵⁰ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 371; vol. 3, pp. 318–19; vol. 4, p. 161.

⁵¹ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 227, 238–41. ⁵² See Chapter 3.3.3.

⁵³ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 375.

⁵⁴ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 403.

⁵⁵ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 401, 412–13, 485; vol. 8, pp. 36, 38.

⁵⁶ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 370; vol. 6, p. 93; vol. 7, pp. 115, 118; vol. 14, pp. 31, 39, 42, 51.

of the Iberian Peninsula,⁵⁷ al-Qalqashandī was also aware that, in his lifetime, the petty kingdom of Granada with its possessions in the east of al-Andalus represented the only remaining Islamic polity on the Iberian Peninsula.⁵⁸

Leaving aside the special case of Rome,⁵⁹ al-Qalqashandī's obsession with titles⁶⁰ also resulted in a superficial understanding of the Apennine Peninsula's different systems of government and political orientations. Although he may not have grasped the constitutional implications inherent in the official titles of Genoese rulers, he was aware that power was distributed among different agents—including the 'podestà' (*al-būdishtā*), the 'capitano' (*al-kabīṭān*), and the 'elders' (*al-mashāyikh*)—in a polity in which 'every house is a fortress'.⁶¹ These 'rulers in Genoa' (*al-ḥukkām bi-Janawa*) are also called 'communitarians' (*al-kumunūn*).⁶² His citation of a letter directed to the 'responsible of the Genoese fleets in Cyprus' (*muqaddam al-shawānī al-janawīyya bi-Qubrus*) proves that Genoese activities in the eastern Mediterranean basin had not escaped his attention.⁶³

Sicily and Apulia (*mamlakat Būliya*), in turn, were subject to monarchical rule. Sicily, formerly ruled by a Frankish king [Roger II] who had also controlled great parts of the mainland in the times of the Fatimid ruler al-Ḥāfiẓ (ruled 525–44/1130–49),⁶⁴ had come under the sway of the Catalans.⁶⁵ Al-Qalqashandī has recourse to Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), when he claims that Apulia was held by Charles of Anjou (*al-Raydishār*).⁶⁶ He refers to Joan (*Juwāna*), the female ruler of Naples (*sāhibat Nābull Bābil*) in connection with a letter written in 773/1372.⁶⁷ He does not comment on the government system of Calabria (*bilād Qalafriya*),⁶⁸ but mentions that the lands of the Pisans (*bilād Bayāzina*) had no king and were subordinate to the papacy,⁶⁹ that Tuscany (*bilād al-Tusqān*) was ruled by a group of nobles (*akābir*),⁷⁰ and that a marquis appointed by Constantinople held sway over the realm of the Lombards (*mamlakat al-Lunbardiyya*).⁷¹ He also acknowledges that the ruler of Montferrat (*malik Mūnfrād*), called 'beauty of the two groups of Romans and Franks'⁷² and addressed as 'son of the ruler of Constantinople' (*ibn malik Iṣṭānbūl*) in a letter from 733/1333, maintained close connections with Constantinople.⁷³

⁵⁷ See Chapter 8.3.4.

⁵⁸ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 33.

⁵⁹ Mentioned in *ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 406–8, 411, 472; vol. 6, pp. 88–9, 91, 93–4, 173, 179, 180 (papal legate); vol. 8, p. 28 (Georgian ruler as adept of the pope), pp. 42–3 (titles in letters); vol. 13, p. 274 (origins of the papal title), pp. 276–7 (pope and Melkites). See Chapter 7.4.1. and 7.4.2.

⁶⁰ Cf. Kuhnt, *Titel* (1951).

⁶¹ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 47: 'kull dār bi-manzilāt qal'a'.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 46. On Genoa in this period, see Leo, *Geschichte* (1830), vol. 4, pp. 437–43. On the 'podestà', see Epstein, *Genoa* (1996), p. 88. More on Genoa in Chapter 8.2.3.

⁶³ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 47.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 458.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 270, 373.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 410.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 179; vol. 8, p. 53.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 410.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 411.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 411.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 415.

⁷² *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 178: 'jamāl al-tā'ifayn al-rūmiyya wa-l-faranjiyya'.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 52. This description applies to Theodore I Palaiologos, Marquess of Montferrat (ruled 1306–38), son of emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos and Yolande of Montferrat. Cf. Pistarino, 'Teodoro' (2005), pp. 307–12.

Al-Qalqashandī also dedicated attention to Venice, a city built on water and populated by a 'Frankish people',⁷⁴ whose currency, a kind of *dīnār* called 'dūkāt', had to be counted among the most powerful 'Frankish' currencies.⁷⁵ He was aware that its ruler, the doge, had participated in the conquest of Constantinople⁷⁶ and, in a letter addressed to the Mamluk sultan on 16 Safar 814/9 June 1411, made a diplomatic effort to secure the rights of Venetian traders in Egypt.⁷⁷ However, existing variations of the doge's titles seem to have puzzled al-Qalqashandī. They range from the most simple form 'doge of Venice' (*dūk al-Bunduqīyya*)⁷⁸ to 'doge of Venice and [possibly] Dalmatia' (*dūk al-Bunduqīyya wa-l-Mānsīyya*),⁷⁹ and even to the doge of a realm that included Ragusa and the population of Constantinople (*dūk al-Banādiqa, wa-Diyāriqa, wa-l-Rūsā wa-l-İştanbūliyya*).⁸⁰ Rather than drawing a connection between these titles and the republic's changing political status, al-Qalqashandī only pointed to the necessity of verifying which title was to be used in correspondence.⁸¹

Al-Qalqashandī often recorded outdated facts and failed to arrange them in chronological order. However, his work mentions the conquest of Toledo at the hands of Alfonso VI in 1085,⁸² the Normans' campaigns against the Byzantine Empire,⁸³ the crusaders' presence in Syria,⁸⁴ the fall of Constantinople in 1204⁸⁵ and the succeeding impairment of the Byzantine Empire,⁸⁶ links between Georgia and the papacy,⁸⁷ the reduction of Muslim rule in al-Andalus to Granada,⁸⁸ etc. In consequence, it is difficult to maintain that this Mamluk official was ignorant of Western European affairs.

8.2. NEW PLAYERS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN SCENE (9TH–15TH CENTURIES)

Comparing earlier works of Arabic-Islamic geography and historiography with the realities of their lifetime, Arabic-Islamic scholars of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries must have noticed that the regions north of the Mediterranean had undergone fundamental changes. Since the eleventh century, new players had entered the scene and considerably remodelled the Mediterranean landscape. In consequence, they also began to feature in Arabic-Islamic scholarly literature.

⁷⁴ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 404.

⁷⁵ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 404.

⁷⁶ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 401.

⁷⁷ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 123.

⁷⁸ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 485; vol. 6, pp. 178–9.

⁷⁹ Ibid., vol. 6, p. 178; vol. 8, p. 47. On this title see Chapin Lane, *Venice* (1973), p. 26; Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice* (2002), p. 60.

⁸⁰ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, pp. 47–8.

⁸¹ Ibid. See Chapter 3.4.3.

⁸² al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 228.

⁸³ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 408.

⁸⁴ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 174–80.

⁸⁵ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 401–2, 408; vol. 8, p. 43.

⁸⁶ Ibid., vol. 6, p. 92: 'qad kānat al-Qusṭanṭīniyya qabla ghalabat al-Faranj wa-quwwat shawkati-him mulkan 'uzuman'.

⁸⁷ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 28.

⁸⁸ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 33: 'wa-lam yabqa minhā bi-yad al-muslimīn illā Gharnāṭa wa-mā ma'ahā min sharq al-Andalus'.

8.2.1. From the British Isles to England

A chronological analysis of references to the British Isles provides a clear-cut case study elucidating how Latin-Christian expansionism provided Arabic-Islamic scholars with new data on a specific Western European region.

Ibn Khurdādhbah (d. 300/912) mentioned twelve islands in 'the so-called surrounding ocean' (*al-baḥr al-musammā bi-l-muḥīṭ*) called 'the islands of Britain' (*jazā'ir Barāṭānya*) but remained silent on its inhabitants.⁸⁹ Ptolemaic geography only seems to have provided him with purely geographic data on this region.⁹⁰ Ibn Rustah (d. after 300/913) had more, but faulty and anachronistic data at his disposal. He believed that Britain was a city (*madīnat Barṭīnya*) at the outer fringes of the Byzantine Empire (*wa-hum ākhir bilād al-Rūm*). Travellers wishing to enter the city were allegedly stopped by an idol that lulled them to sleep until the city's inhabitants woke them up. His assertion that seven kings ruled the city probably represents a faint echo of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy of the sixth to ninth centuries.⁹¹ However, this information was already a century old when Ibn Rustah recorded it, probably drawing on the report of a certain Hārūn b. Yaḥyā who had spent some time in Byzantine captivity.⁹² Based on Ptolemaic geography and shreds of haphazardly transmitted information, both texts show that Middle Eastern scholars of the ninth and tenth centuries lacked comprehensive and recent data on the British Isles. Douglas Morton Dunlop has shown that other Arabic-Islamic texts from the Middle East and the Muslim West of the ninth to eleventh centuries contain even less data or are silent on the British Isles.⁹³

Al-Idrīsī's (d. c.560/1165) detailed description of the British Isles corroborates that Latin-Christian expansionism had opened up new channels of transmission. The Norman conquest of Sicily and North Africa resulted in a temporary atmosphere of transcultural exchange in Sicily.⁹⁴ When Roger II employed al-Idrīsī at the Norman court, the latter received access to new and hitherto unavailable data on the north of the European continent.⁹⁵ In al-Idrīsī's work, the British Isles are now called 'England' (*Inkarṭāra*, *Inqalṭāra*), 'Scotland' (*jazīrat Isqūsiya*), and 'Ireland' (*Irlānda*). The work lists numerous toponyms, distances, as well as climatic aspects, but is rather dry and technical.⁹⁶ The definition of Hastings (*Hastīnksh*), for example, 'a considerable town, very populated with grand buildings, markets, artisans and rich merchants', repeats a standard set of characteristics also used in

⁸⁹ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 231.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 3, claims to have translated Ptolemy.

⁹¹ Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥīya*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 85, 130.

⁹² Izzedin, 'Hārūn b. Yaḥyā' (1971), p. 232. ⁹³ Dunlop, 'Isles' (1957), pp. 11–28.

⁹⁴ See Metcalfe, *Muslims* (2009), pp. 88–180, for an overview; Houben, 'Möglichkeiten' (1994), pp. 159–98, on the successive process of 'Latinization'.

⁹⁵ On his employment, see Houben, *Roger II* (2002), pp. 102–7, on al-Idrīsī's sources, see Ducène, 'Poland' (2008), p. 9; Ducène, 'Sources' (2012), pp. 128–30.

⁹⁶ al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. Bombaci et al., fasc. VIII, pp. 859, 869, 944–8, trans. Jaubert, vol. 2, pp. 357, 364, 423–6.

connection with other toponyms and ignores the town's significance for the Norman conquest of England in 1066.⁹⁷

Like al-Idrisī, Arabic-Islamic scholars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries used a toponym phonetically similar to the French term 'Angleterre', i.e. 'Inkaltīra' for England, 'al-Ankalthir' for the English, and 'al-Inkitār' for the English king. Their works contain data on political and economic phenomena that was obviously acquired in connection with the English involvement in the third crusade and Mediterranean trade. Saladin's biographer, Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1235), for example, introduces the English king in a chapter entitled 'News on the King of the English' (*khabar malik al-Inkitār*), which deals with the arrival of Richard the Lionheart in Cyprus. Richard is characterized as a most valiant king, known for his great battles and his aptitude for waging war.⁹⁸ The Andalusian geographer Ibn Sa'īd (d. 685/1286), in turn, claims that the 'island of England' (*jazīrat Inkaltīra*) was governed by a ruler 'who is also mentioned in the history of Saladin on the battles for Acre',⁹⁹ while al-Qalqashandī provides details on the treaties concluded between this king and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil in 588/1192.¹⁰⁰ The lack of Arabic-Islamic evidence on earlier English rulers suggests that the English king only became a subject of interest as soon as he interfered in eastern Mediterranean affairs.

Both Ibn Shaddād and Ibn Sa'īd mention that the English king was renowned, powerful, and wealthy, but subordinate to the French king (*al-Faransīs*) in rank.¹⁰¹ According to Ibn Sa'īd, he was even obliged to serve food to the French king during festive occasions, thus re-enacting an inherited custom.¹⁰² Rather difficult to interpret is Ibn Sa'īd's distinction between two British kingdoms—the 'island of Britain' (*jazīrat Baritānya*), ruled by a single ruler (*malik munfarid*) from the capital Bristol (*qā'idatuhu madīnat Bristul*) on the one hand, the 'island of England' (*jazīrat Inkaltīra*), ruled by the aforementioned English king (*al-Inkitār*) from the capital London (*qā'idatuhu madīnat Lundras*) on the other hand. According to Ibn Sa'īd, both rulers waged war against each other over a small but populated island called 'Ballah'.¹⁰³

Ibn Sa'īd provides additional data on the British Isles' economic role for Mediterranean trade. He asserts that England was rich in ore, including gold, silver,

⁹⁷ al-Idrisī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. Bombaci et al., fasc. VIII, pp. 880, 945: 'madina muqaddarat al-kibar kathīrat al-bashar ʿāmira jalīla dhāt aswāq wa-fa'la wa-tujjār mayāsir', trans. Jaubert, vol. 2, pp. 374, 424.

⁹⁸ Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, p. 238.

⁹⁹ Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrāfiyā*, ed. al-ʿArabī, p. 199: 'wa-fi sharqī [sic] hādhihi al-jazīra, jazīrat Inkaltīra, wa-ṣāhibuhā al-Inkitār al-madhkūr fi tārikh Ṣalāh al-Dīn fi ḥurūb 'Akkā...'.
¹⁰⁰ al-Qalqashandī, *subh al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 375.

¹⁰¹ Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, p. 238: 'wa-huwa dūn al-Faransīs 'indahum fi l-mulk wa-l-martaba, wa-lākinahu akthar mālan minhu, wa-ashhar fi l-ḥarb wa-l-shajā'a'.
¹⁰² Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrāfiyā*, ed. al-ʿArabī, p. 200: 'wa-ma'a ghinā' al-Inkitār wa-wasā' mamlakatihi, fa-innahu yuqīrr bi-l-salṭana li-l-Faransīs, wa-idhā kāna mujtama' ḥafl, khadamahu bi-an yaḥuṭṭ quddāmahu zabadiyyat ṭa'ām, [wa-hiya] 'āda mutawāratha'.
¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 181, 199–200. Phonetically, the toponym 'Ballah' evokes the Isles of Arran or Barra, situated west and northwest of the Scottish coast. Disputes about the Isle of Man since the end of the twelfth century make this option more plausible, cf. Beuermann, 'Attack' (2007), pp. 23–50.

copper, and tin, and that these metals served to buy wine in France, thus enriching the French king.¹⁰⁴ From England and Ireland, tin and copper were transported first via the Garonne, then on the land route to Narbonne and from there to Alexandria.¹⁰⁵ It is possible that the soft dyed English cloth mentioned by the geographer also reached the Mediterranean via this route.¹⁰⁶

Eventually, a faint reflection of the Norman conquest of England in 1066 found its way into an Arabic-Islamic work of scholarship. Writing on the Viking attacks on ninth-century al-Andalus, the Andalusian historiographer Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375) commented that the Orientals equated the Vikings (*al-Majūs*) with 'the English' (*al-Ankalthīr*).¹⁰⁷ Although the passage fails to impart concrete knowledge about the Battle of Hastings and its consequences, it proves that some Arabic-Islamic scholars were aware of a connection between the current rulers of England and the notorious seaborne groups who had terrorized al-Andalus in earlier centuries.

Latin-Christian expansionism in its various facets had made all this new data available. The Norman conquest of Sicily produced an increasingly Latinized environment which, during a limited period of multicultural cohabitation and transcultural exchange, enabled Arabic-Islamic scholars such as al-Idrīsī to acquire fresh information about the north. The third crusade introduced the English king to the Mediterranean and incited Arabic-Islamic scholars to assess his status in the Latin-Christian world. Finally, the import of raw materials and finished products from the British Isles spread information about the economic resources of this northern region.

8.2.2. From Slavic Territory to the Realm of the Germans

Arabic-Islamic documentation of central Europe, never a border region to the Islamic world, began rather late. Unlike emerging France, medieval central Europe did not carry a stable name. It figured as 'Germania' in the writings of Caesar and Tacitus, as 'regnum Francorum' in the Saxon History of Widukind, as 'regnum Teutonicorum' in the correspondence of pope Gregory VII, and as '(sacrum) Romanum imperium' in the chancery records of the Staufen dynasty.¹⁰⁸ Faced with the difficulty of finding out who actually populated this region, Arabic-Islamic scholars produced rather muddled definitions of this area up to the twelfth century.

In the late ninth century, Ibn Khurdādhbah situated Franks (*al-Ifranjā*) in the western, Slavs (*al-Ṣaqālība*) in the eastern part of Europe. Although his probable

¹⁰⁴ Ibn Saʿīd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-ʿArabī, p. 200.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 181: 'wa-l-nahr fī janūbiḥā [i.e. the Garonne] taṣʿad minhu al-marākīb fī l-baḥr al-muḥīṭ bi-l-qazdīr wa-l-naḥās alladhān yujlabān min jazīrat Inkaltira wa-jazīrat Irlanda, wa-yuḥmalān 'alā l-zahr ilā Narbūna, wa-minḥā yuḥmalān fī marākīb ilā l-Iskandariyya'; ibid., p. 200; see a shorter version in Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 188.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Saʿīd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-ʿArabī, p. 200.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 20. See the end of Chapter 6.3.2.

¹⁰⁸ Ehlers, *Entstehung* (2010), pp. 23, 38, 40, 48.

source of information, a group of Jews involved in long-distance trade, frequented the court of the Frankish king, they failed to inform Ibn Khurdādhbah of the fact that, more often than not, the Frankish realm consisted of several kingdoms.¹⁰⁹

Texts of the tenth century tend to characterize central Europe as Slavic, Roman, or Frankish. In an ethnographic chapter on the Slavs, al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) mentions a people called 'Nāmjin' that was ruled by a man named 'Gharānd'. Charles Pellat supposed with good reasons that the term 'Namjin' represents the Arabic transcription of an early Slavic ethnonym for the eastern Franks and identified the ruler in question with Conrad I (ruled 911–18).¹¹⁰ In line with al-Mas'ūdī, later works based on the travel account of the Andalusian Jew Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī also allocate the eastern Frankish kingdom of the early tenth century to the Slavic sphere. The Andalusian geographer al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) defines the Rhine as the frontier between Franks and Slavs.¹¹¹ The Persian cosmographer al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283) defines the towns Fulda and Mainz as 'Frankish', the towns Soest and Paderborn as 'Slavic'.¹¹²

In other passages written by al-Mas'ūdī and al-Bakrī, the eastern Frankish kingdom has a distinct Roman character. In his *kitāb al-tanbih*, al-Mas'ūdī claimed that Rome 'is and has always been the capital of the realm of great Francia', thus providing a faint and distorted Arabic-Islamic echo of the concept of *translatio imperii* from the Roman Empire to the Franks. In this context, al-Mas'ūdī mentions Slavs, Bulgars, and a people called 'Armānjas', arbitrarily identified by Bernard Carra de Vaux as 'Germains', among the peoples belonging to this polity.¹¹³ Al-Mas'ūdī was not the only scholar to draw a connection between Rome and central Europe. Having recourse to Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb, al-Bakrī mentions a Roman/Byzantine ruler (*malik al-Rūm*) called Otto (*Hūtuḥ*), who received a Bulgarian delegation in Magdeburg and allegedly spoke personally with Ibrāhīm about a city exclusively populated by females. Unfortunately, al-Bakrī fails to explain why a Roman/Byzantine ruler, never mentioned in his chapter on Roman and Byzantine emperors, should have reigned in the distant north. Apparently, he blindly adopted an ethnonym without understanding how Rome was connected to the Ottonian sphere.¹¹⁴

This should not imply that Muslim elites were completely ignorant about central Europe. Ibn al-Nadīm's reference to the script of 'Lombards and Saxons', 'a people between Rome and the Franks', may be a faint reflection of the Ottonian 'regnum Italiae'.¹¹⁵ *The Life of John of Gorze* suggests that the Umayyads of

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 153–4.

¹¹⁰ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 906, p. 142 (AR); p. 341 (FR); cf. Clément, 'Nommer' (2009), p. 89 n. 15.

¹¹¹ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 354, p. 240.

¹¹² al-Qazwīnī, *athār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 387, 409, 413, 415–16.

¹¹³ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 181–2, trans. Carra de Vaux, p. 246; see Chapters 4.2.1. and 6.4.1.

¹¹⁴ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 550, p. 334 § 552, p. 335; cf. al-Qazwīnī, *athār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 373, with a reference to a 'malik al-Rūm' that may also apply to Otto I. See Chapter 3.4.2.

¹¹⁵ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 16: 'qalam Lunkubardah wa-l-Sāsakisuh: hā'ulā' umma bayna Rūmiyya wa-l-Ifranja'.

al-Andalus were quite knowledgeable about events in the Ottonian realm. It dedicates some space to the diplomatic exchange between Otto I and 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, describing John's diplomatic mission to the caliphal court near Córdoba in 953–56.¹¹⁶ Staging a conversation between John and the caliph, the *Life* purports that 'Abd al-Raḥmān was well aware not only of the Hungarian menace threatening the Ottonian realm, but also of internal dissent between Otto I and his son.¹¹⁷ This does not seem improbable. According to Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076), 'Abd al-Raḥmān had received intelligence about the Ottonian realm in 330/942, when marauding Hungarians were caught in the Upper Marches of al-Andalus. They informed the Muslim authorities that they had come from a region north of Rome (*Rūma*) and east of the Saxons (*al-Shākhshunsh*) and Franks (*al-Ifranja*). They had reached al-Andalus via Lombardy (*Lunbardiyya*) and the Frankish realm (*balad al-Ifranja*), 'after having overpowered everyone who crossed their path'.¹¹⁸

Since the passages on the years 341–44/953–56 in Ibn Ḥayyān's history of al-Andalus are lost, only later Arabic-Islamic scholars refer to this diplomatic exchange between Otto I and 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. Ibn 'Idhārī (d. after 712/1312–13), who dates the envoys' arrival to the year 342/953, claims that they had been sent by 'Otto, the king of the Slavs' (*Hūnū malik al-Ṣaqālība*).¹¹⁹ More explicit, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) [IKh] and al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632) [M] write in an almost identical passage:

Then arrived the envoys of the rulers of the Slavs, at that time Otto (*Hūtū*), another one from the ruler of the Germans (*malik al-Lamān*), another one from the ruler of the Franks behind the West (*al-Faranja warā' al-Maghrib* [IKh]) / behind the Pyrenees (*al-Faranja warā' al-bart* [M]), at that time *Afūh* [IKh] / *Awqah* [M], as well as another ruler of the Franks in the east, at that time *Kalda*. The sultan celebrated their arrival and sent the bishop *Rif* with the Slavic envoys back to their ruler Otto (*Hūtū*) from where they returned two years later.¹²⁰

Their ethno-political terminology suggests that Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqqarī had difficulties to distinguish the various early medieval Frankish realms from one another. Their definition of Otto as 'Slavic' may imply that they reproduced the terminology also used by their tenth-century sources. This cannot definitely be proved: Ibn 'Idhārī, Ibn Khaldūn, and al-Maqqarī frequently cite Aḥmad al-Rāzī

¹¹⁶ On the embassy and its context, see Walther, 'Dialog' (1985), pp. 21–44.

¹¹⁷ Iohannis abbas, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Pertz (MGH SS in folio 4), § 136, pp. 376–7, trans. Parisse, p. 161.

¹¹⁸ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis* V, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 324–25, pp. 481–2, 482: 'ba'da qahrihim bi-man marrū bihi minhum'; cf. Schamiloglu, 'Name' (1984), p. 216. See Chapter 6.2.1.

¹¹⁹ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 2, p. 218: 'wa-fi sanat 342 qadamat rusul Hūnū malik al-Ṣaqālība 'alā l-Nāṣir'.

¹²⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 4, p. 183: 'thumma jā'a rusul malik al-Ṣaqālība wa-huwa yawma'idhin Hūtū, wa-ākhar min malik al-Lamān, wa-ākhar min malik al-Faranja warā' al-Maghrib, wa-huwa yawma'idhin Afūh wa-ākhar min malik al-Faranja bi-qāṣiyyat al-mashriq, wa-huwa yawma'idhin Kalda. wa-iḥtafala al-sultān li-quḍūmihim wa-ba'atha ma'a rusul al-Ṣaqālība Rifan al-usqf ilā malikihim Hūtū wa-raja'ū ba'da sanatayn.' Except for the transformations of 'warā' al-Maghrib' to 'warā' al-bart' as well as the transformation of the name 'Afūh' to 'Awqah', this passage is reproduced identically by al-Maqqarī, *naḥḥ al-ṭib*, ed. 'Abbās, vol. 1, p. 365.

(d. 344/955) and his son ʿĪsā, historiographers active in the direct environment of the caliphal court of tenth-century al-Andalus who must have figured as the primary source of information on this diplomatic exchange. Ibn Ḥayyān, however, who also bases much of what he says on Aḥmad al-Rāzī and his son ʿĪsā, mentions another embassy sent by a Frankish king called Otto (*Hūtū, malik al-Ifranġ*) for the year 363/974. If we could clearly identify this 'Hūtū' with Otto I (d. 973) or Otto II, Ibn Ḥayyān's text would prove that the Ottonian realm was occasionally also regarded as Frankish by Andalusian historiographers.¹²¹ However, this interpretation is refuted by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAlī al-Hajjī who believes that 'Hūtū' stands for the Western Frankish king Hugh Capet.¹²²

Ibn Khaldūn's and al-Maqqarī's passage on the Ottonian embassy of 953 also contains the term 'al-Lamān', an ethnonym phonetically similar to the French 'Allemands'. It is conspicuous that this term is not assigned to Otto I, but to the only ruler in the passage who does not carry a name. Two arguments point in the direction that the term 'al-Lamān' is anachronistic in this context. Latin sources from the tenth century do not yet use an equivalent term for the eastern Frankish realm.¹²³ Moreover, the term 'al-Lamān' (or one of its variants) does not feature in Arabic-Islamic sources of the tenth century and is frequently used only from the twelfth century onwards, as will be shown shortly. Thus, the term seems to have been introduced into the historical narrative in retrospect and in view of new knowledge about a region hitherto defined as Slavic or Frankish. This would explain why Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqqarī failed to understand that another 'German' ruler could not have existed beside the 'Slavic' king Otto. Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqqarī acknowledged the existence of a 'German' sphere in light of knowledge acquired after the lifetime of Otto I, i.e. after the late tenth century.

The Andalusian scholar Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) is among the earliest Arabic-Islamic scholars who used a variation of the term 'al-Lamān'. In his history of scientific achievements, he asserts that the great city of Rome is situated in 'the German lands' (*bilād a[l]māniyya*).¹²⁴ It is not surprising that the term should have first been used in the Muslim West. Before the crusades, 'German' alias Eastern Frankish rulers seldom meddled with Middle Eastern Muslims, but were very active on the Italian and Burgundian front, where contact with 'Saracens' was possible.¹²⁵ Arabic-Islamic evidence is provided by the Andalusian historiographer Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375) who addresses the fate of the petty kingdom (*ṭāʾifa*) of Denia in the early eleventh century. Around 1015–16, its ruler Mujāhid, also mentioned by the Saxon chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg (d. 1018) as having been involved in diplomatic exchange with pope Benedict VIII,¹²⁶ was routed in

¹²¹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis VII*, ed. al-Hajjī, AH 363, p. 169.

¹²² Ibid., p. 169 n. 6.

¹²³ Cf. Leroux, 'Royaute' (1892), pp. 241–88; Brühl, *Deutschland* (1995); Kintzinger, *Erben* (2005), pp. 49–59.

¹²⁴ Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Bū ʿAlwān, p. 98 with n. 9.

¹²⁵ Cf. Wenner, 'Presence' (1980), pp. 59–79; Versteegh, 'Presence' (1990), pp. 359–88.

¹²⁶ Thietmar Merseburgensis, *Chronicon*, ed. Holtzmann (MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9), lib. VII, cap. 45 (31), pp. 452–3.

Sardinia by Pisan troops, losing his son 'Alī to the victors.¹²⁷ According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the latter became prisoner to the 'king of the Germans' (*malik al-Almān*), at that time Henry II (ruled 1002–24).¹²⁸ It is not clear if Ibn al-Khaṭīb reproduced the terminology employed by contemporary sources written in the eleventh century or used the term 'Almān' in retrospective.

Most information about central Europe was acquired in the twelfth century. Thanks to his access to various new sources at the Norman court of Sicily, al-Idrīsī (d. c.560/1165) was able to provide a detailed description of the 'lands of the Germans' (*bilād al-Lamāniyyīn*) with its cities, and distinguishes between a 'German' and a 'French' part of Burgundy.¹²⁹ The Andalusian traveler Abū Ḥāmid from Granada, who sojourned in the lands of the Hungarians (*al-Bāshghurd*) in 545/1150, provided an Eastern European perspective. In his *tuhfat al-albāb*, he states that the people of Rome inhabited a land full of artisans and were called 'Tāmish'. This ethnonym is intelligible if one assumes that, due to a scribal error, the Arabic letter 'nūn' (ن) was replaced with the letter 'rā' (ر): the ethnonym 'Nāmish' seems clearly related to Magyar and Slavic forms of designating 'German' lands.¹³⁰ In view of the imperial Roman guise adopted by the Carolingians, the Ottonians and their successors, it is not surprising that Abū Ḥāmid attributes this ethnonym to the people of Rome. Hungary figured as an area of transmission on another occasion as well. Hungarian Muslims are documented in Aleppo at the beginning of the thirteenth century¹³¹ and could have transmitted the information, recorded by the Syrian scholar Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), that the Hungarians (*al-Hunqar*) had adopted Christianity thanks to their neighbour the Germans (*al-Lamāniyyīn*).¹³²

From the second crusade onwards, the crusading activities of various monarchs helped to diffuse information about the 'Germans' in the Arabic-Islamic world. The Aleppine historiographer Ibn al-'Adīm (d. 660/1262) explains how a citizen of Damascus named 'Alī b. Sulaymān calculated the birth date of his brother Ismā'il. According to his mother, Ismā'il had been ten months old when the 'ruler of the Germans' (*malik al-Almān*), i.e. Conrad III, laid siege to Damascus in 543/1148.¹³³ The king's activities during this siege were recorded meticulously by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233).¹³⁴ More attention was spent on the third crusade. Various sources record the approach of Frederick Barbarossa as well as his death by drowning and describe how the ensuing chaos in the German camp was averted by delegating

¹²⁷ A Pisan perspective of events is given in the *Liber Maiolichinus*, ed. Calisse, v. 922–68, pp. 42–4, pp. li–lii; cf. Amari, *Storia*, vol. 3 (1868), pp. 6–10, with further references; Rubiera Mata, *Taifa* (1985), pp. 67–70, 95–8; Bruce, 'Politics' (2006), pp. 127–42.

¹²⁸ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 219–22, trans. Hoenerbach, *Geschichte* (1970), pp. 404–8. On 'Alī, see König, 'Caught' (2012), pp. 65–6.

¹²⁹ al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. Bombaci et al., fasc. VIII, pp. 861, 871–4; cf. Hoenerbach, *Deutschland* (1938).

¹³⁰ Clément, 'Nommer' (2009), pp. 89–90 with n. 15; Dubler, *Abū Ḥāmid* (1953), p. 245.

¹³¹ Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'Bāshghird', pp. 469–70.

¹³² Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 206 (AR), p. 295 (FR).

¹³³ Ibn al-'Adīm, *bughya*, ed. Zakkār, vol. 4, p. 1643.

¹³⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 11, AH 543, pp. 85–6 (Leiden), pp. 129–31 (Beirut).

leadership to Barbarossa's son.¹³⁵ Saladin's biographer Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1235) claims that spies (*jawāsi*) reported regularly on the movements of the 'ruler of the Germans'.¹³⁶ Abū Shāma's copy of a letter written by Saladin to the Almohad ruler Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf proves that information about this 'German' ruler was also transmitted to the Muslim West.¹³⁷ These crusading activities gave rise to several tentative definitions of the 'Germans' and their realm.¹³⁸

Accused of being the 'best friend' (*amicissimus*) of Muslim rulers at the council of Lyon in 1245,¹³⁹ Frederick II of Hohenstaufen is the 'German' ruler who received most attention in Arabic-Islamic sources. Citing Frederick's letter to al-Malik al-Kāmil and Fakhr al-Dīn b. Shaykh al-Shuyūkh around 627/1230, Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī (d. after 631/1233) reproduces Frederick's genealogy as 'Frederick, son of the emperor Henry, son of the emperor Frederick'.¹⁴⁰ Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) lists his Siculo-Norman ancestors Roger II, William II as well as his mother Constance, erroneously defined as William's daughter instead of his sister.¹⁴¹ Several authors record his death in 648/1250.¹⁴²

Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298) both relate that Frederick assumed power at a very early age.¹⁴³ Ibn Wāṣil adds a 'strange story' (*ḥikāya 'ajība*) concerning Frederick's accession to the imperial throne, which he had heard when travelling in Sicily. He relates that the young Frederick faced several Frankish lords eager to acquire the imperial title. Claiming that he did not feel capable of assuming the office himself, Frederick fooled each Frankish lord into believing that he would endorse his candidature vis-à-vis the pope. Instead of keeping his promise, Frederick crowned himself and fled with a group of German supporters.¹⁴⁴ Although modern scholarship describes Frederick's youth and imperial

¹³⁵ Ibid., vol. 12, AH 586, pp. 30–2 (Leiden), pp. 48–53 (Beirut); Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, pp. 178, 190–2, 197, 201, 203, 207, 212–13, 227, 233–4.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 213.

¹³⁷ Abū Shāma, *al-rawḍatayn*, ed./trans. de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 4), p. 491 (addressee), 494 (reference to the 'ruler of the Germans').

¹³⁸ Yaqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 2, lemma 'Rūmiya' [sic], p. 867, writes that Rome is currently in the hands of the Franks and ruled by someone called the 'ruler of the Germans' (*malik al-Almān*). Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 11, AH 543, p. 86 (Leiden), p. 131 (Beirut), mentions that the 'German Franks' (*al-Faranj al-almāniyya*) returned to their lands behind Constantinople. In ibid., vol. 12, AH 586, p. 30 (Leiden), p. 48 (Beirut), he defines them as 'a kind of Franks' (*naw' min al-Faranj*). In ibid., vol. 12, AH 593, p. 84 (Leiden), p. 126 (Beirut), he transcribes the word 'chancellor' as 'al-khanṣalir'.

¹³⁹ Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Madden, vol. 1, ad 1238, p. 408; cf. Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, ad 1239, p. 602.

¹⁴⁰ Ibn Naẓīf, *al-tārīkh al-manṣūri*, ed. Dūdū and Darwish, Beirut 1982, p. 190: 'Fardarik b. al-ambarātūr Hanrik b. al-ambarātūr Fardarik'. Other references to Frederick pp. 100–1, 138–9, 148–9, 151, 160, 162–4, 174, 176, 180, 189–90, 194–5, 248. On the text, see Hartmann, 'Manuscript' (2001), p. 89. On the title, see Mandalà, 'Prologo' (2007), pp. 29–30.

¹⁴¹ Ibn Khallikān, *wafayāt al-a'yan*, ed. 'Abbās, vol. 6, no. 805 'Yaḥyā b. Tamīm al-Ṣanhājī', § 322–4, p. 218.

¹⁴² Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 248; Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 4, AH 697, p. 50.

¹⁴³ Ibn Khallikān, *wafayāt al-a'yan*, ed. 'Abbās, vol. 6, no. 805 'Yaḥyā b. Tamīm al-Ṣanhājī', § 322–4, p. 218; Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 249–50.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., vol. 4, AH 626, pp. 250–1; reproduced by Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 4, AH 697, p. 51.

coronation in 1220 differently, this 'strange story' certainly recalls that Frederick's accession to power was fraught with difficulties.¹⁴⁵

Various sources deal with Frederick's efforts at winning Jerusalem for the Christians from the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil.¹⁴⁶ The negotiations provided Frederick's interlocutors with an insight into the emperor's standing in the Latin-Christian world and the pressure he was under to conclude an agreement. According to al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352), Frederick explained to the sultan in 625/1227 that, although he was the greatest ruler on the other side of the [Mediterranean] sea, his failure to win Jerusalem would cost him respect while an agreement would enhance his reputation.¹⁴⁷ Many sources attest to Frederick's severe difficulties with the papacy. Frederick is said to have denigrated the pope in front of Muslim interlocutors,¹⁴⁸ whereas the pope is accused of attempted murder of the emperor.¹⁴⁹ According to Ibn Wāṣil, the pope hated the emperor and his sons Conrad (*Kurra*) and Manfred (*Manfrīd*) because of their sympathy for the Muslims.¹⁵⁰ He describes the fate of Frederick's son Manfred, victim to the collaborative effort of the pope and the French king's brother, who ousted him from Sicily in 663/1265.¹⁵¹ However, Frederick and his progeny were not only portrayed as victims. Although praised for their learning and friendly attitude towards Muslims,¹⁵² Muslim scholars knew very well that Frederick had deported the Muslims of Sicily to Lucera.¹⁵³ The geographical encyclopaedia of al-Ḥimyarī (13th–14th cent.) records the end of this Muslim colony founded by 'the tyrant of Sicily' (*tāghiyat Ṣiqilliya*).¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁵ Houben, *Friedrich II* (2008), pp. 28–35 (accession to power), pp. 37–8 (imperial coronation), pp. 51–2 (self-coronation in Jerusalem 1229).

¹⁴⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 12, AH 626, pp. 314–15 (Leiden), pp. 482–3 (Beirut); Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 3, AH 625–26, p. 175; al-Dhahabī, *al-ībar*, ed. Zaghlūl, vol. 3, AH 626, p. 197; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-nujūm al-zāhira*, ed. Shams al-Dīn, vol. 6, AH 626, pp. 241–2. Cf. Richards, 'Crusade' (1993), pp. 183–200.

¹⁴⁷ al-Dhahabī, *tārīkh*, ed. Tadmuri, vol. 45, AH 625, p. 30; cf. Leder, 'Kaiser' (2008), p. 88.

¹⁴⁸ Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 251; cf. Hillenbrand, *Crusades* (2000), p. 320; Leder, 'Kaiser' (2008), p. 88.

¹⁴⁹ Sibī b. al-Jawzī, *mir'āt al-zamān*, ed. facs. Jewett, AH 644, pp. 505–6; al-Dhahabī, *tārīkh*, ed. Tadmuri, vol. 47, AH 644, p. 27; Ibn Kathīr, *al-bidāya*, ed. al-Turkī, vol. 14, AH 644, pp. 288–9; Ibn al-Furāt, ed./trans. Lyons, vol. 1, AH 644, p. 11 (AR), vol. 2, p. 9 (EN). Cf. the version of this story in Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Madden, vol. 3, pp. 11–12. See Chapter 7.3.3.

¹⁵⁰ Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, pp. 248–9. Cf. Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 4, AH 697, pp. 50–1. On Ibn Wāṣil's attitude towards Frederick, see Leder, 'Kaiser' (2008), pp. 88–90.

¹⁵¹ Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 251.

¹⁵² Ibn Naẓīf, *al-tārīkh al-manṣūri*, ed. Dūdū and Darwish, p. 194, writes: 'There has been no Christian king like him from the times of Alexander until today' (*fa-mā malik min al-naṣrāniyya mithlahu min zaman al-Iskandar wa-ilā l-ān*); Ibn Khallikān, *wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. 'Abbās, no. 805 'Yahyā b. Tamīm al-Ṣanhājī', § 322–4, p. 218, describes Frederick as an exceptional and intelligent man. Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 248, praises Manfred's interest in learning.

¹⁵³ Ibn Naẓīf, *al-tārīkh al-manṣūri*, ed. Dūdū and Darwish, pp. 194–5; Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrāfiyya*, ed. al-'Arabī, p. 182; Ibn Wāṣil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 248; Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 4, AH 697, p. 50.

¹⁵⁴ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Lūjara', p. 513. Cf. Taylor, *Muslims* (2005), on Lucera; Weltecke, 'Emperor' (2011), pp. 85–106, on Frederick's disputed image.

Frederick II's and his progeny's dealings with the Arabic-Islamic world contributed considerably to the transmission of information about inner-European phenomena. As rulers of a Muslim population in Sicily and Apulia, Frederick and his son Manfred drew on an Arabic chancery with a long tradition¹⁵⁵ that probably drafted the two letters sent by Frederick II to the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil recorded by Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī.¹⁵⁶ Others mention frequent correspondence and the exchange of gifts between both rulers.¹⁵⁷ Frederick may have corresponded with the Andalusian scholar Ibn Sab'īn (d. 668–69/1270–71) who is said to have authored the reply to a range of philosophical questions in North Africa.¹⁵⁸ In Cairo, al-Qarāfī (d. 684/1285) wrote a treatise on ophthalmology, which claims to respond to questions addressed to al-Malik al-Kāmil by the emperor.¹⁵⁹ In Mosul, the scholar Kamāl al-Dīn b. Yūnuṣ is said to have been visited by a 'Frankish messenger' who asked for answers to questions sent by the emperor.¹⁶⁰ Ibn Wāṣil, envoy to king Manfred's court in Sicily in 659/1261, composed a treatise on logic for the ruler, which he called 'al-Anbarūziyya'.¹⁶¹ Not only rulers and scholars had something to report about Frederick II and his progeny. Muslim refugees from Sicily¹⁶² and later from Lucera¹⁶³ also acted as informants.

Hans Gottschalk's hypothesis that Frederick II acquainted the Arabic-Islamic world with the title and office of the 'emperor', transcribed as 'al-inbarādhūr', 'al-inbarātūr', 'al-anbarūr', etc., has to be mitigated in light of research that is more recent. As Gottschalk and Mandalà have shown, the Arabic title mostly designates Frederick II, occasionally his sons Conrad and Manfred as well as his grandson Conradin, often in connection with geographical attributes reflecting the extension

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Johns, *Administration* (2002).

¹⁵⁶ Ibn Naẓīf (d. after 631/1233), *al-tārikh al-manṣūri*, ed. Dūdū and Darwish, pp. 189–94, reproduces the letter and summarizes the sultan's reply. Gottschalk, 'Anbaratūr' (1958), p. 31, regards these letters as a translation, while Mandalà, 'Prologo' (2007), p. 29, believes they were a product of Frederick's chancery.

¹⁵⁷ Ibn Khallikān, *wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. 'Abbās, vol. 6, no. 805 'Yaḥyā b. Tamīm al-Ṣanhājī', § 322–4, p. 218; al-Dhahabī, *tārikh*, ed. Tadmurī, vol. 45, AH 625, p. 30. Ibn Kathīr, *al-bidāya*, ed. al-Turkī, vol. 17, AH 631, p. 212, claims that Frederick sent a polar bear to the sultan al-Ashraf, an animal mentioned in Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrāfiyya*, ed. al-'Arabī, p. 200.

¹⁵⁸ Akasoy, *Philosophie* (2006), pp. 107–24, questions Frederick II's authorship of the 'Sicilian questions'. Mandalà, 'Prologo' (2007), pp. 25–94, defends the traditional view held by Amari, 'Questions' (1853), pp. 240–74.

¹⁵⁹ Jackson, 'Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī' (1997), p. 435; Sayili, 'Al-Qarāfī' (1940), pp. 17–18. See the edition, translation, and commentary of the *kitāb al-istibṣār fī-mā tudrikuhu al-abṣār* by Krotkoff, *Schrīfī* (1950).

¹⁶⁰ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *u'yūn al-anbā'*, ed. Ridā, pp. 410–11. Cf. Hasse, 'Mosul' (2000), pp. 145–63. The ruler of Mosul seems to have supported this intellectual activity, cf. Cahen, 'Lu'lu' (1986), p. 820.

¹⁶¹ Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 4, AH 697, p. 50.

¹⁶² Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī, *al-tārikh al-manṣūri*, ed. Dūdū and Darwish, pp. 194–5, on a refugee from the mountainous regions of Sicily called Aḥmad b. Abī l-Qāsim who reported on the Muslims' deportation to Apulia.

¹⁶³ According to al-Yūnīnī, *dhayl*, s. ed., vol. 3, AH 676, pp. 254–5, the Mamluk sultan heard in 1277 that a number of Sicilian Muslims in the service of the deceased emperor had been slaughtered, and offered survivors refuge in Egypt. Al-Ḥimyarī, *al-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Lūjāra', p. 513, reports that Muslims of Lucera fled to the Middle East (*al-mashriq*) and North Africa (*Ifriqiya*) when Lucera was destroyed in 1300.

of their respective realm.¹⁶⁴ Notwithstanding, the earliest use of the Arabic title is attested for the eleventh century. The Andalusian scholar Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) is quoted by the Middle Eastern historiographer al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 or 753/1352) as having cited an Arabic letter written by Alfonso VI of León and Castile (ruled 1065–1109) to al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād (d. 488/1095), ruler of the petty kingdom of Seville. In this letter, Alfonso (*al-Adfūnsh b. Shanja*) is quoted as having used the title *ʿal-anbarātūr dhī al-millatayn*, ‘emperor of the two religious groups’.¹⁶⁵ Since Alfonso VI styled himself ‘imperator totius Hispaniae’, i.e. ‘emperor of all Spain’, in Latin documents,¹⁶⁶ it seems plausible that he also used this title vis-à-vis his Muslim correspondents.¹⁶⁷

Apart from the fact that Andalusian Muslims may have come to know the imperial title almost 200 years before their Middle Eastern coreligionists applied it to Frederick II, Arabic-Islamic scholars did not always draw a connection between the imperial title and Frederick II or his descendants. Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286) and Abū l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331), for example, do not mention Frederick II in their geographical works, but state that the emperor was the ‘ruler of the Germans’ (*malik al-Lamān*) who ruled over forty princes and held the title ‘king of kings’ (*malik al-mulūk*).¹⁶⁸ Al-ʿUmārī (d. 749/1349) asserts that the emperor and master of the realm of the Germans (*al-anbarūr ṣāhib mulk al-Lamān*) was the most powerful Frankish ruler. Defeated by Muslim forces in Syria in times past, the German people (*tāyifat* [sic] *al-Lamān*) lived in undefended cities, were as plentiful as the Tatars, and inhabited a country as vast as the Arabian Peninsula. The emperor had many more fighters at his disposal than the king of France and had even achieved a victory against the latter recently, to the effect that all French governors now paid homage to the German king.¹⁶⁹ This description, based on the testimony of a Genoese Mamluk dependant, dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century, i.e. from a period after the death of the last ruling Staufien in 1268.¹⁷⁰ It clearly fails to apply to the late Staufien dynasty whose members either maintained good relations with France or were victims of the collaborative action of France and the papacy. Rather, it seems reminiscent of the political measures against France taken by Roman-German rulers such as Adolf of Nassau (ruled 1292–98), Henry VII of Luxembourg (ruled 1308–13), or Louis IV (ruled 1314–47).¹⁷¹

In the late fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) regarded the emperor as a political institution dissociated from a specific officeholder and explained its

¹⁶⁴ Gottschalk, *ʿal-anbarātūr* (1958), pp. 35–6; Mandalà, ‘Prologo’ (2007), p. 29.

¹⁶⁵ al-Dhahabī, *tārikh*, ed. Tadmuri, vol. 32, AH 478, pp. 24–5. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 330, also mentions the variant *ʿinbiradūr*.

¹⁶⁶ Menéndez Pidal, *Imperio* (1950), pp. 86–94; Cullinan, *Imperator* (1975); Reilly, ‘Chancery’ (1985), pp. 4–10; Sirantoine, *Imperator* (2012).

¹⁶⁷ See the discussion in Mackay and Benaboud, ‘Alfonso VI’ (1979), pp. 95–102; Roth, ‘Alfonso VI’ (1984), pp. 165–8; Mackay and Benaboud, ‘Alfonso VI’ (1984), pp. 171–81.

¹⁶⁸ Ibn Saʿīd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-ʿArabī, p. 193; Abū l-Fidāʾ, *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 202.

¹⁶⁹ al-ʿUmārī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, pp. 1, 4–5 (AR).

¹⁷⁰ On Conradin’s death, see Nitschke, ‘Prozeß’ (1956), pp. 25–55; Ullrich, *Konradin* (2004).

¹⁷¹ See the overview by Kintzinger, ‘Kaiser’ (2002), pp. 113–36.

function in a political sphere made up of the pope and various competing 'Frankish' rulers:

it is the custom of the pope (*al-bābā*) with respect to the Franks to urge them to submit to one ruler and have recourse to him in their disagreements and agreements, in order to avoid the dissolution of concord and unity. By this he aims at calming factionalism (*al-ʿaṣabiyya*) which is rampant among them, to the effect that [this ruler] has power over all of them. They call him *inbarādhūr*, with the middle letter pronounced somehow between 'dh' and 'z'. The person attending to him (*mubāshiruhu*) places a crown upon his head to convey a blessing. Therefore, the emperor is called 'the crowned one'. Perhaps that is the meaning of the word 'emperor'.¹⁷²

With the demise of the Staufien dynasty, the title seems to have been dissociated from a specific royal family and acknowledged as part of a political landscape, in which the pope, several 'Frankish' rulers, and an emperor, repeatedly defined as 'ruler of the Germans' (*malik al-ʿAlmān/al-Lamān*), played a dominant role. In this way, an area that had originally been defined as Slavic, Frankish, and—without much background knowledge—'Roman', was not only identified as 'German', but also recognized as an important player in Latin Christendom.

8.2.3. The Rise of the Italian City-States: The Example of Genoa

Given their economic and military impact on large parts of the Mediterranean and its periphery, the late medieval Arabic-Islamic world was unable to ignore the rise of the Italian maritime republics. The late seventh to the ninth centuries witnessed frequent Muslim raids against Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, and Pantelleria. The Muslim conquest of Sicily in the ninth century, the establishment of raider bases in Bari around 847, at the river Garigliano around 883 and in Fraxinetum in the late 880s, entailed various kinds of interaction with the local population. Nonetheless, Arabic-Islamic records on the early medieval Apennine Peninsula are scarce.¹⁷³

Middle Eastern historiographers of the Muslim expansion to the west such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871), Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), and al-Balādhuri (d. 278/892) mention early raids against Sardinia and Sicily, whereas their conquest receives due attention in numerous later works.¹⁷⁴ Descriptions of Rome¹⁷⁵ and

¹⁷² Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 1, p. 292: 'wa-min madhāhib al-bābā 'inda l-Ifranja annahu yaḥuḍḍuhum 'alā l-inqiyād li-malik waḥid yarja'ūna ilayhi fi ikhtilāfihim wa-ijtimā'ihim taḥarruj min iftirāq al-kalima wa-yataḥarrā bihi al-ʿaṣabiyya allati lā fawqahā minhum li-takūn yaduhu 'āliyyatan 'alā jamī'ihim wa-yusammūnahu al-inbarādhūr wa-ḥarfuhu al-wasaf bayna al-dhāl wa-l-zā' al-mu'jamatayn wa-mubāshiruhu yaḍa' al-tāj 'alā ra'sihi li-l-tabarruk fa-yusammā al-mutawwaj, wa-lā ʾallahu ma'nā lafzat al-inbarādhūr...'. The translation follows de Slane as opposed to Rosenthal and Monteil. See Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, trans. de Slane, pp. 476–7; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah*, trans. Rosenthal, vol. 1, ch. VI, 18, p. 481; Ibn Khaldūn, *Discours*, trans. Monteil, vol. 1, p. 467.

¹⁷³ Jehel, *L'Italie* (2001), pp. 13–36; Metcalfe, *Muslims* (2009), pp. 4–69; Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), pp. 18–101. See Chapters 3.1.1., 7.1.1., and 7.1.2.

¹⁷⁴ See the collection of sources in Amari, *Biblioteca* (1857).

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 113–15, for the ninth century; Ibn al-Faqīh, *mukhtaṣar*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 149–51; Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḥḥa*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 128–30; al-Mas'ūdī, *muriḥ*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 128, p. 74 (AR), p. 55 (FR); § 722, p. 35 (AR), p. 271 (FR), for the tenth century.

occasional references to Muslims on terra firma, e.g. Aghlabid raids on the mainland (*al-arḍ al-kabīra*), or the quest of the Muslims of Bari (*Bārah*) to receive recognition in Baghdad,¹⁷⁶ show that the Apennine Peninsula did not completely escape the notice of ninth-century historiographers. Events in the tenth century also caught the attention of contemporaries. Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), for example, comments on the successful efforts to drive off the Muslims from southern Italy in the late ninth and tenth centuries:

The Muslims who were their [the Langobards'] neighbours in al-Andalus and the Maghreb had conquered a number of their cities such as Bari (*Bāri*), Tarent (*Ṭārniyyū*), Salerno (*Shabarāma*) and other important cities. The Muslims lived there for a certain period. Then, however, the Langobards (*al-Nawkubard*) regained courage and retook some of these cities from the Muslims, evicting them after long wars. The cities we have mentioned are currently in the hands of the Langobards.¹⁷⁷

Geographical works written between the middle of the ninth and the end of the tenth centuries allow us to trace how their authors accumulated data on the Apennine Peninsula. Al-Ya'qūbī's (d. after 292/905) *kitāb al-buldān* still lacks data on the Apennine Peninsula.¹⁷⁸ Ibn Khurdādhbah (d. 300/912) mentions Sicily (*Siqilliya*), but ignores the mainland apart from Rome (*Rūmiyya*)¹⁷⁹ and a reference to imported 'Lombard slaves' (*al-khadam al-Lu' bardīyyūn*).¹⁸⁰ Al-Iṣṭakhri (4th/10th cent.) refers to Sicily (*Siqilliyya*), Rome (*Rūmiyya*), and the 'raider colony' Fraxinetum (*jabal al-Qilāl*).¹⁸¹ His contemporary Ibn Rustah (d. after 300/913), however, mentions Rome (*Rūmiyya*), Sardinia (*Sardāniyya*), Sicily (*Siqilliyya*),¹⁸² and a 'city of the Langobards' (*madīnat al-Ankubardiyyīn*), whose lifestyle he compares with that of the nomad Kurds (*al-Akrād*). His work also contains one of the earliest Arabic-Islamic references to 'a village called Venice' (*qarya tud'ā al-Bandaqīs*) that seems to reflect the early beginnings of a city built on unfavourable ground:

They dwell in a plane of wasteland devoid of villages and cities. Their buildings are made of planed wooden boards and they adhere to the Christian religion.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁶ al-Balādhurī, *furūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, fol. 274–75, pp. 234–5 (AR), trans. Hitti, pp. 371–2.

¹⁷⁷ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 921, p. 151 (AR): 'wa-qad kāna al-muslimūn mimman jāwarahum min bilād al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib ḡhalabahum 'alā mudun kathīra min mudunihiḡm mīthla madīnat Bārī wa-madīnat Ṭārniyyū wa-madīnat Shabarāma wa-ghayrihā min mudunihiḡm al-kibār wa-sakanahā al-muslimūn muddatan min al-zamān thumma inna l-Nawkubard thābū wa-raja'ū 'alā man fi tilka al-mudun min al-muslimīn fa-akhrajūhum 'anhā ba'da ḡurūb ṭawīla wa-mā dhakarnā min al-mudun fi waqtinā ḡadhā fi aydi al-Nawkubard', p. 347 (FR). al-Mas'ūdī claims that their capital is Benevento (*Banabant*). The editor, *ibid.*, p. 151 n. 5 (AR), suggests that their ruler's title 'Adākīs' or 'Adnakbis' represents an Arabic plural of the Latin term 'dux'. Since al-Mas'ūdī refers to Muslim raids, the creation of Muslim Bari and hostilities between Langobards and Muslims, we could also be dealing with a distorted form of the anthroponyms 'Radelchīs' or 'Adelchīs', two dukes of the ninth century in touch with the emirate of Bari.

¹⁷⁸ al-Ya'qūbī, *al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje.

¹⁷⁹ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 104, 112, 113–15.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹⁸¹ al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 68–71.

¹⁸² Ibn Rustah, *al-a'lāq al-naḡfisa*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 79, 85, 98, 128–32.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 128: 'wa-hum nuzūl fi ṣaḡra' malsā' laysa lahum qurā wa-lā madā'in innamā buyūtuhum min khashab manḡūt ṣaḡa'īḡ wa-hum 'alā dīn al-naṣrāniyya'.

During his visit to Sicily in 362/973, Ibn Hawqal (d. after 378/988) was able to draw a more accurate picture of the peninsula's geography, in particular its southern parts. In addition to Sicily and Rome, Ibn Hawqal mentions the 'Gulf of the Venetians' (*jūn al-Banādiqīn*), Calabria (*arḍ Qulūriyah*), Rome (*arḍ Rūmiyah*), and Lombardy (*arḍ al-Ankubardhab*). His description of Lombardy includes cities in Campania, i.e. Salerno (*arḍ Shalūrā*), Amalfi (*madīnat Milaf*), Gaeta (*arḍ Ghaytah*), and Naples (*arḍ Nābul*). He praises the latter for its friendly relations with the Muslims, as well as for its high quality linen.¹⁸⁴ Due to their economic contact with the Arabic-Islamic world,¹⁸⁵ these Campanian cities also feature in other sources of the eleventh century. Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) mentions traders from Amalfi who brought their wares to Córdoba in 330/942.¹⁸⁶ The Arabic-Christian author Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd of Antioch even mentions more than 160 Amalfitan traders (*al-Rūm al-Malāfiṭa*) in connection with a pogrom in Cairo in 386/996.¹⁸⁷

Cities that were to become active players in the high and late medieval Mediterranean do not yet feature, as such, in early Arabic-Islamic sources. Venice is not yet defined as a trading partner, even though Latin sources from the eighth century onwards attest to its commerce with the Islamic world.¹⁸⁸ Pisa and Genoa are not even mentioned.

Judging from later Arabic-Islamic texts, Genoa came into view around 323/934, when it was raided by Fatimid forces from North Africa.¹⁸⁹ The earliest Arabic source on this event is the so-called *Chronicle of Cambridge*, an originally Greek text that was translated into Arabic after 965.¹⁹⁰ Later Arabic-Islamic historiographers of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries also frequently cover this event.¹⁹¹ In connection with events that predate the eleventh century, Genoa thus only features as a target of Muslim aggression. In terms of a commercial and military power, Genoa is first mentioned by al-Idrīsī (d. c.559/1165). In his detailed description of the Apennine Peninsula, he claims that

its population is made up of very rich merchants who travel by land and by sea and who penetrate easy and difficult terrain. They possess a frightening navy, have know-

¹⁸⁴ Ibn Hawqal, *ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, pp. 110, 201–3.

¹⁸⁵ Citarella, 'Relations' (1967), pp. 299–312; Citarella, 'Patterns' (1968), pp. 531–55; Schwarz, *Amalfi* (1978), pp. 15–45; Kreutz, *Normans* (1996), pp. 75–93.

¹⁸⁶ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis* V, ed. Chalmers and Corriente, fol. 327, AH 330, p. 485: 'tujjār ahl al-Malfāṭ al-ma'rūfūn bi-l-Andalus bi-l-Malfāṭāniyyīn'.

¹⁸⁷ Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, *Histoire*, ed./trans. Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev (*Patrologia Orientalis*, 23/2), pp. 447–8.

¹⁸⁸ Hoffmann, 'Adriaküste' (1968), pp. 165–81; Jehel, *L'Italie* (2001), p. 105. Further Arabic-Islamic references to Venice in Nallino, 'Venezia' (1963), pp. 111–20.

¹⁸⁹ Jehel, *L'Italie* (2001), pp. 28–31.

¹⁹⁰ *tārikh jazirat Ṣiqilliya*, ed. Amari (BAS), p. 170; Kedar, 'Fonte' (1997), pp. 606–16.

¹⁹¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, p. 450 (Leiden), p. 568 (Beirut); vol. 8, AH 322, p. 213 (Leiden), p. 285 (Beirut); vol. 8, AH 323, p. 232 (Leiden), p. 310 (Beirut); Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 1, p. 209; Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 2, AH 323, p. 121; al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. al-Tarḥīnī, vol. 24, p. 201; *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Fawwāz and Fawwāz, vol. 28, p. 72; al-Dhahabī, *tārikh*, ed. al-Tadmūrī, vol. 24, p. 30; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām III*, ed. al-'Ayyādī and al-Kattānī, p. 53; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 315; vol. 3, p. 577; vol. 4, pp. 52, 265; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-nujūm al-zāhira*, ed. Shams al-Dīn, vol. 3, AH 323, p. 285.

ledge of the ruses of warfare and of powerful [?] equipment (*al-ālāt al-sultāniyya*) and enjoy respect among *al-Rūm*.¹⁹²

From this time onwards, several works deal with the city.¹⁹³ In connection with events that post-date the early eleventh century, these reports often address Genoese expansionism and aggression. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375) and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) mention an attack of the people of Genoa and Pisa (*ahl Janawa wa-Biṣṣa*) against al-Mahdiyya in 480/1087.¹⁹⁴ According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Zīrīd ruler Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz (ruled 454–501/1062–1108), had

repeatedly sent squadrons (*bu'ūth*) to the Abode of War (*dār al-ḥarb*) until the Christian nations on the other side of the sea, that is from the lands of the Franks (*bilād al-Faranja*), of Genoa and Sardinia, retaliated.¹⁹⁵

The same work also deals with the Genoese attack on Mallorca (*Barqa/Mayūrqa*) in 509/1115 and its recapture at the hands of the Almoravids,¹⁹⁶ as well as a Genoese attack on Ceuta in 633/1235,¹⁹⁷ which is described in more detail in an Arabic codex of Copenhagen.¹⁹⁸ Al-Yūnīnī (d. 726/1326) explains the Genoese involvement in Louis IX's crusade against Tunis in 669/1271. He claims that Frankish traders had coined false dirhams (*darāhim maghshūsha*) in the style also used by the ruler of Tunis (*sāhib Tūnis*). When this became apparent, the local Muslim authorities accused the Genoese (*ahl Janawa*) of forgery, confiscated their capital (*isti'sāl amwālīhim*), and put the local representatives of Genoa into jail (*ḥabasahum*). In reaction to this, the Genoese complained to the French king (*bi-raydafarans*), provided him with money, and thus forged a Christian alliance that attacked Tunis.¹⁹⁹ Probably confounding the Knights Hospitallers' conquest of Rhodes in 1309 with the temporary Genoese occupation in 1249, Ibn Khaldūn erroneously claims that the Genoese took over Rhodes in 708/1308:

¹⁹² al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. Bombaci et al., fasc. VII, p. 750: 'wa-ahluhā tujjār amli'ā mayāsīr yusāfirūna barran wa-baḥran wa-yaqtaḥimūna saḥlan wa-wa'ran wa-lahum uṣūl mukhīf wa-lahum ma'rifa bi-l-ḥiyāl al-ḥarbiyya wa-l-ālāt al-sultāniyya wa-lahum bayna l-Rūm 'izzat anfus.' Copied by al-Himyarī, *rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Janawa', p. 173.

¹⁹³ Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, pp. 168–9, 182; al-Himyarī, *rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, ed. 'Abbās, lemma 'Janawa', p. 173; Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, pp. 30, 189, 208; Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 1, pp. 119–20; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 92; vol. 2, p. 277; al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 3, p. 239; vol. 5, pp. 374–5, 405–6, 416.

¹⁹⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām III*, ed. al-'Ayyādī and al-Kattānī, p. 78; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, p. 213. Cf. Cowdrey, 'Campaign' (1977), pp. 1–29.

¹⁹⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, p. 213: 'wa-raddada al-bu'ūth ilā dār al-ḥarb fihā ḥarta ittaqathu umam al-naṣrāniyya bi-l-jizī min warā' al-baḥr min bilād Ifriqiya [in note 2: MS Tūnis: min bilād al-Faranja] wa-Janawa wa-Sardīniya'.

¹⁹⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, p. 251. Lomax, *Reconquest* (1978), p. 83, claims that Pisa and Genoa captured Mallorca together in 1115. According to Orvietani Busch, *Ports* (2001), pp. 21, 174, the Genoese refused to participate in the attack on the Balearics in 1113–14.

¹⁹⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, p. 385.

¹⁹⁸ Amari, *Nuovo ricordi* (1873), pp. 20–2 (AR), pp. 67–9 (IT); *ibid.*, pp. 11–28 (Introduction) on the context.

¹⁹⁹ al-Yūnīnī, *dhayl*, s. ed., vol. 2, AH 669, pp. 454–5; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, pp. 427–9; al-Maqrīzī, *al-sulūk*, ed. Aṭā, vol. 1, AH 648, pp. 660–1.

In this period, the Frankish people of Genoa (*ahl Janawa min al-Ifranj*) conquered the island of Rhodes (*Rūdus*), wresting it from the hands of Laskaris, the ruler of Constantinople, in the year 708/1308, thus having power over it.²⁰⁰

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770/1368–69 or 779/1377) mentions that the *amīr* of Smyrna (*Yazmīr*), ‘Umar Bak or Umur Aydınoğlu, son of the sultan Muḥammad b. Āyдын, regularly waged *jihād* against Constantinople and the Byzantines (*al-Rūm*). In consequence,

they brought their problem before the pope who ordered the Christians of Genoa and France to raid him.²⁰¹

The army that set out from Rome (*Rūmiyya*) eventually took the harbour and the city in 1344 in this campaign known as the Smyrna Crusade.²⁰² Some Arabic-Islamic sources falsely believe that the early Ottoman expansion to the Balkans also affected Genoa. Ibn Khaldūn and al-Qalqashandī claim that the Ottoman ruler Murād (ruled 761–91/1360–89) frequently raided Christian territory near the Gulf of Venice (*khalīj al-Banādiqa*) and the mountains of Genoa (*jibāl Janawa*).²⁰³ The toponym Genoa is misplaced here, however, given that Murād was never active beyond the Balkans.²⁰⁴

Ibn Khaldūn also mentions a joint raid of Christian forces involving the fleets of Genoa and Barcelona (*asātil Janawa wa-Barshalūna*) against al-Mahdiyya in 792/1390. According to Ibn Khaldūn, this event, commonly known as the Mahdian Crusade, had been provoked by constant attacks of the people of Béjaïa (*ahl Bijāya*) on Christian ships,

until the western coasts around Béjaïa filled up with the prisoners taken, and the roads of the lands sounded with the noise made by the chains and shackles while they set out on their daily errands. The price for their redemption is set so high that redemption is almost impossible. This became unbearable for the Frankish peoples, their hearts filled with humiliation and pain, and they were unable to do anything against it. So they complained from a distance to the sultan of Ifrīqiya but he refused to hear them, so they communicated their concerns to each other and called upon each other to descend upon the Muslims and to take their revenge.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 5, p. 517: ‘thumma ghalaba li-hādhihi al-‘uṣūr ahl Janawa min al-Ifranj ‘alā jazīrat Rūdus ḥazatahā min yad Lashkarī shāhib al-Qustanīniyya sanat thamānin wa-saba‘ami’a wa-akhadhū bi-makhnaqiḥā...’. The ruler of Constantinople in 1308 was actually Andronikos II Palaiologos, not John IV Laskaris, who died in prison around 1305 after Michael VIII Palaiologos had deposed him in 1261. Ibn Khaldūn seems to have confounded two different occupations of Rhodes, i.e. the short-term Genoese occupation in 1249, when a member of the Laskarid dynasty had in fact ruled the island, and the occupation by the Knights Hospitallers in 1309. Cf. Balard, ‘Genoese’ (1989), p. 159.

²⁰¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *riḥla*, ed./trans. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, vol. 2, pp. 311–12: ‘fa-rafa‘ū amrahum ilā l-bābā fa-amara naṣārā Janawa wa-l-frānsa bi-ghazwihi’.

²⁰² On the Smyrna Crusade, see Setton, *Papacy*, vol. 1 (1976), pp. 181–93.

²⁰³ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 5, p. 635; al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a’shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 368.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Kissling, ‘Empire’ (1996), pp. 7–9.

²⁰⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, pp. 578–9: ‘hattā imtala‘at sawāḥil al-thughūr al-gharbiyya min Bijāya bi-asrāhim taḍjuju turuq al-bilād bi-dajjat al-salāsīl wa-l-aghāl ‘indamā yantashirūn fī ḥajātihim wa-yughālūn fī fidā’ihim bi-mā yata’adhdhar minhu aw yakād,

Not all Arabic-Islamic scholars of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries describe Genoese acts of aggression. Some simply note the Genoese presence in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Returning from his pilgrimage to Mecca via the crusader states, the Andalusian traveller Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) boarded a ship in Acre (*'Akkā*) whose captain was a Genoese.²⁰⁶ According to the history of Mallorca by Ibn 'Amīra al-Makhzūmī (d. 656/1258 or 658/1260) as reproduced by al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632), the son of the local Almohad governor, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mūsā, confiscated a large Genoese ship in the harbour of Ibiza (*Yābisa*), thus triggering a chain of events that eventually led to the Aragonese conquest of Mallorca in 627/1230.²⁰⁷ Ibn Baṭṭūta (d. 770/1368-69 or 779/1377) claims to have travelled on a Genoese ship commanded by a captain called 'Bartolomeo' (*Martalamīn*) from al-Lādhiqiyya in Syria to the Anatolian coast.²⁰⁸ He asserts that the city of Caffa in Crimea, 'a great city stretching along the coast', is

populated by Christians, most of whom are Genoese (*aktharuhum al-Janawīyyūn*). They have a ruler known as Demetrio (*al-Damadīr*).²⁰⁹

The number of recorded episodes of diplomatic contact between Genoese and Muslim rulers is high. These instances of contact are frequently mentioned by Mamluk historiographers, in particular al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333) and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442). Both record that Genoese envoys to al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars arrived in 674/1275 without providing further details.²¹⁰ In 767/1366, one year after the sack of Alexandria at the hands of Peter I of Cyprus,²¹¹ Genoese envoys (*rusul mutamallik Janawa*) brought a present for the ruling sultan and the *amīr* Yalbugha as well as sixty Alexandrian captives who had been given to the ruler of Genoa (*mutamallik Janawa*) by the ruler of Cyprus (*mutamallik Qubrus*).²¹² It is against this background, al-Maqrīzī explains, that, in 768/1367,

envoys of the ruler of Genoa from the Frankish lands arrived, who asked for the permission to land in Alexandria as they had always done (*'alā 'ādātihim*). They [the Mamluk authorities] granted this request.²¹³

fa-shaqqa dhālika 'alā umam al-Faranja wa-mala'a qulūbihim dhullan wa-ḥasaratan wa-'ajazū 'an al-tha'r bihi, wa-ṣarakhū 'alā l-bu'd bi-l-shakwā ilā l-sulṭān bi-Ifriqiya fa-ṣamma 'an samā'iḥa wa-taṣārahū sahmahum wa-nakalahum fimā baynahum wa-tadā'ū al-nuzūl al-muslimīn wa-l-akhdh bi-l-tha'r minhum.' Cf. Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères*, trans. de Slane, vol. 3. pp. 117–18, who reads 'sultan qui habitait la France' instead of 'sultan of Ifriqiya'.

²⁰⁶ Ibn Jubayr, *riḥla*, s. ed., p. 285: 'ra'isuhu wa-mudabbiruhu al-rūmī al-janawī...'.
²⁰⁷ al-Maqqarī, *naṣḥ al-tīb*, ed. 'Abbās, vol. 4, p. 469, trans. de Gayangos, vol. 2, pp. 329–30.

²⁰⁸ Ibn Baṭṭūta, *riḥla*, ed./trans. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, vol. 2, pp. 254–5: 'rakabnā al-baḥr fī qurqūra kabīra al-Janawīyyīn yusammā ṣāhibuhā bi-Martalamīn [Bartolomeo?]' See Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Wunder*, trans. Elger, pp. 216–40, for doubts concerning the authenticity of this travel account.

²⁰⁹ Ibn Baṭṭūta, *riḥla*, ed./trans. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, vol. 2, p. 357: 'yaskunuhā al-naṣārā wa-aktharuhum al-Janawīyyūn wa-lahum amīr yu'raf bi-l-Damadīr...'.
²¹⁰ al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. ed. Fawwāz and Fawwāz, vol. 30, p. 142; al-Maqrīzī, *al-sulūk*, ed. 'Aṭā, vol. 2, AH 674, p. 94.

²¹¹ Setton, *Papacy* (1976), vol. 1, pp. 265–72; Edbury, 'Policy' (1977), pp. 90–105; Steenbergen, 'Crusade' (2003), pp. 123–38.
²¹² al-Maqrīzī, *al-sulūk*, ed. 'Aṭā, vol. 4, AH 767, p. 294.

²¹³ Ibid., vol. 4, AH 768, p. 305: 'wa-fī thāmin 'asharihi: qadamat rusul mutamallik Janawa min bilād al-Faranja, yas'al in tamakkana tujjāruhū fī l-quḍūm ilā l-Iskandariyya 'alā 'ādātihim, fa-ujibū ilā dhālika.'

Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) both report on the arrival of Genoese envoys on 19 Muḥarram 791/18 January 1389 who brought a certain foreigner (*al-khawāja*) named ʿAlī as well as relatives of the sultan (*aqārib al-sulṭān*) with them. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī claims that Franks had attacked ʿAlī's brother ʿUthmān, had stolen his ship, and had taken his sister Qujmās, the sultan's cousin, prisoner. The Genoese envoys returned the ship and its contents and brought a present from their ruler (*hadiyyat malikihim*) that was accepted graciously.²¹⁴ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī also relates that, in 832/1429, a group of 'Genoese Franks residing in Alexandria' (*al-Faranj al-janawiyya al-muqīmīn fī l-Iskandariyya*) made off with 20,000 *dīnār* belonging to Muslim merchants.²¹⁵

A number of documents on Genoese-Mamluk relations second this historiographical material. Muḥī al-Dīn ḅ. ʿAbd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1292), author of two biographies of the Mamluk sultans Baybars and Qalāwūn, reproduces two treaties concluded in the aftermath of the so-called Sicilian Vespers (1282). The first treaty, concluded 13 Rabiʿ al-ākhir 689/25 April 1290 between representatives of the Crown of Aragon and the Mamluk sultan, mentions the Genoese among potential 'Frankish' aggressors against the Mamluk realm.²¹⁶ The second treaty, concluded 13 May 1290 between the representatives of Genoa and the Mamluk sultan, obliged the Genoese to guarantee the safety and security of all Muslims subject to the sultan.²¹⁷ The Mamluk secretary al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), in turn, reproduces an undated letter from the Mamluk sultan to the commander of the Genoese fleet in Cyprus (*muqaddam al-shawānī al-janawiyya bi-Qubrus*),²¹⁸ as well as a letter to the Genoese *capitano* of Famagusta (*kabtān al-Māghūsa*), dated 814/1411.²¹⁹

In addition, the archives of a number of Italian maritime republics have preserved several treaties and letters written between the twelfth and the sixteenth century that have been collected by Silvestre de Sacy, Michele Amari, and Louis de Mas Latrie. Listed in Table 8.1., these documents prove that the Genoese were also present in the minds of the Muslim rulers of al-Andalus, Ifrīqiya, and the Maghreb.

Given the frequency and intensity of relations that both the number and the content of these documents prove, Arabic-Islamic scholars also took note of Genoa's constitutional structure and internal affairs, e.g. in three Middle Eastern sources of the fourteenth century.

Abū l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331) mentions serious infighting (*qitāl shadīd*) among 'the Genoese Franks' (*al-Faranj al-janawiyyīn*) at the end of the year 719/1319 between

²¹⁴ Ibid., vol. 5, AH 791, p. 215; Ibn Ḥajar, *inbāʾ al-ghumr*, ed. Ḥabashī, vol. 1, AH 791, p. 364.

²¹⁵ Ibid., vol. 3, AH 832 (Dhū al-Qaʿda), pp. 420–1.

²¹⁶ Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *tashrif al-ayyām*, ed. Amari (BAS), p. 346 (AR), vol. 1, p. 559 (IT). Cf. Holt, *Diplomacy* (1995), pp. 129–40.

²¹⁷ Amari, *Nuovo ricordi* (1873), pp. 11–16 (AR), pp. 58–63 (IT); de Sacy, 'Pièces', pp. 33–52 (LAT, AR, FR). Cf. Holt, *Diplomacy* (1995), pp. 141–51.

²¹⁸ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 47.

²¹⁹ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 124.

Table 8.1. Treaties and Letters Exchanged between Genoa and Medieval Muslim Powers (12th–16th Centuries)

Date	Document	Parties involved	Remarkable content	Reference
Ṣafār 544/June 1149	Treaty of peace and commerce	Genoese ambassador Guillelmus Lucius—Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sa'īd, lord of Valencia	Secures Genoese commercial rights and facilitates the foundation of two fondacos in Valencia and Denia.	de Sacy, 'Pièces' (1827), pp. 3–5 (LAT); no Arabic version.
1160 or 1161	15-year peace treaty	Genoa—Almohad caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min	Guarantees mobility and security to all Genoese merchants in the Almohad realm and defines the taxes due to the caliph.	Cafaro, <i>Annales</i> , ed. Pertz (MGH SS in fol. 18), a. 1161, p. 31; Mas Latrie, <i>Traité</i> s (1866), vol. 1, p. 108; no Arabic version.
Ṣafār 577/June 1181	10-year treaty of non-aggression	Genoa—Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq b. Muḥammad, ruler of the Balearic Islands	The treaty mentions that the cities of Nizza (<i>Anisab</i>) and Corvo (<i>Kārbub</i>) are under Genoese suzerainty.	de Sacy, 'Pièces' (1827), pp. 7–13 (AR/LAT); Mas Latrie, <i>Traité</i> s (1866), vol. 1, pp. 109–13 (LAT); Amari, <i>Nuovo ricordi</i> (1873), pp. 1–5, esp. p. 2 (AR), pp. 46–52, esp. p. 48 (IT).
Jumādā al-ākhira 584/August 1188	Treaty	Genoa—'Abd Allāh b. Ishāq, son of the aforementioned ruler of the Balearic Islands	Confirms the former treaty and deals with the rights of the Genoese on the Balearics.	de Sacy, 'Pièces' (1827), pp. 14–18 (AR/LAT); Mas Latrie, <i>Traité</i> s (1866), vol. 1, pp. 113–15 (LAT); Amari, <i>Nuovo ricordi</i> (1873), pp. 6–10 (AR), pp. 52–58 (IT).
10 June 1236	Treaty of non-aggression and commerce	Genoa—Almohad sultan Abū Zakariyā' Yahyā	Stipulates mutual support in situations of need.	Mas Latrie, <i>Traité</i> s (1866), vol. 1, p. 116–18 (LAT); no Arabic version.
18 Oct. 1250	Treaty of peace and commerce	Genoa—Almohad ruler Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mustanşir bi-llāh	Contains detailed provisions concerning commercial relations.	de Sacy, 'Pièces' (1827), pp. 22–25 (LAT); Mas Latrie, <i>Traité</i> s (1866), vol. 1, pp. 118–21 (LAT), no Arabic version.
11 July 1251	Legal document	Group of Genoese—Genoese podestà—Muslim merchant (<i>Saracenus et negotiator de Tunexis</i>)	A group of Genoese had been banned by the podestà for having pillaged the ship of a Muslim merchant. The latter promised to accept the ban's abolishment, if he received compensation for his losses within the next two weeks.	Mas Latrie, <i>Traité</i> s (1866), vol. 1, p. 121, no Arabic version.

(continued)

Table 8.1. Continued

Date	Document	Parties involved	Remarkable content	Reference
6 Nov. 1272	Peace treaty	Genoa—Almohad caliph Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mustanşir billāh	Regulates commercial relations.	Mas Latrie, <i>Traités</i> (1866), vol. 1, pp. 122–25; no Arabic version.
24 Dhū al-Qa'da 676/18 April 1278	Peace treaty	Genoese ambassadors Samuel Spinola and Boniface Embriaci—ambassador Abū l-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Rahmān representing the sultan of Granada, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad	Secures the rights of Genoese under the sultan's suzerainty, establishes fondacos and Genoese consuls in the realm of Granada.	de Sacy, 'Pièces' (1827), pp. 26–32 (LAT), no Arabic version.
9 June 1287	Mutual agreement	Genoese ambassador—officials representing the Hafsid ruler of Tūnis, 'Umar b. Yahyā Abū Ḥafṣ	The agreement reacts to complaints put forward by Genoese merchants.	Mas Latrie, <i>Traités</i> (1866), vol. 1, pp. 125–27; no Arabic version.
17 Oct. 1391	Peace treaty	Genoa—Marinid ruler Abū l-'Abbās Abū Bakr	Stipulates the redemption of Christian captives.	Mas Latrie, <i>Traités</i> (1866), vol. 1, pp. 130–3; no Arabic version.
19 Oct. 1433	Peace treaty	Genoa—Hafsid ruler Abū Fāris al-Murawakkil of Tūnis, Būna and Bējaia	Confirms previous treaty, stipulates measures to maintain peaceful commercial relations.	Mas Latrie, <i>Traités</i> (1866), vol. 1, pp. 134–42, no Arabic version.
29 Dec. 1445	Peace treaty	Genoa—Hafsid sultan Abū 'Umar 'Uthmān	Confirms and prolongs previous treaty for another 12 years with slight modifications.	Mas Latrie, <i>Traités</i> (1866), vol. 1, pp. 142–45; no Arabic version.
6 Feb. 1452	Letter	Hafsid sultan Abū 'Umar 'Uthmān to doge of Venice about Genoese merchants	The sultan's letter is followed by a note containing accusations against several Genoese merchants active in Tūnis.	Mas Latrie, <i>Traités</i> (1866), vol. 1, pp. 145–47; no Arabic version.
17 Muḥarram 856/5 Feb. 1452	Letter	Hafsid sultan al-Murawwakil 'alā llāh to 'doge and commune of Genoa' (<i>dhij Janawa wa-kumūnithā</i>)	Deals with commercial and related juridical affairs.	Amari, <i>Nuovo ricordi</i> (1873), pp. 23–29 (AR), pp. 69–75 (IT).

5 Jan. 1456	Letter	Doge of Genoa to ruler of Tunis	Demand that the ruler of Tunis free ten inhabitants of Corsica who had been arrested by Muslims in retaliation against the aggression of one of their compatriots, charged with piracy by the Hafšids and the Genoese.	Mas Latrie, <i>Traité</i> s (1866), vol. 1, pp. 147–49; no Arabic version.
6 Oct. 1456	Letter	Genoa to ruler of Tunis	Demand to free all prisoners from Corsica held in Tunis, since the newly acquired province Corsica should also benefit from the privileges granted to the Genoese.	Mas Latrie, <i>Traité</i> s (1866), vol. 1, p. 150; no Arabic version.
15 March 1465	Treaty	Genoa—Hafšid ruler	Confirms the previous peace treaty for another 30 years with slight modifications.	Mas Latrie, <i>Traité</i> s (1866), vol. 1, p. 151; no Arabic version.
30 Muḥarram 923/22 Feb. 1517	Letter	Hafšid ruler Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad to the ruler of Genoa (<i>ilā ‘azīm al-naṣārā bi-madinat Janawā wa-malikiḥā wa-shayriḥā wa-ḡayṣiḥā wa-kabiriḥā wa-zā imiḥā</i>) Ottaviano di Campofregoso (<i>Tubiyānu Kālbū Afarkuz Kūbarnadhur or Tubiyān min Kālbū Farkūn Kūbarnadhur</i>)	Deals with the enmity between Genoese and Turks, criticizes the Genoese for having attacked Bizerte, and proposes a pacification of relations.	Amari, <i>Nuovo ricordi</i> (1873), pp. 30–38 (AR), pp. 75–84 (IT).

two groups (*qabilatayn*) called 'Isbīnyā' and 'Dūryā', i.e. the families Spinola and Doria involved in the great conflict opposing Guelphs and Ghibellines.²²⁰ In this context, it seems noteworthy that, according to the same Abū l-Fidā' and the later al-Qalqashandī, Genoese houses had the appearance of fortresses.²²¹

Al-'Umārī's (d. 749/1349) description of the Genoese reproduces the testimony of his Genoese informant 'Bilbān' but is also based on his own impressions. It shows that an administrator in the service of the Mamluk dynasty had knowledge of the infrastructure backing Genoese military and commercial expansion in the Mediterranean.

As concerns the people of Genoa: Their [system of] government is communal (*ḥukmuhum kumūn*), neither did they nor will they have a king. Currently, power is in the hands of two houses (*baytayn*). One man of each house rules for the period of one year and then assumes custody of maritime affairs. Then the man from the other house rules a year as well. Then he assumes custody of maritime affairs. The first is the house of the Doria (*bayt Dūryā*)—and this Bilbān, my informant, is one of them—the second is the house of the Spinola (*bayt Isbīnyā*). He [Bilbān] stated that apart from these two houses, there is the house of the Grimaldi (*bayt Ghurmādī*), the house of the Mallono (*bayt Mālūn*), the house of the De Mari (*bayt Dāmā*), the house of San Tortore (سنو طر و) and the house of the Fieschi (*bayt Dāfishkī*). The members of these houses form a council of advisers (*ahl mashūra*) to the person who rules [temporarily]. All of them are of noble descent and have only been submitted to the rule of the two houses by the force of arms. For in ancient times, they were alternatively ruled by the house of the Grimaldi and the house of the Mallono. Apart from these houses, there are the house of the Grillo (*bayt Agharlī*), the house of the Pignolo/Pinello (*bayt Fantilū*) and the house of the Dall'Orto (*bayt Dilūrt*).

The realm of Genoa is scattered. Theirs is Galata (*Ghalaza*) next to Constantinople (*al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*) as well as Caffa (*Kaffā*) at the shore of the Black Sea (*baḥr Nīṣh*). If their territories were united, it would take about three months to walk around them. However, they are scattered. Neither does a [common] system (*nizām*) unite them, nor does a superordinate ruler (*malik ḥumām*) bind them together.

If their armies were united, which actually never happens, they would reach the number of 60,000 cavalry. As concerns the infantry, it is made up of various peoples. Their naval capacity is greater than on land. Every family from among these houses owns a galley, and if they would draw together in cooperation, they would be able to raise 500 galleys. The troops of Genoa are remunerated neither by land granted through feudal tenure (*iqṭā'ār*) nor by money (*nuqud*). Rather, every one of them disposes of landed property (*amlāk*) and means of subsistence (*asbāb*) which provide for an established number of fighters who, in times of need, enter action on land or on sea.

The people of Genoa are in a state of peace with our sultans and they frequently visit Egypt and Syria in their commercial affairs. They take the money and kill those

²²⁰ Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 4, AH 719, p. 106. Cf. Leo, *Geschichte*, vol. 3 (1829), pp. 472–3, with a chronological overview of events in Genoa in this and the neighbouring years.

²²¹ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 406, cites Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Rein-aud and de Slane, p. 209: 'kull dār bi-manzilat qal'a, wa-li-dhālika iḡthanū 'an 'amal sūr 'alayhā...'

whom they overpower from among the people of their religion. If the respective person is a Muslim, they keep and sell him after having taken his money. Because of this, one should neither open the door immediately to the Genoese nor be too friendly with them.

They conduct their trade using Venetian silver coinage (*darāhim al-bunduqiyya*), Florentine gold coinage (*al-dhabab al-aflūri*) as well as another *dinār* called *qarātīr* (قران), which is equal to four Venetian dirhams. Their [smaller] weight (*raṭluhum*) called *lira* is equivalent to its Egyptian analogue. Their [higher] weight (*qintār*) is equal to 150 *raṭl* and is called *qintār* [*quintale*]. It serves to buy grain (*ghallāt*), and if not, the one who buys great quantities buys per *kayl*. This *kayl* called *mūzrā* is a bit heavier than the Egyptian *ardab*.²²²

Al-Qalqashandī's (d. 821/1418) manual for secretaries, in turn, proves that Mamluk functionaries responsible for communicating with the Genoese also had knowledge about the republic's political organization.

Addressing the rulers of Genoa (*ḥukkām Janawa*): This community features different administrative ranks. These are the Podestà (*al-būdishṭā*), the Capitano (*al-kabtān*) and the Elders (*al-mashāyikh*). The model of how to address them according to the *tathqīf* is tripartite. "This written document has been issued to His Presence, the Podestà, the Capitano and the Elders, both illustrious, exalted, dignified, grave, So-and-so and So-and-so, as well as to the great and respected Elders, the holders of opinion and counsel, the communal authority of Genoa (*al-kumūrūn bi-Janawa*), most glorious Christian nation, grand representative of the Christian religion, friends of kings and sultans, may God most high inspire them to reason, couple

²²² al-ʿUmārī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, pp. 9–11 (AR), pp. 17–19 (IT): 'wa-ammā ahl Janawa fa-ḥukmuhum kumūn wa-lā malik lahum kāna wa-lā yakūn wa-ḥukmuhum al-ān fi ahl baytayn [taḥkum al-rajul min kulli bayt minhumā muddat sana thumma yakūn lahu sitārat al-baḥr wa-taḥkum al-rajul alladhī min al-bayt al-ākhar hākadhā sana thumma yakūn lahu sitārat al-baḥr hum] al-wāḥid bayt Dūryā wa-hādhā Bilbān al-mukhabbir lī minhum wa-l-bayt al-thānī bayt Isbīnyā qāla wa-dūn hādhayn al-baytayn fi Janawa bayt Ghurmādi wa-bayt Mālūn wa-bayt Dāmā wa-bayt Santūtararū (سنوطرطرو) wa-bayt Dāfishkī wa-ahl hādhihi al-buyūt ahl al-mashūra 'inda man yaḥkum wa-lahum nasab 'arīq fihim wa-mā dakhālū tahta ḥukm dhālik al-baytayn illā qahrān bi-l-sayf wa-qad kāna li-l-ḥukm fihim qadīman fi bayt Ghurmādi wa-bayt Mālūn yadūr baynahumā 'alā ḥukm al-kumūn wa-dūn hādhihi al-buyūt fihim bayt Agharīlī wa-bayt Fantilū wa-bayt Dilwarī wa-mamlakat Janawa mufarraqa lahum Ghalaza janbī al-Qusṭanṭīniyya wa-Kaffā 'alā baḥr Nīṭsh wa-law ijtama'at bilādūhum jā'a dawruhā qarīb talāthat [sic] ashhur wa-lākinnahā mufarraqa lā yajtamī'uhā nizām wa-lā yaḍummuhā malik humām wa-'asākīruhum idhā ijtama'at wa-lā takād tajtamī' naḥwa sittīn alif fāris fa-ammā al-rījāl fa-umam wa-quḍratuhum fi l-baḥr akthar min al-barr wa-li-kull min ahl hādhihi al-buyūt ghurbān wa-law ijtama'ū 'alā l-ittifāq laqadarū 'alā 'imārat khamsa mi'at ghurāb wa-laysa li-'asākīr Janawa iqtā'at wa-lā nuqūd bal li-kull minhum amlāk wa-asbāb 'alayhā fursān muqarrara tarkabū fi waqt ḥājatihim barran wa-baḥran wa-ahl Janawa ṣulḥ mā'a salāṭīnīnā wa-lahum taraddud ilā Miṣr wa-l-Shām fi l-tijārāt wa-man zafarū bihi min a'dāyihim min ahl dīnīhim akhadhū mālahu wa-qatalūhu fa-ammā in kāna min al-muslimīn fa-innahum idhā akhadhū mālahu abqūhu wa-bā'ūhu wa-li-hādhā li-l-Janawīyya lā yurfā' al-bāb lahum ra'san wa-lā yabsuṭ lahum ināsan wa-mu'āmalatuhum bi-l-darāhim al-bunduqiyya wa-l-dhabab al-aflūri wa-dinār yusammā qarātīr (قران) wa-huwa arba'at darāhim bunduqiyya wa-raṭluhum yusammā lirā wa-huwa naẓīr al-miṣrī sawā' wa-qintāruhum mi'a wa-khamsūn raṭlan wa-yusammā qintāran wa-bihi tushtarā al-ghallāt illā man yashtarī al-kathīr fa-innahu yashtarī bi-l-kayl wa-hādhā al-kayl yusammā mūzrā wa-huwa arjaḥ min al-ardab al-miṣrī bi-qalil...'. Note: the phrase in square brackets does not appear in Amari's edition and only features in the Italian translation (p. 17). The Arabic phrase is reproduced in al-ʿUmārī, *masālik al-abṣār*, ed. facs. Sezgin, vol. 2, p. 119.

their intentions with what is good, and let good counsel reign among them." Their banner contains this and this, and they are addressed as the rulers of Genoa (*ḥukkām Janawa*).²²³

Thus, at the end of the period of investigation, the maritime republic of Genoa, known mainly as the object of a tenth-century Fatimid raid to most Arabic-Islamic scholars until the twelfth century, was perceived as one of the great maritime powers of the late medieval Mediterranean. Although Arabic-Islamic historiographers did not fully record the actual frequency and intensity of diplomatic and commercial contact between Genoa and different parts of the Arabic-Islamic sphere, their works corroborate that another new player had entered the Mediterranean scene.

8.3. EMERGING CHRISTIAN REALMS OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA (9TH–15TH CENTURIES)

After the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, the emerging Christian North needed a certain time to establish political structures visible to contemporary Arabic-Islamic observers. This is suggested by the fact that Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic historiography of the late ninth and very early tenth century only addresses the downfall of the Visigothic kingdom, but fails to mention the nascent Christian North.²²⁴

From the early tenth century onwards, ethnonyms, toponyms, and brief comments show that knowledge about these polities had become available in the heartlands of the early medieval Islamic world. Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) mentions the emerging Catalans²²⁵ and coined the cliché that the Galicians were tougher and more bellicose than the Franks.²²⁶ Enemies of the Franks but Melkite Christians like them, they represented a great danger to al-Andalus. A certain Umayya b. Ishāq had sought refuge with the Galician king Ramiro II (*Rudhmīr*), a king residing in Zamora (*Sammūra*) who had succeeded Alfonso III (*Adfūnsh*) and Ordoño II (*Urdūn*). With Umayya's help, Ramiro almost defeated the troops of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in 327/939.²²⁷ Al-Iṣṭakhri (4th/10th cent.) lists a few toponyms in

²²³ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 46: 'al-mukātaba ilā ḥukkām Janawa: wa-hum jamā'a mutafāwītū al-marātib, wa-hum: al-būdishṭā, wa-l-kabṭān, wa-l-mashāyikh. wa-rasm al-mukātaba ilayhim 'alā mā dhakarahu al-tathqīf fī qaṣ' al-thulth: ṣadarat hādhihi al-mukātaba ilā ḥadrat al-būdishṭā wa-l-kabṭān al-jalīlayn, al-mukarramayn, al-muwaqqarayn, al-mubajjalayn, al-khaṭīrayn, fulān wa-fulān, wa-l-mashāyikh al-akābir al-muḥtarimīn, aṣḥāb al-ra'i wa-l-mashūra, al-kumunūn bi-Janawa, amjād al-umma al-masīhiyya, akābir dīn al-naṣrāniyya, aṣdiqā' al-mulūk wa-l-salāṭīn, alhamahum Allāh ta'ālā rushdahum, wa-qarana bi-l-khayr qaṣdahum, wa-ja'ala al-naṣiḥa 'indahum. tataḍamman i'lāmahum kadhā wa-kadhā. wa-ta'rīfuhum al-ḥukkām bi-Janawa.' Cf. Leo, *Geschichte*, vol. 4 (1830), pp. 437–43, on the constitution of Genoa in this period.

²²⁴ See Chapter 5.1. on this early historiography.

²²⁵ Still known as 'Franks': al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 914, p. 147 (AR), p. 344 (FR).

²²⁶ Ibid., § 910, p. 145 (AR), p. 343 (FR); repeated later by al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1530, p. 913; Abū l-Fidā', *al-mukhtaṣar*, ed. Zaynuhum 'Azab et al., vol. 1, p. 120.

²²⁷ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 917–19, pp. 148–50 (AR), pp. 345–6 (FR).

connection with the lands of Jáca (*bilād 'Aljaskas*), the Basques (*bilād al-Baskūns*), and the Galicians (*bilād al-Jalāliqa*). He recalls that these peoples were Christians (*naṣārā*) who lived in the 'territory of unbelief' (*dār al-kufr*) in a state of war with al-Andalus (*bilād ḥarb min al-naṣārā*).²²⁸ The 'chief of the Galicians' (*ʿaẓīm al-Jalāliqa*) resided in a city called Oviedo (*Ūbīt*) far from the lands of Islam (*buldān al-islām*).²²⁹ Al-Iṣṭakhri's pupil Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 378/988) refreshed this information, asserting that Galicia included the cities Zamora (*Samūrah*), Oviedo (*Ūbīt*), and had its capital in León (*wa-Liyūn maskan sultānihim*).²³⁰

These examples show that Middle Eastern scholars of the early tenth century were still unable to provide a comprehensive account of the still rather short history of the Christian North. Although they made use of information on a specific status quo, they were unable to sketch longer periods and developments. Only al-Mas'ūdī furnishes (the fragment of) a royal genealogy.

8.3.1. Annalistic Records from al-Andalus (10th–11th Centuries)

Andalusian scholars of the tenth and eleventh centuries such as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955) and his son ʿIsā, both compiled in the work of Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076), furnished the building blocks for a more comprehensive Arabic-Islamic history of the Christian North. Since their works have only reached us in fragments, it is difficult to form a final judgement on what they knew exactly. However, since the extant volumes of Ibn Ḥayyān's history of al-Andalus (i.e. II-1, II-2, III, V, VII) partially cover the years 180–364/796–974, they allow tracing important political developments and thus stand at the beginning of a systematic occupation with the Christian North.

With regard to northeastern Spain, Ibn Ḥayyān's earliest extant volume deals with the Carolingian incursions and the Frankish conquest of Barcelona in the early ninth century.²³¹ Recording an alliance of William of Septimania with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II against the Carolingians, it takes note of the emerging Catalan sphere's increasing independence vis-à-vis its Carolingian overlords.²³² In line with this, Barcelona of the very late ninth century figures as 'the capital of the tyrant of the Franks' (*qā'idat tāghiyat al-Faranja*). Its ruler Wilfred I the Hairy (*Anqadīd b. Mundhir*), the 'comes of this region' (*qūmis dhālika al-suq*), is succeeded by his son Sunyer (*Shunyar*).²³³ Ibn Ḥayyān's later volumes mention the county's occasional military confrontations with Umayyad Córdoba and its proxies until the year 328/940²³⁴ and describe the frequent diplomatic dealings of Borrell II (*Buril b.*

²²⁸ al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 41.

²²⁹ Ibid., p. 43.

²³⁰ Ibn Ḥawqal, *ṣurat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, p. 111.

²³¹ On the conquest and its aftermath, see Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makkī, trans. Corriente, fol. 95v, AH 185, pp. 116–17 (AR), pp. 36–7 (ES); fol. 100r–100v, AH 191 and AH 193, pp. 130–2 (AR), pp. 47–9 (ES); fol. 101v–102r, AH 197, pp. 135–7 (AR), pp. 51–2 (ES).

²³² Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makkī, AH 232–34, pp. 2–3.

²³³ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis III*, ed. al-ʿArabī, AH 284, p. 149.

²³⁴ Ibid., AH 284, p. 149: death of Wilfred I after an attack of the Banū Qasī in 897–98; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmers and Corriente, AH 323, pp. 366–8: Muslim maritime attack against the Frankish realm including Barcelona; AH 324, p. 379: Frankish counterattack led by the

Shunyir) with Córdoba in the years 360–64/970–74. In connection with these embassies, Ibn Ḥayyān addresses certain aspects of the county's internal organization.²³⁵

Ibn Ḥayyān also recorded the rise of a polity populated by Basques and centred on the city of Pamplona. Although he focuses on its military confrontations with al-Andalus, he reports on various forms of interaction that helped to transmit data about the realm's topography and internal affairs. Until the middle of the ninth century, Umayyad forces clashed repeatedly with Basque forces assisted by other Christian groups such as the Banū Qasī²³⁶ and led, in 200/815, by 'the master of Pamplona' (*sāhib Banblūna*), Velasco el Gascón (*Balashk al-Jalashqī*).²³⁷ An Umayyad victory against the 'commander of Pamplona/the Basques' (*amīr Banblūnal al-Bashkuns*), García Iñiguez (*Gharsiyya Ibn Wannaquh*), his son Galindo (*Ghaland*), and his brother Fortún (*Furtūn*) opened the way for a truce, negotiated by a certain Velasco Garcés (*Balashk b. Gharsiyya*) and sixty of his men in 228/842.²³⁸ The truce failed to forestall another raid in 232/846.²³⁹ The 'master of Pamplona' (*sāhib Banblūna*), Iñigo Iñiguez Arista (*Ibn Wannaquh* or *Yannaquh b. Yannaquh*), then received a security guarantee (*amān*) in 235/850.²⁴⁰ When he died in battle in 237/852, he left the 'emirate of Pamplona' (*imārat Banblūna*) to his son García Iñiguez (*Gharsiyya*),²⁴¹ who was soon taken captive for ransom by marauding Norsemen (*al-Majūs*).²⁴²

A hot phase of Umayyad–Basque confrontation, the reign of Sancho I Garcés (*Shānjuh b. Gharsiya b. Wanaqa al-Bashkunsī*) receives considerable attention. In 280/893, the realm became the target of a 'jihad' against the polytheists'.²⁴³ Sancho, 'count of Pamplona' (*qūmis Banblūna*) and one of 'the two rulers of Christendom' (*malikay al-naṣrāniyya*), attacked Tudela in 303/915–16²⁴⁴ and

ruler of Barcelona (*sāhib Barshalūna*), seconded by the Galician king; AH 325, p. 406: the rebellious Muhammad b. Hāshim is forced to sever relations with the polytheists (*al-mushrikīn*) including Barcelona (*balad Barshalūna*); AH 328, pp. 454–5: peace treaty concluded between 'Abd al-Rahmān III and Sunyer, son of Wilfred I (*Shunyir b. Ghifrid*), 'master of Barcelona and its districts' (*sāhib Barshalūna wa-a'māliḥā*); renewal of the treaty in AH 329, p. 469, and AH 330, p. 474.

²³⁵ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis VII*, ed. al-Ḥajjī, AH 360, pp. 20–3: Enneco Bonfill, son of Sindered (*Būn Fīlī b. Sindrit*), sent by Borrell II (*Buril b. Shunyir*) to al-Ḥakam II, is called the count's 'comes' (*qūmis*) and confidant (*thīqa*) as well as the administrator responsible for the latter's fortresses and the provision of his cities (*muqaddamuhū 'alā ḥuṣūnīhi wa-muhimmat mudunīhi*), while a certain 'Ghitār' is called 'the noble comes and the amīr Borrell's administrator of the city of Barcelona' (*al-qūmis al-nabīh muqaddam al-amīr Buril 'alā madīnat Barshalūna*); see also *ibid.*, p. 32; AH 363, pp. 168–9, on Borrell's envoy 'Ghitār', 'master of the city of Barcelona and important figure in his entourage' (*sāhib madīnat Barshalūna kabīr aṣḥābīhi*). Another embassy in AH 363, p. 182.

²³⁶ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makki, trans. Corriente, fol. 96r–96v, AH 186, pp. 118–19 (AR), pp. 38–9 (ES); fol. 103r, AH 200, p. 139 (AR), p. 54 (ES); fol. 184v–185r, AH 228, p. 448 (AR), p. 310 (ES).

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 103r, AH 200, p. 139 (AR), p. 54 (ES).

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 184v–185r, AH 227–28, pp. 447–9 (AR), pp. 309–10 (ES).

²³⁹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makki, fol. 189 alif, AH 232, p. 1.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 190 alif, AH 235, p. 5.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 193 alif, AH 237, p. 16.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, fol. 263 alif, AH 245–46, pp. 309–10; fol. 264 alif, AH 247, p. 313.

²⁴³ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis III*, ed. al-'Arabī, AH 280, p. 35: 'jihad al-mushrikīn'. Sancho is wrongly defined as García's son instead of his nephew.

²⁴⁴ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 83, AH 303, p. 124.

surged forth into al-Andalus with a joint force of Galicians and other Christians in 305/917 and 308/920.²⁴⁵ The years 311–12/923–24 witnessed an Umayyad invasion into ‘the heart of their territory and the place of their security’,²⁴⁶ ‘which had never been entered before’.²⁴⁷ This resulted in the destruction of Pamplona’s main church, ‘where they swear their oaths and where their rites take place’,²⁴⁸ another church in Peña de Qays patronized by Sancho,²⁴⁹ as well as the latter’s ‘place of tranquility and rest’ in San Esteban.²⁵⁰ A cause for joy (*masarra*) and a sign of grace (*ni‘ma*), this ‘ruler of the Basques’ (*malik al-Bashkuns*) died in 314/926, when he fell off his horse after returning from a military campaign.²⁵¹

Around ten years later, in 322/934, Toda Aznárez (*Ṭūta ibnat Ashīnar*) pleaded for a peace treaty on the grounds of her kinship with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. Both rulers concluded the treaty, fiercely opposed by count Fortūn Garcés (*Furtūn b. Gharsiyya*),²⁵² in Calahorra, in the presence of Toda’s noblemen, counts, and bishops.²⁵³ In the same year, a ‘master of Pamplona’ (*ṣāḥib Banblūna*) called Sancho (*Shānjuh b. Gharsiyya*) aided his Galician brother-in-law Alfonso (*Adhfūnsh b. Urdūn*) against another Sancho (*Shānjuh b. Urdūn*).²⁵⁴ When Toda supported a rebellion against Córdoba, Pamplona was attacked in 325/937.²⁵⁵ Although fended off by Toda’s scribe (*kātib al-‘ilja Ṭūta*), a raid in the following year resulted in the captivity and execution of several Basque nobles (*ashrāf al-Bashkuns*).²⁵⁶ A joint force of Christians was necessary to avert a second Muslim attack.²⁵⁷ Consequently, García Sánchez I (*Gharsiyya b. Shānjuh b. Gharsiyya, ṣāḥib Banblūna*) formed part of a peace treaty concluded between ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III and Ramiro of Galicia in 329/941.²⁵⁸ Forty years later, his son Sancho II Garcés Abarca (*Shānjuh b. Gharsiyya*) sent envoys to the court of al-Ḥakam in 360/971 and 362/973,²⁵⁹ but joined a Christian alliance against al-Andalus in 364/975,²⁶⁰ when Ibn Ḥayyān’s account breaks off.

The leading Christian power of the peninsula, the kingdom of Asturias and León, figures under the name ‘Galicia’ (*Jilliqliyya*). In Ibn Ḥayyān’s history, its rulers and their counsellors are the only northern Christians credited with direct

²⁴⁵ Ibid., fol. 94, AH 305, p. 143; fol. 104, pp. 107–10, AH 308, pp. 160, 164–7.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., fol. 123, AH 312, p. 192: ‘uqr dārihim wa-makān amnihim’.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., fol. 124, AH 312, p. 192: ‘lam tudkhal qabla dhālika’.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., fol. 125, AH 312, p. 193: ‘mawḍi’ bay’atihim wa-makān mansakihim’.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., fol. 125, AH 312, p. 194: ‘qad sayyadahā al-‘ilj’.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., fol. 126–128, AH 312, pp. 194–7, 194: ‘Shant Ashtiban, wa-kāna mawḍi’ istirāḥ al-‘ilj Shanjuh wa-makān ṭama’nīnatihi’.

²⁵¹ Ibid., fol. 134, AH 314, p. 207.

²⁵² Ibid., fol. 226–27, AH 322, p. 336.

²⁵³ Ibid., fol. 225–27, AH 322, pp. 335–7, 335: ‘wujūh rijālīhā wa-qawāmisihā wa-asāqifatihā’. Cf. Martínez Díez, *Condado* (2005), vol. 1, pp. 315–16.

²⁵⁴ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis* V, ed. Chalmers and Corriente, fol. 233, AH 322, p. 344, fails to mention the relationship between both. He may have confused Sancho with García Sánchez I, whose mother Toda reigned on behalf of her son between 931 and 934.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., fol. 271–72, AH 325, p. 400.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., fol. 284–86, AH 326, pp. 420–1.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., fol. 289, AH 327, p. 440.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., fol. 316, AH 329, p. 467.

²⁵⁹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis* VII, ed. al-Ḥajjī, AH 360, p. 64; AH 362, p. 138; annex, AH 360, p. 241.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., AH 364, pp. 138, 218, 234.

speech.²⁶¹ Lacking the first volume of Ibn Ḥayyān's work, Galicia first appears in connection with the reign of Alfonso II (*Adfunsh, malik al-Jalāliqa*), dated to the years 175–227/791–842.²⁶² An unnamed capital, the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela with its bishop as well as nobles²⁶³ are mentioned as part of a realm that suffered various Muslim raids,²⁶⁴ but also offered refuge to Muslim renegades. After seeking the king's help, a certain Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-Jabbār was killed at the king's order in 225/840, when it had become apparent that he sought reconciliation with Córdoba.²⁶⁵ Alfonso's II successor, Ramiro I (*Rudhmīr*),²⁶⁶ lacked the strength to impede Norman groups from wreaking havoc on the Galician coast in 229/843–44.²⁶⁷ The realm's achievements were acknowledged nevertheless: during a raid against León in 231/845–46, the *amīr* Muḥammad ordered to measure the city's walls, which his troops had failed to destroy because of their impressive size.²⁶⁸ Ramiro I died in 235/849–50 after eight years of rule, succeeded by his son Ordoño I (*Urdūn b. Rudhmīr*).²⁶⁹ His reign witnessed a Muslim raid in 239/853,²⁷⁰ a counterattack in 246/860,²⁷¹ and Ordoño's defence of the region Álava de los Castillos (*Alaba wa-l-Qilā'*) in 249/863.²⁷² Alfonso III, falsely defined as another son of Ramiro (*Adhfūnsh b. Rudhmīr*), managed to capture the military commander Ḥāshim in 261/874²⁷³ and offered protection (*dhimma*) to the rebel 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān al-Jillīqī. Settling in 'the city of Portugal' (*madīnat Burtuqāl*) in 261/874,²⁷⁴ Ibn Marwān proved uncooperative when Alfonso attacked Muslim territory in 263/876,²⁷⁵ but fended off a counterattack in 264/877.²⁷⁶ In 266/879, he came to Alfonso's aid,²⁷⁷ but then returned to Islamic territory,²⁷⁸ whereas his companion Sa'dūn fell prey to a Christian attack in 280/893.²⁷⁹ The description of a *jihād* launched against Galicia in 288/901 features Alfonso III's correct genealogy as the son of Ordoño (*Adhfūnsh b. Urdhūn*), mentions the king's Christian entourage,²⁸⁰ lists León (*Liyūn*) and Zamora (*Samūra*) among the

²⁶¹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makkī, trans. Corriente, fol. 183v, AH 225, pp. 443–4 (AR), pp. 305–6 (ES); Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makkī, fol. 283b, AH 266, pp. 396–7; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 80–81, AH 303, pp. 120–2.

²⁶² Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makkī, trans. Corriente, fol. 184v, AH 227, p. 448 (AR), p. 309 (ES).

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, fol. 183r–184r, AH 225, pp. 442–5 (AR), pp. 304–6 (ES).

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 100r, AH 192, p. 131 (AR), pp. 47–8 (ES); fol. 125r, p. 220 (AR), p. 119 (ES); fol. 145r, p. 299 (AR), p. 187 (ES); fol. 146r, p. 302 (AR), p. 189 (ES); fol. 179v, AH 223, p. 428 (AR), p. 292.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 181v, AH 225, pp. 436–7 (AR), p. 298 (ES); fol. 183r–184r, AH 225, pp. 442–6 (AR), pp. 304–6 (ES).

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 184v, AH 227, p. 448 (AR), p. 309 (ES), falsely defines Ramiro as Alfonso's son instead of his cousin.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 186v, AH 229, pp. 455–6 (AR), p. 317 (ES).

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 188v, AH 231, p. 462 (AR), p. 322 (ES).

²⁶⁹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makkī, AH 235, p. 6.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 254b, AH 239, p. 271.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 263a, AH 246, p. 310.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, fol. 265a, AH 249, p. 318.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, fol. 273b, AH 261, p. 344.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 274b, AH 261, p. 350.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 281a, AH 263, pp. 382–3.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 281b, AH 264, p. 385.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 283b, AH 266, pp. 395–6.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 283b–284a, AH 266, pp. 395–9.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 279b, p. 376; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis III*, ed. al-'Arabī, AH 280, p. 43.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, AH 288, p. 158: 'wa-jamī' man ijtama'a lahu min wujūh al-naṣrāniyya', p. 160: 'wa-man ijtama'a ilayhi min al-naṣārā'.

Galicians' most important cities,²⁸¹ and defines Zamora as 'the recently reconstructed city of the unbelievers and nucleus of their power'.²⁸²

Ibn Ḥayyān knew very well that Alfonso's reign ended in turmoil. When his son García (*Gharsiyya b. Adhfūnsh*) rebelled against his father, Alfonso and his wife were imprisoned in a monastery in León. Thanks to the support of Christian counts and nobles (*al-qawāmis wa-wujūh al-naṣrāniyya*) who felt unjustly treated by the king, García was able to take power in a region stretching from Pamplona in the east to Asturias (*Ashtūryash*) in the west. In the meanwhile, his brother Ordoño had withdrawn to the farthest west of Galicia (*Ghalisiya, ʿaraf Jilliḡiyya*) touching upon Coimbra (*Qulumriya*). Because of his good style of governance (*aḥsan al-sira fī ra'iyatihī*), the Christians of León and Astorga offered him the throne on García's death. He left western Galicia to trusted counts and became one of the fiercest opponents of Muslim Spain.²⁸³ As ruler of western Galicia, Ordoño (*Urdūn b. Adfūnsh*) had already successfully raided Evora (*Yābura*) in 301/913.²⁸⁴ In 303/915, after García's death,²⁸⁵ 'when he had stabilized his reign and enjoyed the support of the counts' (*inda istisāq mulkihi wa-ijtimā' al-qawāmis 'alayhi*), Ordoño set out for Mérida from his residence at León (*madīnat Liyūn ḥadratuhu*), levying troops from the borders of the realm of Pamplona to the western coasts of Galicia (*min ḥadd Banblūna ilā sayf al-bahr min aqsā Jilliḡiyya*).²⁸⁶ During the raid, he used the services of 'rebellious Muslim guides' (*nuzzā' fasaqat al-muslimin*) whom he executed when they failed to obey orders.²⁸⁷ Another joint raid with Sancho, the count of Pamplona (*Shanjūh b. Gharsiyya al-Bashkunsī, qūmis Banblūna*), followed in 305/917.²⁸⁸ Ordoño's campaign in 307/919–20²⁸⁹ provoked retaliation one year later.²⁹⁰ When Ordoño and Sancho of Pamplona mobilized the surrounding unbelievers,²⁹¹ 'Abd al-Raḥmān III pushed forward and attacked San Esteban (*Shant Ashtibin*), 'nucleus of the infidels and capital of their march'.²⁹² The 'two Christian rulers' (*malikay al-naṣrāniyya*) then drew together to repel the Muslim attack.²⁹³

Ordoño's reign was followed by a period of instability. The short-lived Fruela (*al-tāghiya Fluwīra*) died in 313/925. His successor Alfonso IV (*Adhfūnsh*) retired to a monastery in 319/931 and was replaced by his brother Ramiro (*Rudhmīr*).²⁹⁴ During a raid in 321/933, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III was informed that counts from the families Gómez and Ansúrez (*qawāmis min Banī Ghūmis wa-Anshur*) had formed an alliance with the royal monk Alfonso and defeated the ruling king Ramiro II,

²⁸¹ Ibid., AH 288, p. 156: 'kubrā mudunihim'.

²⁸² Ibid., AH 288, p. 157: 'madīnat al-kafara al-ḥadīth al-īṭān, maqarr shawkatihim', p. 160: 'madīnat Samūra, min ādānī mudun Jilliḡiyya'. Alfonso's initiative of reconstructing and repopulating the city is mentioned in AH 280, p. 131.

²⁸³ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, AH 303, pp. 123–4.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., AH 301, pp. 93, 95. ²⁸⁵ Ibid., AH 301, p. 98.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., AH 303, p. 120. ²⁸⁷ Ibid., AH 303, pp. 120, 122.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., AH 305, p. 143. ²⁸⁹ Ibid., AH 307, p. 155.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., AH 307, p. 156; AH 308, p. 159.

²⁹¹ Ibid., AH 308, p. 160: 'istamadā bi-man jāwarahumā min ahl tilka al-aṭrāf wa-man wālahumā min ahl al-kafara'.

²⁹² Ibid., AH 308, p. 163: 'bayḡat al-kafara wa-qā'idat thaghrihim'.

²⁹³ Ibid., AH 308, pp. 165, 167.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., AH 313, p. 202.

thus ushering in a period of strife.²⁹⁵ Reproducing 'Isā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī, Ibn Ḥayyān explains how Ramiro managed to win the upper hand in one of the most elaborate passages on the internal affairs of Galicia so far.²⁹⁶ Another Muslim raid in 322/934 saw 'the polytheist enemies of God' (*a'dā' Allāh al-mushbrikin*), 'Ramiro, their king and all his counts' (*Rudhmīr b. Urdūn, malikuhum, wa-jamī' al-qawāmīs*), united again.²⁹⁷ The rest of Ramiro's reign was marked by the latter's ambivalent attitude towards Umayyad al-Andalus. In 324/936, Ramiro broke a peace treaty concluded with 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in 323/935.²⁹⁸ When informed that strife between Ramiro and the count Manyūra had weakened Ramiro and his son's (*Fardhiland b. Rudhmīr*) defensive capacities,²⁹⁹ 'Abd al-Raḥmān obliged a certain Muḥammad b. Hāshim to break off relations with the Christian North, including Galicia, in 326/937.³⁰⁰ He sent a raiding squadron against the western Galicians (*Jalāliqa al-gharb*) in the same year,³⁰¹ against Ramiro's Muslim ally Umayya b. Iṣḥāq in the following year.³⁰² When a Galician raid was checked in 327/939, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III ordered the public execution of one hundred Galician nobles (*mi'at 'ilj min wujūhihim*) in Córdoba.³⁰³ Taken captive during another Muslim raid, the commander Muḥammad b. Hāshim remained in Ramiro's power for more than two years.³⁰⁴ The ensuing Muslim attack against allied Christian forces brought about the death of several important Galicians, including Ramiro's son.³⁰⁵ When 'Abd al-Raḥmān prepared another raid against Galicia in 328/939–40,³⁰⁶ Ramiro pleaded for peace. The repeated exchange of envoys and several smaller Muslim raids destined to undermine Galician morale, resulted in another peace treaty concluded in 329/941.³⁰⁷ In addition to Muḥammad b. Hāshim's liberation in 330/942, 'Abd al-Raḥmān received presents and regained hold of his personal copy of the Qur'ān lost during one of the raids.³⁰⁸ In the same year, however, Ramiro took advantage of the incursion of Hungarian groups in the Upper March of al-Andalus, thus reopening hostilities.³⁰⁹

In the reign of al-Ḥakam II, relations with Galicia improved for a while. In 360/971, the count 'Ghund Shalb b. Masarrah' from the city 'Lastira' in lower Galicia (*adāni Jilliḡiyya*) sent a messenger who informed the caliph that Norman groups had entered the Duero Valley.³¹⁰ The Leonese princess Elvira, daughter of the late Ramiro II (*Halwīra b. al-malik al-hālik Rudhmīr*) and regent during the minority of her nephew Ramiro III (*ḥaḍinat al-malik al-mumallak ba'dihi, Rudhmīr*

²⁹⁵ Ibid., AH 321, pp. 324–5.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., AH 322, pp. 344–5.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., AH 322, pp. 338–41, esp. 340.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., AH 323, p. 365; AH 324, p. 369.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., AH 325, p. 402.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., AH 326, p. 406.

³⁰¹ Ibid., AH 326, p. 425.

³⁰² Ibid., AH 327, p. 431.

³⁰³ Ibid., AH 327, pp. 431–2.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., AH 327, pp. 435–6.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., fol. 299, AH 327, p. 440.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., AH 328, p. 449.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., AH 328, pp. 450–1, 457; AH 329, pp. 465–8.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., AH 330, pp. 473–5.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., AH 330, pp. 483–4. On this incursion, see Schamiloglu, 'Name' (1984), pp. 215–16.

³¹⁰ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muḡtabis VII*, ed. al-Ḥajjī, AH 360, p. 27: 'dakhala Qurṭuba Suls [?] rasūl al-qūmis Ghund Shalb b. Masarrah bi-kitāba min madīnat Lastira min adāni Jilliḡiyya... bi-dhikr dukhūl al-Majūs – ahlakahum Allāh – yawm al-sabt qablahu wādī Dwīruh...'. According to al-Ḥajjī's commentary, pp. 254–5, we are dealing with the person who poisoned Sancho I of León (d. 355/966) and who still lived to see the age of al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Amīr, i.e. the period after the death of al-Ḥakam II in 366/976. Al-Ḥajjī identifies the city 'Lastira' with 'Lamego'.

b. Shanja b. Rudhmīr), sent another embassy.³¹¹ In the next year, al-Ḥakam II regularly sent ambassadors to Galicia with the aim of acquiring as much intelligence as possible in meetings with various counts.³¹² Another Norman attack on the northern coasts prompted him to send out spies to the region around Santiago de Compostela (*Shant Yāqub*).³¹³ Messengers from Galicia's regent Elvira were sent back to Galicia in disgrace when they failed to conform to the protocol of subservience demanded by the caliph during an audience in Córdoba in 363/973.³¹⁴ A Christian alliance involving Galicians (*al-Jalāliqa*) attacked al-Andalus in 364/974.³¹⁵ In consequence, their ruler Ramiro III (*Rudhmīr b. Shanja*) was put under severe pressure.³¹⁶ Thus ends Ibn Ḥayyān's fragmentary annalistic account of Asturian and Leonese history.

Finally, Ibn Ḥayyān's work allows tracing the rise of Castile. Entries in the earlier volumes regularly mention a region called Álava de los Castillos (*Alaba wa-l-Qilā'*). Subject to frequent raids in the first half of the ninth century,³¹⁷ the region was defended by the Galician king in 249/863³¹⁸ and lumped together with Pamplona as the target of a '*jihād* against the polytheists' (*jihād al-mushrikin*) in 280/893.³¹⁹ Modern scholarship occasionally explains the etymology of the toponym Castile, first recorded in Latin around 800, with reference to the Latin term 'castellum'.³²⁰ If this is accepted, the Arabic term for 'fortress' (*qalā'a*, pl. *qilā'*), part of the toponym 'Alaba wa-l-Qilā'' and independently used in the toponym 'Land of fortresses' (*balad al-qilā'*),³²¹ could be regarded as the early Arabic equivalent to the toponym Castile. However, Ibn Ḥayyān continues to use the toponyms 'Alaba', 'al-Qilā'', and 'Alaba wa-l-Qilā'' up to year 363/974,³²² when he already employs an Arabic transcription of the term 'Castile'. The latter first appears in connection with the years 280/893 and 305/917. Here Ibn Ḥayyān mentions 'the people of Castile' (*ahl Qasṭalla*) as well as 'the land Castile' (*balad Qashtīlya*) inhabited by the Christian 'people of Castile' (*ahl Qashtīlya*).³²³ Certain passages suggest that the Arabic term for Álava de los Castillos (*Alaba wa-l-Qilā'*) was occasionally coterminous with the Arabic term for Castile. A certain Fernán González (*Fardhiland*

³¹¹ Ibid., AH 360, p. 63.

³¹² Ibid., AH 361, p. 76.

³¹³ Ibid., AH 361, p. 93.

³¹⁴ Ibid., AH 363, pp. 146–7.

³¹⁵ Ibid., AH 364, p. 218.

³¹⁶ Ibid., AH 364, pp. 234–8.

³¹⁷ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makki, trans. Corriente, fol. 95v, AH 185, p. 117 (AR), p. 37 (ES): 'balad Alaba wa-l-Qilā''; fol. 176v, AH 208, p. 418 (AR), p. 282 (ES): 'Alaba wa-l-Qilā' min dār al-ḥarb'; fol. 177r, AH 210, p. 420 (AR), p. 284 (ES): 'dakhala Alaba min balad al-'aduww'; fol. 179v, AH 223, p. 184 (AR), p. 292 (ES): 'Alaba wa-l-Qilā'.

³¹⁸ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-2*, ed. Makki, fol. 265a, AH 249, p. 318.

³¹⁹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis III*, ed. al-'Arabī, AH 280, p. 35.

³²⁰ Chalmeta, 'Qashtāla' (1978), p. 712; Gallego García, 'Languages' (2003), p. 112.

³²¹ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis II-1*, ed. Makki, trans. Corriente, fol. 180r, AH 224, p. 429 (AR), p. 292 (ES): 'balad Alaba wa-l-Qilā'... ilā balad al-Qilā'.

³²² Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 229, AH 322, p. 340: 'arḍ al-Qilā' wa-Alaba'; fol. 231, AH 322, p. 342: 'bilād Alaba wa-l-Qilā''; fol. 269, AH 325, p. 397: 'qawāmis kuffar Alaba'; fol. 276, AH 325, p. 406: 'ilā Alaba, ilā l-Qilā''; AH 327, p. 440: 'wa-Alaba wa-l-Qilā' wa-ahl Qashtīlya'; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis VII*, ed. al-Ḥajjī, AH 363, pp. 188–9: 'ṣāḥib Qashtīla wa-ilba'; annex, AH 360, pp. 241–2: 'ṣāḥib Qashtīla wa-Alaba'.

³²³ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis III*, ed. al-'Arabī, AH 280, p. 79; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, fol. 88–89, AH 305, p. 135.

b. Ghundishalb) is called 'comes' (*qūmis*) of the 'land of Castile' (*ard Qashtilya*) in 312/924, 'master of Alaba wa-l-Qilā' (*sāhib Alaba wa-l-Qilā*) in 322/934, and 'master of Castile' (*sāhib Qashtilya*) in 329–30/941–42.³²⁴ This suggests that both toponyms denote parts of the same political unit. However, Ibn Ḥayyān also lists the Christians of Álava de los Castillos (*Alaba wa-l-Qilā*) and the people of Castile (*ahl Qashtilya*) separately when he mentions that they drew together troops to fend off a raid led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in 327/939.³²⁵

Fernán González (*Fardhiland b. Ghundishalb*), reviled as 'the dog' (*al-kalb*),³²⁶ is the first ruling figure mentioned in connection with an Arabic transcription of the term Castile. Ibn Ḥayyān regarded him as subject to the king of Galicia in 322/934³²⁷ and as 'one of the leading counts of Galicia' (*min 'uzamā' al-qawāmis bi-Jilliḡiyya*). He served as witness to his king when the latter concluded a peace treaty with 'Abd al-Raḥmān in 329/941,³²⁸ but mobilized his forces independently to support his brother-in-law, García Sánchez (*Gharsiyya b. Shānjuh*) of Pamplona, against the Muslims in 330/942.³²⁹ Ibn Ḥayyān's terminology suggests that Fernán González's son García Fernández (*Gharsiyya b. Fardhaland b. Ghund Shalb*) enlarged Castilian territory and acquired a larger degree of independence. García Fernández is still called 'master of Castile and Álava' (*sāhib Qashtila wa-Alaba/Ilba*) in 360/971 and 363/974,³³⁰ but 'master of Castile and its territories' (*sāhib Qashtila wa-'amalihā*) in 364/975.³³¹ Ibn Ḥayyān fails to explain why, in 363/974, a certain Nuño (*Nūna b. Ghund Shalb*) also features as 'master of Castile' (*sāhib Qashtila*).³³² He twice reviles García Fernández as 'the pig' (*al-khinzīr*), probably because he formed part of Christian alliances fighting the Muslims.³³³ García's station as a quasi-independent ruler is expressed in the fact that he sent delegations to Córdoba in 360/971 and 363/974.³³⁴

In summary, a reader of Ibn Ḥayyān is able to trace how a highly entangled Christian North underwent a continuous process of territorial reconfiguration between the eighth and the tenth century. The Christian North's combined energies were often directed against the Muslim south which kept this region in check by means of frequent raids and regular diplomatic contact. All this enabled the Muslim south to acquire a fair amount of data including various details on internal affairs. Notwithstanding, Ibn Ḥayyān was still far from writing a systematic history of the Christian North. His records on the Christian neighbours are annalistic and always subordinate to the greater framework of the Muslim history of al-Andalus.

³²⁴ Ibid., fol. 128, AH 312, p. 197; AH 322, p. 342; fol. 316, AH 329, p. 467; fol. 326, AH 330, p. 484.

³²⁵ Ibid., fol. 298, AH 327, p. 440.

³²⁶ Ibid., fol. 231–32, AH 322, p. 343.

³²⁷ Ibid., fol. 231, AH 322, p. 343: the Galician king is defined as 'his ruler' (*malikahu*). On his role for Castile, see Martínez Díez, *Condado* (2005), vol. 1, pp. 291–458.

³²⁸ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmera and Corriente, fol. 316, AH 329, p. 467.

³²⁹ Ibid., fol. 326, AH 330, p. 484.

³³⁰ Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis VII*, ed. al-Hajjī, annex, AH 360, pp. 241–2; AH 363, pp. 188–9.

³³¹ Ibid., AH 364, p. 234.

³³² Ibid., AH 363, p. 183.

³³³ Ibid., AH 364, pp. 236–7.

³³⁴ Ibid., AH 360, p. 64; AH 363, pp. 188–9; annex, AH 360, pp. 241–2. Cf. Martínez Díez, *Condado* (2005), vol. 2, pp. 463–9.

This is different in the geo-/ethnographical work of al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), which contains independent chapters on 'the city of Barcelona' (*madīnat Barshalūna*) and 'the land of Galicia' (*balad Jilliḡiyya*),³³⁵ as well as miscellaneous entries on the Basques (*al-Bashkansh*, *al-Bashkans*, *al-Bashākisa*, *al-Washkansch*).³³⁶ The work holds some interesting material, e.g. on the administrative division of Galicia into four parts,³³⁷ a business transaction with a Galician ruler called 'Fardiland',³³⁸ as well as a marriage scandal involving the count of Barcelona. In this context, al-Bakrī also comments on the living conditions of the city's Jewish population.³³⁹ Overall, however, he does not treat the Christian North systematically and often reproduces older information, including passages taken from al-Mas'ūdī³⁴⁰ and the travel account of Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī.³⁴¹ Al-Bakrī's work does not provide the systematic overview on the Christian North that should have been possible to a scholar writing at the end of the eleventh century. However, seen in combination with Ibn Ḥayyān's compilation, it shows that Andalusian scholars of the eleventh century could acquire extensive information on the Christian North.

8.3.2. A Fragmentary Middle Eastern Echo (12th–14th Centuries)

Up to the thirteenth century, Middle Eastern scholars could not measure up to their Andalusian peers. Confronted with the crusader onslaught and internal problems, many Middle Eastern scholars of this period neglected to document what happened in the Muslim West. Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), for example, either lacked knowledge or curiosity concerning the Christian realms of the Iberian Peninsula. His geographic encyclopaedia lacks the lemmata Pamplona, León, Portugal, and Aragon. Barcelona (*Barshalūna*) only appears as a geographical point of reference in the lemmata 'al-Andulus' (sic) and 'Tarracona'.³⁴² Galicia (*Jilliḡiyya/Jaliqa*) simply features as a region in the northwest of al-Andalus that was traversed by the conqueror Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in the period of the Muslim invasion, gave refuge to the Andalusian rebel Ibn Marwān, and was home to a certain Ibn Mākūlā, who hailed from 'one of the villages in the land of the Rūm adjacent to al-Andalus'.³⁴³ Zamora

³³⁵ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1527–30, pp. 910–13.

³³⁶ Ibid., § 530, p. 325; § 570, p. 342; § 1495, p. 894; § 1531, p. 914; § 1533, p. 915.

³³⁷ Ibid., § 1528–30, pp. 912–13. These four parts are represented by the toponyms Braga (*Brāḡara*), Asturias (*Ashtūrish*), Castile (*Qāshīla*), and Portugal (*al-Burtuḡālīsh*).

³³⁸ Ibid., § 1469, p. 878; cf. Abdellatif et al. (eds), FranceMed, 'Introduction' (2012), pp. 24–6.

³³⁹ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1527, pp. 910–11.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., § 516, p. 319, on the Galician origins of the Visigothic king Roderic; § 568–70, pp. 341–2 on the rebellion of a certain Umayya b. Ishāq. Cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 398, p. 191 (AR), pp. 145–6 (FR), on Roderic; § 917–19, pp. 148–50 (AR), pp. 345–6 (FR), on Umayya b. Ishāq.

³⁴¹ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1530, p. 913.

³⁴² Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, lemma 'al-Andulus' [sic], p. 377; vol. 3, lemma 'Tarrakūna', p. 532.

³⁴³ Ibid., vol. 1, lemma 'al-Andulus' [sic], pp. 376–7; vol. 2, lemma 'Jilliḡiyya', pp. 109–10: 'balda min bilād al-Rūm al-mutākhima li-l-Andalus'.

(*Samūra*) is 'part of the lands of the Franks'³⁴⁴ while Castile (*Qashtāla*) is laconically defined as:

a great region in al-Andalus. Today, its capital lies in Toledo. It is altogether in the hand of the Franks.³⁴⁵

Notwithstanding, the arrival of large numbers of Western Europeans in the Middle East of crusader times also sparked interest in western affairs. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) linked the crusading movement to other manifestations of Latin-Christian expansionism as expressed in the conquest of Sicily and in the rise of Christian, alias 'Frankish' power on the Iberian Peninsula.³⁴⁶ Because he had recourse to undefined works of Andalusian scholarship,³⁴⁷ his annals contain a great amount of data on the Iberian Peninsula's Christian polities. Fully preserved, his work reaches back further into the history of the Christian North than the extant fragments of Ibn Ḥayyān, covering the period from the Muslim invasion in 92/711 to the year 591/1195.

Concerning the first half of the eighth century, Ibn al-Athīr lists several raids directed against Pamplona, Galicia, and Álava.³⁴⁸ A first description of internal affairs figures under the year 140/757 in connection with the death of the 'Galician' ruler Alfonso I of Asturias (*Adhfunsh*, *malik Jilliqiyya*) after eighteen years of rule. More valiant and better organized, his son Fruela I (*Tadwiliya*) chased the Muslims from the Marches and took possession of Portugal (*Burtuqāl*), Salamanca (*Shalamanqa*), Zamora (*Shamūra*), Castile (*Qashtyāla*), etc.³⁴⁹ His successor Aurelio (*Awrālī*) died in 158/774 after six years of rule, and was succeeded by his son Silo (*Shiyālūn*).³⁵⁰ Ibn al-Athīr believed that Alfonso II (*Adhfunsh*) was killed (instead of chased away) by a certain Mauregato (*Mūrquāt*) when he wanted to assume power in 168/784. In this situation, 'their affairs became disordered' (*ikhtalla amruhum*) and they were subject to a Muslim raid.³⁵¹ In 173/789, Mauregato was succeeded by 'the priest Bermudo' (*al-qiss Baramund b. Qalūriya*). The latter then became a monk and left the throne to his nephew (*wa-ja'ala ibn akhihi fi l-mulk*), who assumed rule in 175/791, two years after 'Bermudo the Great' (*Baramund*

³⁴⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, lemma 'Turjila', p. 836: 'min bilād al-Faranj'.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., vol. 4, lemma 'Qashtāla', p. 107.

³⁴⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 1, pp. 242–3 (Leiden), pp. 338–9 (Beirut); vol. 10, AH 491, p. 185 (Leiden), p. 272 (Beirut); vol. 10, AH 497, p. 255 (Leiden), p. 372 (Beirut). On the Middle Eastern tendency to define the Christian polities of al-Andalus as 'Frankish', see Chapter 6.4.2.

³⁴⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 439–40 (Leiden), p. 556 (Beirut): 'min taṣānif ahlihā'; vol. 4, AH 93, p. 456 (Leiden), p. 576 (Beirut): 'alladhī dhakarahu ahl al-Andalus fi tawārikihiim mā taqaddama dhikruhu'.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 446, 448 (Leiden), pp. 564–5 (Beirut); vol. 5, AH 115, p. 134 (Leiden), p. 181 (Beirut): 'arḍ al-Bashkuns'; vol. 5, AH 116, p. 137 (Leiden), p. 185 (Beirut): 'Jilliqiyya wa-Albatah wa-ghayrihimā'.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. 5, AH 140, p. 382 (Leiden), p. 500 (Beirut).

³⁵⁰ Ibid., vol. 6, AH 158, p. 24 (Leiden), p. 35 (Beirut).

³⁵¹ Ibid., vol. 6, AH 168, p. 53 (Leiden), p. 79 (Beirut). According to the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, Mauregato did not kill Alfonso II, who managed to find security in Álava, cf. Wolf, *Conquerors* (1990), p. 172.

al-kabīr) had been defeated by Muslim forces.³⁵² Assuming the throne, Alfonso II (*Adhfūnsh*) suffered a severe Muslim raid in 178–79/794–95.³⁵³

The following half-century seems to have escaped Ibn al-Athīr's attention. After a raid on Galicia in 225/840,³⁵⁴ León (*Liyūn*) suffered an attack in 231/845, during which the Muslim forces failed to destroy the city's walls.³⁵⁵ This raid took place under Ramiro I (*Rudmīr b. Adhfūnsh*) who died in 235/849 after eight years of rule.³⁵⁶ His successor Ordoño I (*Urdūn Ibn Rudmīr*) supported a rebellion in Toledo in 240/854.³⁵⁷ At his death in 254/868, he left the realm to his twelve-year-old son Alfonso III (*Adhfūnsh*).³⁵⁸ For the rest of the ninth century, Galicia is only mentioned in connection with a raid in 264/877 and the plan, hatched by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān in 265/878, to attack Galicia from the sea, having heard that it had no coastal defences.³⁵⁹

Data on the tenth century is scarcer still. Ibn al-Athīr mentions that the rebel Umayya b. Ishāq sought refuge with the Galician king Ramiro II (*Rudmīr*) in 327/938, thus causing a series of military confrontations with Umayyad forces.³⁶⁰ A successful raid of Ṣānhāja Berbers against one of the cities of Galicia in 373/938 also attracted his attention, probably because it led to the destruction of León (*Ilyūn; Liyūn*), 'one of their greatest cities' (*min a'ḡam madāyinihim*) at the hands of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir.³⁶¹

As opposed to Galicia, Ibn al-Athīr almost ignores the affairs of the other Christian polities. Pamplona and the realm of the Basques mainly feature as the target for raids.³⁶² The 'ruler of the Basques' (*malik al-Bashkuns*) supported the Galician king against a Muslim attack in 179/795.³⁶³ A certain García, 'one of the polytheist Andalusian rulers' (*Gharsiyya, wa-huwa min mulūk al-andalusīyyīn al-mushrikin*), was killed during a raid against Pamplona in 228–29/843–44.³⁶⁴ The ruler of the Basques (*malik al-Bashkuns*) supported a rebellion in Toledo in 240/854.³⁶⁵ Marauding Normans (*al-Majūs*) took García Íñiguez, the 'Frankish master of Pamplona' (*ṣāhibuhā Gharsiyya al-Faranjī*), for ransom in 245/859.³⁶⁶

³⁵² Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 6, AH 173, p. 82 (Leiden), p. 120 (Beirut); vol. 6, AH 175, p. 84 (Leiden), p. 124 (Beirut).

³⁵³ Ibid., vol. 6, AH 178–179, pp. 99–100 (Leiden), pp. 144, 146 (Beirut).

³⁵⁴ Ibid., vol. 6, AH 225, p. 367 (Leiden), p. 516 (Beirut).

³⁵⁵ Ibid., vol. 7, AH 231, p. 16 (Leiden), p. 24 (Beirut).

³⁵⁶ Ibid., vol. 7, AH 235, p. 34 (Leiden), p. 51 (Beirut).

³⁵⁷ Ibid., vol. 7, AH 240, p. 48 (Leiden), p. 74 (Beirut).

³⁵⁸ Ibid., vol. 7, AH 254, p. 128 (Leiden), p. 190 (Beirut).

³⁵⁹ Ibid., vol. 7, AH 264, p. 222 (Leiden), p. 321 (Beirut); vol. 7, AH 266, p. 232 (Leiden), p. 334 (Beirut): 'qīla lahu anna Jilljiyya laysa lahā mānī' min jihat al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ, wa-anna mulkahā min hunāka sahl'.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., vol. 8, AH 327, p. 268 (Leiden), p. 357 (Beirut).

³⁶¹ Ibid., vol. 9, AH 373, pp. 23–4 (Leiden), p. 33 (Beirut).

³⁶² Ibid., vol. 5, AH 115, p. 134 (Leiden), p. 181 (Beirut): 'ard al-Bashkuns'; vol. 6, AH 164, p. 43 (Leiden), p. 64 (Beirut): 'bilād al-Bashkuns'; vol. 7, AH 228, p. 5 (Leiden), p. 8 (Beirut): 'Banblūna'; vol. 7, AH 246, p. 60 (Leiden), p. 94 (Beirut): 'balad Banblūna'; vol. 7, AH 259, p. 183 (Leiden), p. 265 (Beirut): 'Banblūna'; vol. 7, AH 264, p. 222 (Leiden), p. 320 (Beirut): 'madīnat Banblūna'.

³⁶³ Ibid., vol. 6, AH 179, p. 100 (Leiden), p. 146 (Beirut).

³⁶⁴ Ibid., vol. 7, AH 228, p. 5 (Leiden), p. 8 (Beirut).

³⁶⁵ Ibid., vol. 7, AH 240, p. 48 (Leiden), p. 74 (Beirut).

³⁶⁶ Ibid., vol. 7, AH 245, p. 58 (Leiden), p. 90 (Beirut).

His son Fortun Garcés (*Furtūn b. Gharsiyya*) was abducted to Córdoba during a raid in 246/860.³⁶⁷

The 'Franks' constitute another important power. In connection with events at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries, the term still applies to the Carolingian forces that conquered Barcelona.³⁶⁸ The Franks, who supported the secession of the people of Toledo in 240/854, probably hailed from the environs of this city.³⁶⁹ However, when the latter was subject to Muslim attack in 247/861, its ruler called on the 'ruler of the Franks' for help.³⁷⁰ A raid in 251/865 was directed against the Franks with the aim of acquiring the 'riches of Roderic/Louis' (*amwāl Lūdrīq*) allegedly stored in Álava de los Castillos (*Alaba wa-l-Qilā'*).³⁷¹ In 270/883, the Frankish lord of Barcelona made efforts to prevent the Muslim reconstruction of Lérida.³⁷² The Franks, who supported the Galicians during the attack of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir in 373/938, can be identified as warriors from emerging Catalonia.³⁷³

Up to this point, Ibn al-Athīr provides a slimmed-down alternative to Ibn Ḥayyān that focuses on the hostilities between the Christian North and Muslim al-Andalus. As soon as he enters the period not covered by Ibn Ḥayyān, he indiscriminately uses the term 'Franks' for all Christian parties involved in the Christian thrust to the south. He remarks that Alfonso VI of León and Castile (*al-Adhfūnsh*), 'the ruler of the Franks in al-Andalus' (*malik al-Faranj bi-l-Andalus*), took possession of much territory held by the party kings (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*) and, after a siege of seven years, of the city of Toledo in 478/1085. He then began to exert pressure on the tributary Muslim ruler of Córdoba, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abbād.³⁷⁴ Before Alfonso suffered defeat in the Battle of al-Zallāqa (479/1086), the elders of Córdoba allegedly contemplated the Franks' power, the Muslims' weakness and the fact that some of their rulers supported the Franks:

The Franks have taken possession of these lands of al-Andalus and not much remains. If the situation remains as we witness it now, then Christianity will return to the position it has had.³⁷⁵

With the help of Muslim intellectuals (*ba'd udabā' al-muslimīn*), Alfonso corresponded with the Almoravid ruler Yūsuf b. Tāshfin and had a dream which,

³⁶⁷ Ibid., vol. 7, AH 246, p. 60 (Leiden), p. 94 (Beirut).

³⁶⁸ Ibid., vol. 6, AH 179, p. 100 (Leiden), p. 146 (Beirut); vol. 6, AH 180, p. 102 (Leiden), pp. 150–1 (Beirut); vol. 6, AH 185, p. 115 (Leiden), p. 169 (Beirut).

³⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. 7, AH 240, p. 48 (Leiden), p. 74 (Beirut).

³⁷⁰ Ibid., vol. 7, AH 247, p. 71 (Leiden), p. 110 (Beirut): 'fa-rāsala ṣāhibuhā malik al-Faranj yastamidduhu'.

³⁷¹ Ibid., vol. 7, AH 251, p. 108 (Leiden), p. 162 (Beirut).

³⁷² Ibid., vol. 7, AH 270, p. 289 (Leiden), p. 411 (Beirut).

³⁷³ Ibid., vol. 9, AH 373, pp. 23–4 (Leiden), p. 33 (Beirut).

³⁷⁴ Ibid., vol. 10, AH 478, pp. 92–3 (Leiden), pp. 142–3 (Beirut).

³⁷⁵ Ibid., vol. 10, AH 479, p. 99 (Leiden), p. 151 (Beirut): 'hādhihi bilād al-Andalus qad ghalaba 'alayhā al-Faranj, wa-lam yabqa minhā illā l-qalil, wa-in istamarrat al-aḥwāl 'alā mā narā 'adat naṣrāniyya kamā kānat.'

interpreted by a Muslim, foreshadowed his defeat.³⁷⁶ His initially successful attack against Jaén in 485/1092 failed.³⁷⁷

When dealing with the twelfth century, Ibn al-Athīr changes his focus. The Alfonso mentioned in connection with the year 505/1111 is not identical with the aforementioned 'ruler of the Franks' (*malik al-Faranj*), Alfonso VI (d. 1109). Credited with the plan of conquering the lands of Islam after the death of the Almoravid ruler Yūsuf b. Tāshfin,³⁷⁸ this other Alfonso obviously represents Alfonso I the Battler, king of Aragon and Navarre, who had taken power in Castile after his marriage with Urraca, queen regnant of Castile and León, in 1109. Grandson to Ramiro I and Sancho Ramírez of Aragon, this Alfonso may be identical with a certain 'Son of Ramiro' (*Ibn Rudmīr*), mentioned under the years 514/1120 and 520/1126. Classified as 'one of the Frankish rulers of al-Andalus' (*malik min mulūk al-Faranj bi-l-Andalus*) or as 'Alfonso the Frank, master of Toledo' (*Adhfūnsh al-Faranjī, ṣāhib Ṭulayṭula*), he defeated the Muslims near Córdoba and near Murcia,³⁷⁹ but died when he was beaten near Fraga in 529/1134. In this context, Ibn al-Athīr characterizes him as particularly valiant and austere: when offered the pleasures of sleeping with the captive daughters of Muslim nobles, Alfonso allegedly retorted that a true warrior should stay with his men.³⁸⁰ Under the year 546/1151, Ibn al-Athīr then mentions a ruler who clearly represents the king of Aragon. Faced with an Almoravid attack, a certain Ibn Mardanīsh received help from the 'ruler of Frankish Barcelona' (*malik Barshalūna min bilād al-Faranj*).³⁸¹

The remaining references to Christian Spain deal with the rulers of León and Castile. Alfonso VII (*al-Adhfūnsh*), credited with the by-name 'al-sulayṭīn'—i.e. 'little sultan',³⁸² is classified as 'ruler of Toledo and its territories and one of the kings of the Galicians, a kind of Franks' as well as 'the king of the Franks in al-Andalus'. He died in 552/1157 after having attacked the fortress Rota, Córdoba, and Almería.³⁸³ Alfonso VIII, called 'Son of Alfonso' (*Ibn Alfūnsh*) and 'ruler of Toledo' (*malik Ṭulayṭula*), was attacked by the Almohad caliph Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf in 568/1172.³⁸⁴ When the Portuguese king Sancho I, known by the name 'Ibn al-Rank', 'one of the kings of the Franks west of the lands of al-Andalus', was chased from his recent conquest, Silves, as well as other cities by Almohad forces in 586/1190, 'the Frankish ruler of Toledo' pleaded for peace. This peace, opposed by

³⁷⁶ Ibid., vol. 10, AH 479, pp. 100–1 (Leiden), pp. 152–3 (Beirut).

³⁷⁷ Ibid., vol. 10, AH 485, p. 136 (Leiden), p. 202 (Beirut).

³⁷⁸ Ibid., vol. 10, AH 505, p. 344 (Leiden), p. 490 (Beirut).

³⁷⁹ Ibid., vol. 10, AH 505, p. 344 (Leiden), p. 490 (Beirut); vol. 10, AH 514, p. 414 (Leiden), p. 586 (Beirut); vol. 10, AH 520, p. 444 (Leiden), p. 631 (Beirut).

³⁸⁰ Ibid., vol. 11, AH 529, p. 22 (Leiden), p. 34 (Beirut).

³⁸¹ Ibid., vol. 11, AH 546, p. 102 (Leiden), p. 156 (Beirut).

³⁸² Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *The Years 541–589/1145–1193*, trans. Richards, Part 2, p. 36.

³⁸³ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 11, AH 529, p. 20 (Leiden), p. 33 (Beirut); vol. 11, AH 545, p. 98 (Leiden), p. 150 (Beirut): 'malik Ṭulayṭula wa-a' māliḥā, wa-huwa min mulūk al-Jalāliqa naw' min al-Faranj'; vol. 11, AH 552, p. 148 (Leiden), p. 224 (Beirut): 'malik al-Faranj bi-l-Andalus'.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., vol. 11, AH 568, p. 256 (Leiden), p. 390 (Beirut).

a 'faction of Franks', was granted for five years.³⁸⁵ In 591/1195, Alfonso VIII then challenged the Almohad ruler Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb in a provocative letter to come over to the Iberian Peninsula.³⁸⁶ After his defeat in the Battle of Alarcos (591/1195), Alfonso allegedly shaved his head and swore not to mount a horse before the Christians had been victorious again. Levying new troops one year later, he again suffered defeat during an assault on Toledo.³⁸⁷

Thus ends the story of Christian Spain in the work of Ibn al-Athīr. Never told at a stretch, its elements feature under the respective year in Ibn al-Athīr's work of universal history. In spite of its imprecise ethnic terminology, this work proves that a Middle Eastern historiographer of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries could acquire substantial information about the Iberian Christians' rise to power.

Later Middle Eastern scholars did not necessarily surpass what Ibn al-Athīr wrote. The geography of Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) tends to reduce information about the Christian realms of the Iberian Peninsula to geographic facts.³⁸⁸ More elaborate, al-Nuwayrī's (d. 733/1333) encyclopaedia explicitly breaks with the annalistic form of many of his historiographical predecessors.³⁸⁹ His two chapters on the history of Spain and North Africa clearly focus on the Muslim polities.³⁹⁰ Although he traces the rise of 'the Franks', al-Nuwayrī mainly lists important events, including the Frankish conquest of Barcelona (185/801),³⁹¹ the takeover of Toledo (478/1085),³⁹² the Battle of Alarcos (591/1195) with its preparatory propaganda, etc.³⁹³ He occasionally proffers analytical comments, e.g. that the uncoordinated action of the *ṭā'ifa*-kingdoms facilitated the Christians' rise to power.³⁹⁴ This shows that al-Nuwayrī intended to provide an overview that dispensed with the details of local and regional history. His chapter ends with a list entitled:

Mention of what the Franks – may God Most High desert them – have conquered among the Islamic lands on the Iberian Peninsula after the conquest of Toledo.³⁹⁵

³⁸⁵ Ibid., vol. 12, AH 586, pp. 37–8 (Leiden), pp. 57–8 (Beirut): 'min mulūk al-Faranj gharb bilād al-Andalus... malik Ṭulayṭula min al-Faranj... ṭāyifat [sic] min al-Faranj'.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., vol. 12, AH 591, p. 73 (Leiden), p. 113 (Beirut).

³⁸⁷ Ibid., vol. 12, AH 591, p. 75 (Leiden), pp. 114–15 (Beirut).

³⁸⁸ Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 183.

³⁸⁹ Cf. Chapoutot-Remadi, 'al-Nuwayrī' (1995), pp. 156–60.

³⁹⁰ al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Tarḥīnī, vol. 23, pp. 195–276, under the headline 'fi akhbār al-dawla al-umawiyya fi bilād al-Andalus', as well as vol. 24, pp. 22–8, on the conquest of al-Andalus; pp. 148–52, on Almoravid rule in al-Andalus; pp. 164–6, 170, 178, 182–4, on Almohad rule in al-Andalus, under the heading 'fi akhbār Ifriqiya wa-bilād al-Maghrib wa-man walihā...'. In addition, al-Nuwayrī deals with other locations in the western Mediterranean. See *ibid.*, vol. 24, pp. 28–9, on Sardinia; pp. 135–6, on the short-lived Norman conquests in North Africa; pp. 192–208, on the history of Sicily and its 'Frankish' conquest. His chapters on al-Andalus and North Africa have been edited and translated separately in al-Nuwayrī [En-Nuguari], *Historia*, ed./trans. Remiro.

³⁹¹ al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Tarḥīnī, vol. 23, p. 212.

³⁹² Ibid., vol. 23, pp. 258–9.

³⁹³ See Alfonso's letter to the Almohad ruler Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr and the report on the ensuing hostilities: al-Nuwayrī, *nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Tarḥīnī, vol. 24, pp. 182–4.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., vol. 24, p. 275: 'wa-bi-sabab infirād kull malik minhum bi-jihā istawalā al-Faranj 'alā Ṭulayṭula kamā dhakarnā'.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., vol. 24, p. 212: 'dhikr mā istawalā 'alayhi al-Faranj – khadhalahum Allāh ta'ālā – min al-bilād al-islāmiyya bi-jazirat al-Andalus ba'd akhdh Ṭulayṭula'.

The last information to have reached him when he wrote this chapter, al-Nuwayrī asserts, was news about the 'Frankish' siege of Algeciras around 725/1325. He announces that he will deal with more recent news in the ensuing chapters on Egypt.³⁹⁶

8.3.3. Andalusian and Maghrebian Efforts at Synthesis (13th–14th Centuries)

One would expect that Andalusian and Maghrebian historiographers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries would provide fuller coverage and use a more precise ethnic terminology than their Middle Eastern peers use. However, although constant interaction between the realms of the Muslim West and the Iberian Christian North probably ensured that they were better informed, this is not necessarily manifest in their works.

Written around 621/1224,³⁹⁷ al-Marrākushī's history of the Almohads contains a short history of the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslim invasion onwards. It describes the contemporary situation as follows:

Four kings of *al-Rūm* [sic] rule the four parts of the Iberian Peninsula (*jazīrat al-Andalus*). One of the parts is called Aragon (*Araghūn*) Another part, and this is a great kingdom, are lands called the lands of Castile (*bilād Qashtāl*) which are ruled by Alfonso (*al-Adfunsh*), may God curse him Another part is called León (*Liyūn*) . . . and ruled by a man called Babūj, the Arabic meaning of this name being 'the playful' (*al-kathīr al-la'āb*) [alternative: 'the drooler' (*al-kathīr al-lu'āb*)]. A man called Ibn al-Rīq rules the other part in the north, on the coast of the great sea.³⁹⁸

In another passage, al-Marrākushī reproduces the same information, clarifying that the 'master of Barcelona, may God curse him' (*ṣāhib Barshanūna la'anahu Allāh*) is identical to the ruler of Aragon. In addition, al-Marrākushī names cities in the respective territory,

most of which have been conquered by the Christians. I will mention the names of the cities that are in the hands of the Christians in our times as well as their location in the east or west of the peninsula without going into details on the distances between them. For the Christians' presence there impedes knowing this.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ Ibid., vol. 24, p. 212: 'wa-qad balaghna anna l-jazīra al-khadra' ḥaṣarahā al-Faranj, khadhala-hum Allāh ta'ālā, fi sanat khams 'ashar wa-sab'a mi'a wa-naḥwihā. wa-lam yaṣil ilaynā mā tajaddada min dhālika. fa-in waṣala ilaynā min khabarihā shay' awradnāhu fi ḥawādith al-sinīn fi akhbār mulūk al-diyār al-miṣriyya, in shā' Allāh ta'ālā.'

³⁹⁷ Cf. al-Marrākushī, *al-mu'jib*, ed. Dozy, p. viii (Introduction).

³⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 235: 'jazīrat al-Andalus yamlik jihātihā al-arba' arba'at mulūk min al-Rūm iḥdā al-jihāt tusammā Araghūn . . . wa-l-jihā al-ukhrā wa-hiya al-mamlaka al-kubrā bilād tusammā bilād Qashtāl yamlikuhā al-Adfunsh la'anahu Allāh . . . wa-l-jihā al-ukhrā tusammā Liyūn . . . yamlikuhā rajul yud'ā bi-l-Babūj wa-ma'nā hādha al-ism bi-l-'Arabiyya al-kathīr al-lu'āb [sic] wa-l-jihā al-ukhrā fi l-shimāl mimma yalī al-baḥr al-a'ṣam baḥr Aqnābus yamlikuhā rajul yu'raf bi-Ibn al-Rīq'

³⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 267–8: 'fa-ammā dhikr mudunihā fa-qad kānat fihā mudun kathīra taghallaba al-naṣārā 'alā aktharihā fa-ana dhākir asmā' al-mudun allatī bi-aydī al-naṣārā fi waqtinā hādha wa-mawāḍi'ihā min al-jazīra min mashriq wa-maghrib min ghayr ta'arruḍ ilā mā baynahā min al-masāfāt idh kāna kawn al-naṣārā bi-hā māni'an min ma'rifat dhālika'

Al-Marrākushī does not list many Christian rulers by name. Aside from those cited above, he mentions García Sanchéz (*Gharsiyya b. Shānjuh*) as well as the 'Son of Ramiro' (*Ibn Rudhmīr*).⁴⁰⁰ He does not focus on the Christian realms and thus fails to provide the historical overview that could have been expected from a Maghrebian historiographer who had spent some time on the Iberian Peninsula from around 603/1206 to 610/1213.⁴⁰¹ Moreover, al-Marrākushī tends to use umbrella terms for the Christians. As opposed to Ibn al-Athīr, he does not call them 'Franks' (*al-Faranj*) but either employs the term 'al-naṣārā', i.e. 'the Christians', or 'al-Rūm', the ethnonym usually applied to Romans or Byzantines.⁴⁰²

Ibn 'Idhārī (d. after 712/1312–13) provides more information in his history of North Africa and Spain. Since he drew on al-Rāzī and Ibn Ḥayyān for the eighth to eleventh centuries,⁴⁰³ it is possible to concentrate on the third and fourth volumes of his work, which deal with the period of the *tā'ifa*-kings as well as the period of Almoravid rule. Like al-Marrākushī, Ibn 'Idhārī is well aware of the Christians' thrust to the south and their increasing power.⁴⁰⁴ In line with this, he reports on the many dealings between the Muslim south and the Christian rulers of the North, who occasionally carry the ethnonyms 'al-Rūm', i.e. Romans or Byzantines,⁴⁰⁵ or even 'al-Qūṭ', i.e. Goths.⁴⁰⁶ The frequency of references seems to increase proportionally with the rise of Christian power.⁴⁰⁷ Ibn 'Idhārī even dedicates an individual chapter to 'Alfonso, the ruler of Castile, may God humiliate him' (*al-Adhfūnsh malik Qishtāla akhzāhu Allāh*). It provides an overview of the family background of Alfonso VI of León and Castile, going back from the death of the latter in 502/1109 to his great-grandfather Sancho García of Castile.⁴⁰⁸ Notwithstanding, data on the Christian realms is subordinate to the annalistic depiction of Muslim history.

This is different in the works of two fourteenth-century authors from the Muslim West, i.e. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375) and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406). They are the first Arabic-Islamic scholars to provide a systematic exposition of Iberian Christian history in self-contained chapters.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 25, 127.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., pp. vi–vii (Introduction).

⁴⁰² Cf. ibid., p. 25: 'Gharsiyya b. Shānjuh min mulūk al-Rūm'; p. 268, on the Christian lands beyond al-Andalus: 'wa-warā' ḥadhihi al-mudun mimma yali bilād al-Rūm mudun kathīra lam tash-tahir 'indanā li-bu'dihā 'annā'; p. 235, on the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (609/1212) where he identifies Christian rulers as 'mulūk min al-Rūm'.

⁴⁰³ Dhanūn Ṭāha, *Conquest* (1989), pp. 10–11.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 3, p. 238.

⁴⁰⁵ E.g. Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. 'Abbās, vol. 4, p. 50: 'ṭāghiyat al-Rūm al-a'zam Adhfūnsh'.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 3, p. 5. See Chapter 5.3.3.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 3, pp. 4–5, 7, 11–12, 14, 24, 36, 42, 51, 55, 83, 89–90, 93–100, 160, 163–4, 177, 220, 232, 238–9, 278, 281, 282, 310–11; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-bayān*, ed. 'Abbās, vol. 4, pp. 31–42, 44, 50–5, 58, 62, 69–71, 86, 88, 91–4, 98, 103, 114–17, 120–1, 127–8, 130–2, 134–5, 143, 147, 148–51.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 50–1.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 322–38: 'dhikr al-ta'rif bi-mā amkana min mulūk al-naṣārā bi-l-Andalus 'alā l-ikhtisār'. On this text, see: Antuña, 'Versión' (1933), pp. 105–54; Marquer, 'Figura' (2011), § 32–47. Ibn Khaldūn, *tarikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 4, pp. 229–36: 'al-khabar 'an mulūk Banī Adhfūnsh min al-Jalāliqa mulūk al-Andalus ba'd al-Ghūṭ wa-li-'ahd al-muslimin wa-akhbār man jāwarahum min al-Faranja wa-l-Bashkans wa-l-Burtughāl wa-l-ilmām

Ibn al-Khaṭīb's account is based on the testimony of a Castilian envoy to Granada, the Jewish physician Yūsuf b. Waqār al-Isrā'īlī al-Ṭulayṭulī. During an official visit to Granada, he furnished Ibn al-Khaṭīb with data taken from 'histories dealing with the genealogy of the ruler of Castile and the branching out of their rulers'.⁴¹⁰ In line with this source of information, the chapter is dated according to the Christian era (*li-tārikh al-Ṣufī*)⁴¹¹ and features various transcriptions of Romance words.⁴¹² The account begins with the *duces* (*dūqish*) of Cantabria (*Qāntābriya*) and highlights the role played by Pelayo (*Bilāyuh b. al-dūq Fāfila*) for the defence of Asturias (*ard Astūrish*) against the Muslims.⁴¹³ Clearly focusing on the feats of rulers, it recounts the entangled history of Asturias and León (*Liyūn*) and traces the rise of Castile (*Qashtālla*) in interaction with León and Navarre (*Nabāra*).⁴¹⁴ Dwelling on the alternating relations between León, Castile, and Navarre, subsequent passages take note of the increasing independence of Galicia and Portugal (*Ghalisiya wa-Burtuqāl*) from León and Castile and mention important landmarks of the so-called Reconquista, e.g. the battles of Alarcos (591/1195) and of Las Navas de Tolosa (609/1212).⁴¹⁵ The ensuing focus is on Castile and its southern expansion.⁴¹⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb then deals with the (first) Castilian civil war involving Peter I of Castile (*Dūn Biṭruḥ*), his rival brother Henry of Trastámara (*Inriq*) as well as the intervention of the 'master of England' (*ṣāhib al-Aghliṭira*), ending with the contemporary reign of Henry of Trastámara (ruled 1369–79).⁴¹⁷ He then dedicates a longer paragraph to each of the rulers of Portugal and Aragon-Barcelona (*Araghūn wa-Barjalūna*) up to his own times.⁴¹⁸

Ibn Khaldūn's account, in turn, cites Ibn Ḥayyān as the main source for the period before the fifth/eleventh century and mentions Almoravid historiography

bi-ba'd akhbārihim'. On Ibn Khaldūn's chapter, see Martínez-Gros, 'L'histoire' (2007), pp. 77–86. Stearns, 'Passages' (2004), pp. 157–82, compares both texts.

⁴¹⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 322: 'al-tawārikh allatī waqa'a fihā nasab malik Qishtāla wa-tafarru' mulūkihiḥim'.

⁴¹¹ On the term 'tārikh al-Ṣufī', see Goldziher, 'Aṣfar' (1960), pp. 687–8. The term al-Aṣfar in the sense of 'light-skinned' was used originally for the Byzantines and later applied to Europeans, especially on the Iberian Peninsula. According to Goldziher, the term 'tārikh al-Ṣufī' is equivalent to the so-called 'Spanish era' (1 AD = 38 BCE), cf. Roth, 'Calendar' (2003), p. 190. Ibn al-Khaṭīb's equations of *hijri* and Christian years neither fully correspond to the Spanish nor to the Christian (incarnation) era (CE). Cf. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 323 (AH 114 = 772 instead of 732 CE; AH 133 = 791 instead of 750 CE), p. 324 (AH 248 = 875 instead of 862 CE; AH 297 = 924 instead of 910 CE; AH 305 = 932 instead of 917 CE), p. 325 (AH 331 = 958 instead of 943 CE; AH 336 = 963 instead of 947 CE). The Christian dates given on the following pages up to p. 334 are not converted into *hijri*-years. Then, p. 335, AH 751 is 'correctly' converted into 1350 CE. It seems as if Ibn al-Khaṭīb (or his source) dated according to the 'Spanish era' in connection with the first two dates mentioned above. This would explain why they differ by around forty years from the Christian (incarnation) era (CE). It is not clear, however, why the following dates differ by around thirteen to fifteen years from the Christian era. At the end of the chapter, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (or his source) seemingly employed the Christian (incarnation) era, introduced in Castile in the course of the fourteenth century.

⁴¹² E.g. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *a'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 322 (*duces* = *dūqish*), p. 323 (*católico* = *al-qāṭūliqūh*), p. 324 (*magno* = *māghnūb*), p. 325 (*corte* = *al-qurt*, with the explanation 'rā'i kabir yusammūnahu al-qurt, taḥḍur fihī al-mulūk wa-l-umarā' li-taqḍir al-mušālahat al-waḥḍiyya wa-l-abadiyya'), p. 330 (*emperador* = *inbiradūr*), p. 332 (*infante* = *al-ifānti*, with the explanation 'wa-mā'nā al-ifānti walad al-sultān').

⁴¹³ Ibid., pp. 322–3.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 332–5.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 323–8.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., p. 336.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 328–31.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 336–8.

in connection with events in the year 450/1058.⁴¹⁹ Gabriel Martinez-Gros highlighted that the anthroponyms in the first half of his chapter are apparently transcriptions from Latin (Lat. *Adefunsus*—Arab. *Adfūnsh*; Lat. *Ferdinandus*—Arab. *Fardaland*), while the second half features transcriptions from Romance (Rom. *Alfonso*—Arab. *Alfūnsh* and *al-Hansha*; Rom. *Fernando*—Arab. *Harānda*). According to Martinez-Gros, this points to an oral source of information for the period post-dating Ibn Ḥayyān, which he locates in the Catalan or French milieu because of the linguistic character of the titles 'count' (Arab. *qumṭ*, French *comte*) and 'Prince of Wales' (Arab. *al-bilins Ghālis*, French *Prince de Galles*).⁴²⁰

At the beginning of the chapter, Ibn Khaldūn introduces his readers to the contemporary powers Castile (*Qashtāla*), Portugal (*al-Burtughāl*), Navarre (*Nabarra*), and Barcelona (*Barshalūna*). Their origins lay in the valleys of Galicia populated by Christian peoples, who had been frightened away by the Muslim invasion.⁴²¹ He disputes Ibn Ḥayyān's opinion that their leaders had been part of the Visigothic elite, believing that the latter had become extinct.⁴²² A new power emerged under Alfonso I (*Adfūnsh b. Baṭra*) whose son Fruela (*Fruwila*) considerably enlarged the territory of Galicia (*ard Jilliqiyya*) which flourished under several rulers, most of them named Alfonso.⁴²³ Under Sancho I of León (*Shānja*) several counts (*qawāmis*), including their most powerful representative, the count of Álava de los Castillos (*Alaba wa-l-Qilā'*) Fernán González (*Fardaland b. Ghundishalb*), rebelled against the king, ushering in a period of troubles (*iḍṭirāb mulkihim*).⁴²⁴ At the end of the fourth/tenth century, the regions ruled by the king of the Galicians, the count of Álava, and the king of the Basques suffered frequent raids at the hands of al-Manṣūr to the effect that the entire people of Galicia became obedient to the Muslims.⁴²⁵ With the Almoravid takeover and the end of Arab rule on the Iberian Peninsula in the middle of the fifth/eleventh century, the tide began to turn. Only checked by the Almohad expansion and infighting, various rulers, who are not clearly assigned to a specific people or territory, expanded the Christian sphere. The defeats and victories of al-Zallāqa, Alarcos, and Las Navas de Tolosa heralded a period of Castilian and Aragonese hegemony on the peninsula. Castile suffered a serious setback during the first Castilian civil war, which also involved the prince of Wales (*al-Bilins Ghālis*), a Frankish king (*malik Ifranja*) from the north around the regions of Germany (*al-Lamāniya*) and Britain (*Fartānya*).⁴²⁶ Like Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khaldūn then dedicates a short paragraph to the realm of Portugal, and a longer paragraph to the realm of Aragon, tracing the history of the latter from Visigothic times up to Peter IV (ruled 1336–87).⁴²⁷

Ibn al-Khaṭīb's and Ibn Khaldūn's accounts differ substantially, not least because they draw on different sources. Both show that it was possible and deemed necessary

⁴¹⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 4, p. 229: 'wa-yaz'um Ibn Ḥayyān...'; p. 230: 'qāla Ibn Ḥayyān...'; p. 232: 'wa-fi tawārīkh Lamtūna wa-akhbārihim...'.
⁴²⁰ Martinez-Gros, 'L'histoire' (2007), p. 82.

⁴²¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 4, p. 229.

⁴²² Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 229–30.

⁴²³ Ibid., vol. 4, p. 230.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 230–1.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 231–2.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 233–4.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 235–6. See Chapter 6.3.1.

to write the history of the Christian realms of the Iberian Peninsula in the fourteenth century. Both accounts feature important landmarks: these realms' birth in the wake of the Muslim invasion, the rise of Castile, key moments of the Reconquista, the Castilian civil war, the independence of Portugal, the rise of Aragon. Although both authors were involved in Iberian affairs, they refrained from using polemic vocabulary.

8.3.4. Aragon's Contribution to Middle Eastern Reception (13th–15th Centuries)

In all probability, Ibn Khaldūn's account was used by the Mamluk scholar al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418). Although the latter cites Ibn Ḥayyān but fails to mention Ibn Khaldūn, many parallels suggest that Ibn Khaldūn figured as his main source. Al-Qalqashandī's abbreviated account is also preceded by a section on the 'Banū al-Aḥmar'. It also provides an overview of similar length that focuses on the history of León and Castile as the playing field of the 'Banū Adfūnsh', dealing with most topics also covered by Ibn Khaldūn. It even features the same orthographic specificities noted by Martínez-Gros.⁴²⁸ An annex to the aforementioned overview contains short entries on Castile (*mamlakat Qishtāla*), Portugal (*mamlakat al-Burtughāl*), 'the realm of Barcelona' (*mamlakat Barshalūna*), and Navarre (*mamlakat Nabarra*), the same realms mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn in the Introduction to his chapter.⁴²⁹

However, al-Qalqashandī also made use of alternative data. Often lacking a historical framework, the data features in various parts of his multi-volume manual for chancery scribes. While the realm of Navarre is only defined in regard to its Basque ethnicity, its capital Pamplona and its position between Castile, the territories of Barcelona and Aragon and France,⁴³⁰ all other descriptions reproduce snapshots taken from different periods of the Iberian Peninsula's history between the middle of the twelfth and the fourteenth century.

Portugal features as a province of Galicia (*min a'māl Jillīqiyya*) centred in Lisbon (*Ashbūna*) 'even though its master has a distinct title and realm' in one passage,⁴³¹ then as a small but seemingly independent kingdom (*mamlaka ṣaghīra*) in the west of the peninsula in another passage.⁴³² The contents of the former passage obviously apply to the period before 1139, when Portugal, originally a province of the kingdom of Asturias, later León, asserted its independence, a fact acknowledged by the king of León and Castile as well as by the pope in 1143 and 1179 respectively.⁴³³ The contents of the later passage obviously apply to the period after these dates.

Al-Qalqashandī had problems placing the rulers of Galicia (*mulūk al-Jalāliqa min al-Faranj*) on the historical map of the Iberian Peninsula, claiming that their

⁴²⁸ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, pp. 263–70. Ibn Ḥayyān is cited, *ibid.*, pp. 264–5. Cf. Martínez-Gros, 'L'histoire' (2007), p. 82.

⁴²⁹ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, pp. 270–1.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 271; vol. 8, p. 34. ⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 270.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 34. ⁴³³ Lay, *Kings* (2009), pp. 71–142.

capitals were in Toledo and Barcelona and that the title of their rulers had been and still was 'Alfonso' (*Adfūnsh*, *Alfūnsh*).⁴³⁴ His confusion, excusable in view of the entangled history of the Christian North, becomes apparent in his use of the name and title 'Alfonso'. The latter is applied to (1) a ruler who is the overlord of Toledo⁴³⁵ (since 1085), (2) who sent a sword to one of the later Fatimid sultans of Cairo on the verge of the eleventh to the twelfth century,⁴³⁶ (3) a ruler of Castile, Toledo, Córdoba, León, and Valencia named 'Dūn Farānda', who made a peace treaty with the Almohads after conquering the city of Murcia (treaty of Alcaraz 1243?), maybe Fernando III of Castile,⁴³⁷ (4) the ruler of a great kingdom encompassing Toledo, Castile, Seville, Valencia and Cartagena, Jaén and Galicia, and other places,⁴³⁸ (5) a powerful ruler well known in the Maghreb because of his proximity (*li-qurbihī*),⁴³⁹ as well as (6) a ruler called 'Baṭra b. Dun Juwān' who died in 787/1385, maybe Peter IV of Aragon.⁴⁴⁰

Al-Qalqashandī provides most information on the Crown of Aragon. Apart from citing al-Ḥimyarī on García Sánchez and the Crown's origins in the county of Aragon,⁴⁴¹ he refers to the unification of the county of Barcelona with the realm of Aragon⁴⁴² and the succeeding expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that led to the incorporation of Denia and Mallorca.⁴⁴³ His work contains the titles used in a letter written to a certain 'Atfūnsh Dūn Ḥākīm' (Don Jaime?), defined as the ruler of the petty kingdom of the Catalans (*ṭā'ifat al-Kitlān*), the king of Aragon (*al-rīd Araghūn*), master of Barcelona (*ṣāhib Barjalūna*), and supporter of the pope (*ṣāḥib Rūmiyya*).⁴⁴⁴ It also features a peace treaty dated 10 Dhū l-Qa'da 621/24 November 1224. The treaty concludes negotiations about the possession of Valencia and other localities in the east of al-Andalus (*sharq al-Andalus*) between the Muslims (*al-muslimūn*) and a ruler defined as 'ruler of Aragon' (*al-malik Araghūn*), 'count of Barcelona' (*qūmṭ Barjalūna*), and—if the text permits this reading—'prince of Montpellier' (*birinsib Munt Ballī*).⁴⁴⁵ This ruler carries the name 'Ḥāfiẓa b. Baṭra b. Adfūnsh Ibn Raymūd' and probably represents James the Conqueror (the son of Peter, the son of Alfonso, the son of Raymond).⁴⁴⁶ Drawing on the geographer Ibn Sa'īd (d. 685/1286), al-Qalqashandī reports that Sardinia had been taken over by the Catalans (*al-Faranj al-Kitlāniyyin*) and was

⁴³⁴ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 484.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., vol. 3, p. 322; vol. 5, p. 228.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., vol. 8, pp. 34–5.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., vol. 14, p. 24.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 33.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 34.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 270.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., vol. 6, p. 84.

⁴⁴² Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 233–4. This unification was possible thanks to the alliance of Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Catalonia, with Petronilla of Aragon in 1137. Cf. Schramm, 'Entstehung' (1956), pp. 19–50; Bisson, 'L'essor' (1984), p. 458.

⁴⁴³ al-Qalqashandī, *subḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, pp. 233, 270; vol. 8, p. 34.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., vol. 8, p. 36.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., vol. 14, p. 26: The correct transcription is 'y-r-n-s-b m-q-t b-sh-l-i'. Exchanging the 'yā' (ـا) with a 'bā' (ـب) and vocalizing with an 'i' would produce the word 'birinsib' (*princeps*). Exchanging the 'qāf' (ـق) with a 'nūn' (ـن) and vocalizing with a 'u' would produce the word 'munt' (*Mont*). Exchanging the 'shīn' (ـش) with a 'lām' (ـل) and vocalizing with an 'i' would produce the word 'billī' (*Pellier*).

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., vol. 14, pp. 26–9. On the date, which would correspond to 23 November in modern calculation, see *ibid.*, p. 27.

ruled by a Catalan governor.⁴⁴⁷ He cites another treaty concluded between the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf with the envoys of James II of Aragon (*Dūn Ḥākīm*) in Šafar 692/January 1293.⁴⁴⁸ The geography of Abū l-Fidā' serves as his source on the kingdom of Morea (*mamlakat al-Marā*), ruled partly by the 'master of Constantinople' (*ṣāhib al-Qusṭanīniyya*) and a Frankish people called the Catalans (*al-Qītlān, al-Kītlān*), a clear reminder of the activities of the 'Catalan Grand Company' at the end of the thirteenth and during the fourteenth century.⁴⁴⁹ Finally, he mentions king Peter IV (*Baṭra*, ruled 1336–87) who allegedly died in 787/1385, claiming that the king's brother secured the independence of Zaragoza and was acclaimed ruler of Sicily by the island's people.⁴⁵⁰ Frederick III of Sicily (d. 1337), actually Peter's great-uncle, is referred to as 'al-Raydāfrik', a Catalan Frank (*Faranjī min al-Kītlān*) ruling Sicily.⁴⁵¹

Al-Qalqashandī was not the only Mamluk scholar who dealt with the Crown of Aragon. Among his earlier peers, Muḥī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1292) reported on the Aragonese takeover of Sicily and an early alliance between Mamluk sultans and the Crown of Aragon concluded in 689/1290.⁴⁵² In his description of Christian realms north of the Mediterranean, al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349) even completely ignored Castile, León, Galicia, Portugal, and Navarre. He focused on the Catalans, the 'Arabs among the Franks', a valorous people active on land as well as on the sea that is obedient to its king and 'does not commit evil as long as they are not aroused.'⁴⁵³ Al-Qalqashandī then enriched the information provided by scholars of western and eastern origin with documents recording direct relations between the Crown of Aragon and Mamluk Egypt.

Thus, data about the expanding polities of Christian Iberia gathered first in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, then increasingly in a Mediterranean context, also found its way into the hands of Mamluk scholars. The latter not only received access to such information because they drew back on scholarly works from the Muslim West. Mamluk writings from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and early fifteenth centuries also testify to the Middle Eastern impact of the only Iberian Christian realm that interacted intensively with the eastern Mediterranean: the Crown of Aragon.⁴⁵⁴ That their later colleagues al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), and Ibn Taghribirdī (d. 874/1470) ceased to follow up further developments related to the Iberian Peninsula and the Crown of Aragon,⁴⁵⁵ cannot only be accounted for by the fact that their writings tend to

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 374. ⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., vol. 14, p. 63.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 409. Cf. Merriman, *Rise* (1918), vol. 1, pp. 363–82; Setton, *Domination* (1948).

⁴⁵⁰ al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 270.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., vol. 5, p. 373.

⁴⁵² Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *tashrif al-ayyām*, ed. Amari (BAS), pp. 339–52 (AR), vol. 1, pp. 546–68 (IT).

⁴⁵³ al-'Umarī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, p. 9 (AR), p. 17 (IT): 'lā yabdūn bi-sharr mā lam yunabbih nāyimihim [sic]'. See Chapter 6.3.1. on the Catalans' alleged Arab origins.

⁴⁵⁴ On the Crown of Aragon's commercial, military, and diplomatic activities in the late medieval Mediterranean, see Masiá de Ros, *Corona* (1951); Dufourcq, *L'Espagne* (1966); López Pérez, *Corona* (1995); Jaspert, 'Diplomatie' (2008), pp. 151–90; Coulon, *Barcelone* (2004).

⁴⁵⁵ al-Maqrīzī, *al-sulūk*, ed. 'Atā, vol. 1, AH 629, mentions an embassy sent by the 'master of al-Andalus' (*ṣāhib al-Andalus*); AH 648, p. 660, on the Aragonese ruler's (*malik Barshalūna wa-ismuhu Rayārakūn*) role in Louis IX's Tunisian crusade; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *inbā'* al-ghumr, ed. Ḥabashī,

focus on the Mamluk Middle East. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the heyday of Aragonese Mediterranean expansion was over. Important links connecting both regions had been severed.⁴⁵⁶

8.4. A NEW GEOPOLITICAL CONSTELLATION

Latin-Christian expansionism in the era of crusades and Reconquista contributed considerably to spreading an image of Latin-Christian barbarism in the Arabic-Islamic world. Emotional reactions including indignation vis-à-vis Latin-Christian acts of violence, ideological and military countermeasures, grief and frustration in the face of Christian victories, as well as irony and satire directed against Frankish peoples considered barbarous, show that Muslims were on the defensive. However, this is only one part of the general picture and cannot imply that the Arabic-Islamic world in its entirety settled for an image of Latin Christians as perpetrators and Muslims as victims of unjustified aggression, consequently secluding itself from external stimuli. On the contrary, Latin-Christian expansionism created channels that facilitated the transmission of large amounts of new data.

Consequently, Arabic-Islamic scholars recorded the existence of several polities, rulers, and peoples that had become players in the Mediterranean—the English, the Germans, the Genoese, and the Catalans among others. It is important to note in this context that the quantity and quality, the historical depth as well as the geographical and chronological distribution of these records, is proportional to the intensity of relations between the respective Mediterranean player and the Arabic-Islamic sphere. English, German, and Genoese history before the crusades remained largely unexplored in works of Arabic-Islamic historiography, and it took some time before the Christian polities of the Iberian Peninsula were acknowledged as such. As opposed to the Crown of Aragon, Castile received hardly any attention at all in Middle Eastern works of scholarship whereas England and the Germans mainly appeared in connection with the crusades or the activities of the Staufien dynasty. Genoese activities, in turn, were recorded by eastern and western authors at the latest from the twelfth century onwards.

Although often inconsistent, fragmentary, and unsystematic, the extant reports testify to the impact of Latin-Christian expansionism in the Mediterranean sphere and, as a consequence, to the Arabic-Islamic world's growing awareness of important manifestations of Latin-Christian political organization including the emperor, several kings, various subordinate ruling figures, as well as the communal forms of rule in the maritime republics. Thus, Arabic-Islamic records of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries clearly bear witness, not only to important developments since the early Middle Ages, but also to socio-political and economic diversity in late medieval Western Europe.

fails to mention the Crown of Aragon; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-nujūm al-zāhira*, ed. Shams al-Dīn, vol. 2, AH 172, p. 91, only mentions Barcelona in connection with Muslim infighting in the year AH 172/788.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. Coulon, *Barcelone* (2004), pp. 610–20.

9

A Re-evaluation of Arabic-Islamic Records on Latin-Christian Europe

The present study wished to provide an antithesis to a dominant explanatory model that tried to make sense of the extant Arabic-Islamic records on Latin-Christian Europe. Scholars adhering to this model started from the assumption that, due to a characteristic sense of superiority in terms of religion and civilization, the medieval Islamic world regarded the non-Muslim societies of Europe with disdain. This supposedly resulted in a general lack of interest in their affairs, which then served to explain the fragmentary state and the distortions characteristic of the Arabic-Islamic records in question. Discarding these premises and focusing on the factors that conditioned the flow of information from one sphere to the other, the study at hand sought to understand why and how the extant records came into being and how they evolved over the centuries.

9.1. THE RECORDS' ORIGINS: A SCHOLARLY MILIEU

The extant records on Latin-Christian Europe were produced by scholars of different geographic, ethnic, and social backgrounds, who were religiously affiliated to Islam, and whose education had taught them to express their views in Arabic. These scholars represent a small percentage of the entire population that inhabited the Arabic-Islamic sphere and only one among several Arabic-Islamic milieus involved in relations with Latin Christians. In consequence, their writings do not conserve the entire knowledge about Latin-Christian Europe available in the Arabic-Islamic world of the seventh to the fifteenth centuries. The extant records contain a selection of contemporary modes of perception. These had survived the hazards of transmission thanks to having passed through the filter of selecting and structuring minds who fitted them into the moulds of pre-structured literary genres. Notwithstanding, the extant records represent one of the most important keys to reconstruct medieval Arabic-Islamic perceptions of the Latin-Christian sphere.

On the one hand, one could argue that Arabic-Islamic scholars knew more about the Latin-Christian world than their lesser educated contemporaries did. They were intellectually trained, and, thanks to the social position and career that often went with such training, had access to oral and written sources of knowledge not available to the lesser educated. Their interest in recording the past and present

of their own world and everything that touched it, made them sensitive to new information from the peripheries of the Islamic world. Moreover, their access to an increasingly large scholarly tradition opened up past horizons, layers of data that would have been lost, had its transmission depended solely on the aural and oral memory.

On the other hand, their education also represented an obstacle. Although many scholars travelled or even engaged in commercial pursuits, they stood—from a social and intellectual point of view—at the cultural core, not the periphery of Arabic-Islamic civilization. Trained in one language and absorbed in the fields of knowledge that had grown around the Islamic tradition of divine revelation, these scholars were not necessarily prone to look beyond the confines of a conceptualized world-view acquired during years of meticulous study. Their intellectual training aimed at breeding minds rooted in traditions of utmost significance for Muslim collective identity. It could result in the unquestioned acceptance and the repetitive reproduction of older patterns of thought as well as a highly biased suspicion of everything that questioned or contradicted inherited modes of perception and interpretation.

However, neither the first nor the second description does justice to those who actually represented this segment of medieval Arabic-Islamic culture. Between these two poles, we find a large variety of individual approaches. Those engaged in recording facets of Latin-Christian Europe described multifarious phenomena from different angles of vision.

An author from the early period of Arabic-Islamic expansion had much less information at his disposal than an author from the fourteenth century who could look back on approximately seven centuries of shared history. An author who lived and died in Central Asia of the eleventh century was naturally better informed about India than his contemporary Andalusian colleague, but lacked the latter's knowledge about the western extension of the Roman Empire, the Visigothic past of al-Andalus, and the neighbouring Frankish sphere. A traveller who added personal ethnographic observations to his theoretical knowledge of geography saw things from a different perspective than a chancery secretary with access to specimens of official diplomatic correspondence stored in government archives. The lucky scholar stumbled upon an original document containing comparatively recent information on the Frankish sphere. His later bookish colleague only reproduced century-old data acquired by earlier scholars. Those more involved with and more open-minded vis-à-vis the non-Muslim sphere were generally better informed than their peers who wrote from a larger (mental) distance. Some authors described the whole world, others focused on their region of origin. Some were simply more interested in Hellenistic religious philosophy or the feats of pre-Islamic Persian kings than in the Visigothic history of the Iberian Peninsula. Some haphazardly pieced together a hotchpotch of uncorrelated data stemming from various periods of acquisition without giving further thought to the topic at hand. Others systematically reviewed and discussed what had been written by their earlier peers and tried to correlate this written tradition with fresh information at their disposal. In some cases, data was continuously acquired over the centuries, enriching successive

Arabic-Islamic accounts. In other cases, data was lost or became irrelevant to later generations. In all cases, the approach to a certain topic changed over time, with the effect that terminologies and concepts used hitherto acquired a new overall context and meaning.

Considering the many variants to be noted, there was not much room for a uniform and coherent 'Muslim' world-view: the large variety of individual approaches and their dependence on the respective historical context prove that neither Islam nor the multifaceted mental world that goes with it provide a comprehensive explanation for the general nature of Arabic-Islamic scholarly records on the Latin-Christian sphere.

9.2. MENTAL BARRIERS AND THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY

The mental barriers held in esteem by scholars who espoused the traditional approach to Arabic-Islamic records on medieval Western Europe did of course exist. In this context, Islam certainly played a role, but not necessarily in the extreme way advocated by the proponents of the traditional explanatory model.

Regardless of their regional origin, medieval Muslims certainly looked to the Middle East for cultural orientation. Bernard Lewis already made this point when he compared the Latin-Christian focus on Jerusalem—a city outside the latter's sphere of political influence more often than not, with the Muslims' focus on Mecca—a city that has not ceased to be under Muslim control since the rise of Islam.¹ Because Islam had its origins in the Middle East, the Middle Eastern heartlands of Islam remained an important reference point and travel destination for western Muslims, and could orient their line of sight away from their immediate Christian neighbours. Although it is necessary to differentiate between individual authors, regions, and contexts of writing, there can be no doubt that this Middle Eastern orientation constitutes a fundamental link between all scholars defined as Arabic-Islamic in the course of this study. It influenced their geographic outlook and a large proportion of the religious, historical, sociopolitical, and linguistic heritage preserved, reproduced, and cultivated by these authors.

Consequently, the Latin-Christian world often epitomized religious and cultural alterity. Arabic-Islamic theological literature polemicizes against the Christian understanding of the divine. Juridical literature regularly defines the Latin-Christian sphere as an 'abode of war' (*dār al-ḥarb*) or 'abode of unbelief' (*dār al-kufr*).² Historiographical works that describe military confrontations with a Latin-Christian adversary heap curses on the 'enemies of God' (*a'dā' Allāh*).³ Geographers and

¹ Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), pp. 8–9.

² E.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-muḥallā*, vol. 9, ed. al-Dimashqī, mas'ala 1636, p. 157; vol. 11, mas'ala 2198, p. 199.

³ E.g. Ibn Hayyān, *al-muqtabis II-I*, ed. Makki, trans. Corriente and Makki, fol. 102a, AH 197, p. 136 (AR), pp. 51–2 (ES).

ethnographers reproduce ancient theories of climate to explain the 'retarded' development of northern peoples⁴ and assert that the latter lacked the divine guidance enjoyed by Muslims.⁵ The descriptions of distant regions and their export products are often tinged with exoticism.⁶ Personal statements by individual authors occasionally reveal a lack of understanding, e.g. concerning regular Latin-Christian pogroms against Jews,⁷ the reconcilability of Christian principles of non-violence and violent action,⁸ or certain medicinal and juridical practices.⁹ Arabic-Islamic scholars also highlighted the Latin-Christian sphere's alterity by pointing to social practices or modes of organization that did not exist in the contemporary Islamic world, e.g. papal excommunication and compulsory monogamy,¹⁰ certain offices and methods of electing authorities,¹¹ or the system of communal rule.¹² Geo- and ethnographic works in particular clearly distinguish between Muslims and non-Muslims for the sole reason that they are organized according to ethnonyms or toponyms. This system of classification automatically created an 'Other', but used a terminology that was neither religious nor polemic, but ethnic.

Considering the large number of differences, normative irreconcilabilities, and actual clashes between both spheres, polemics are not as frequent as one might have expected. They can be set against a much larger number of passages that describe this 'Latin-Christian Other' in an essentially neutral or, in some instances, friendly terminology.¹³ The occasional Arabic-Islamic author even displays an understanding of the reasons why Latin Christians retaliated against Muslim aggression in a specific context.¹⁴ Most polemics were directed against Christians regarded as aggressors, not against Christians as such, especially not against loyal and tax-paying Christian subjects under Muslim rule. Thus, hate and resulting polemics directed against the Christian Other are not basic features of Arabic-Islamic scholarly writing on the Latin West, but a phenomenon characteristic of passages that deal with normative or physical antagonism.

Occasionally, Arabic-Islamic scholars also detected similar or parallel phenomena. They had no qualms to use Islamic terminology to define the pope as the

⁴ al-Mas'ūdi, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 23–4; Šā'id al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Shaykhū, pp. 8–9.

⁵ Ibid., p. 9.

⁶ Cf. Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, p. 200, on polar bears.

⁷ al-Qarāfi, *al-ajwiba al-fākhira*, ed. al-Shahāwī, p. 25; cf. Fritsch, *Islam* (1930), p. 149.

⁸ al-Qarāfi, *al-ajwiba al-fākhira*, ed. al-Shahāwī, pp. 148–9; cf. Kedar, *Crusade* (1998), pp. 97–8.

⁹ Usāma b. Munqidh, *al-i'tibār*, ed. Hitti, pp. 132–4 (Frankish medicine), pp. 138–9 (juridical practice); al-Qazwīnī, *āthār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 410 (juridical practice), trans. Jacob, *Berichte* (1927), pp. 21–2.

¹⁰ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1527, p. 911.

¹¹ Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, p. 193; Ibn Wāsil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabī' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, pp. 250–1; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 1, p. 292.

¹² al-'Umari, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, pp. 8–9.

¹³ Already noted by Münzel, *Feinde* (1994), p. 269.

¹⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 6, pp. 578–9, asserts that the crusade against al-Mahdiyya in 792/1390 had been provoked by constant raids against the Christian coasts executed by the people of Béjaia.

Christian 'caliph' or 'imām'.¹⁵ They acknowledged that the office of the admiral existed in both cultural spheres.¹⁶ Religious practices such as fasting were understood as part of the religious orbit of Muslims and Christians.¹⁷ They conceded that most peoples were governed by authoritarian decrees and divine laws.¹⁸ They even pointed to shared values such as fighting for the honour of one's religion,¹⁹ the ideal of non-violence and forgiveness,²⁰ as well as a common interest in scientific investigation and philosophical thought.²¹

Betimes, they even gave expression to admiration and respect. They appreciated the architecture and infrastructure of the illustrious city of Rome,²² praised the grandeur of Roman architecture in al-Andalus,²³ and asserted that the ancient Roman Empire constituted one of the most important polities in world history.²⁴ They lauded Orosius for his reliability,²⁵ paid their respects to the eminent scholar Isidore of Seville,²⁶ cited 'experts of the Latin language',²⁷ and credited certain Visigothic rulers with good moral conduct, piety, and wisdom.²⁸ They believed that the early medieval Frankish realm was well organized and free of internal strife²⁹ and commented favourably on Italian maritime cities interested in friendly commercial relations.³⁰ They acknowledged the crusaders' fighting capacities as well as the sophistication of their siege machinery.³¹ They were aware of the inner-Christian power and prestige of certain rulers and peoples and even bestowed honorary titles upon the latter, naming the Germans 'Tatars of the Franks' and the Catalans 'Arabs of the Franks'.³²

Thus, mental barriers did exist and found expression repeatedly in Arabic-Islamic scholarship. Notwithstanding, Latin-Christian societies and their members were not only subject to 'othering' in religious terms, but were often simply

¹⁵ E.g. Abū Hāmid, *tuhfa*, ed. Ferrand, p. 194; Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *tashrif al-ayyām*, ed. Amari (BAS), p. 341 (AR); Ibn Wāsil, *mufarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, p. 248; Abū l-Fidā', *taqwīm*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 209; al-Qalqashandī, *ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 8, p. 42.

¹⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, p. 312.

¹⁷ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 808, p. 480.

¹⁸ Šā'id al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Shaykhū, p. 9: 'siyāsa mulūkiyya taḍbuṭuhum wa-nāmūs ilāhī yamlikuhum'.

¹⁹ Saladin, as quoted by Abū Shāma, *al-rawḍatayn*, ed./trans. de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 4), pp. 429–30.

²⁰ al-Qarāfi, *al-ajwiba al-fākhirā*, ed. al-Shahāwī, pp. 148–9; al-Ghazālī, *iḥyā'*, ed. Ṭabbāna, vol. 4, p. 70.

²¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 1, pp. 629, 633.

²² See the sources compiled by Simone and Mandalà, *L'immagine* (2002).

²³ See the beginning of Chapter 2.2.1. for references.

²⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 2, pp. 232–3, 235.

²⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 234.

²⁶ Ibn Juljul, *ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. Sayyid, p. 41; al-'Udhri, *tarṣī' al-akhhbār*, ed. al-Ahwānī, p. 98.

²⁷ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 1513, p. 902.

²⁸ al-'Udhri, *tarṣī' al-akhhbār*, ed. al-Ahwānī, p. 98; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta and Corriente, p. 275; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, p. 443 (Leiden), p. 560 (Beirut).

²⁹ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 910, p. 145 (AR), p. 343 (FR).

³⁰ Ibn Ḥawqal, *ṣūrat al-ard*, ed. Kramers, pp. 202–3.

³¹ Usāma b. Munqidh, *al-i'tibār*, ed. Hitti, p. 132; Ibn Shaddād, *al-nawādir*, ed. al-Shayyāl, pp. 211, 213–14.

³² al-'Umārī, *Condizioni*, ed./trans. Amari, pp. 3, 9.

regarded as alternative manifestations of human life and its social and political organization.

9.3. VARIABLES OF TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION

Mental barriers resulting from a specific interpretation of the divine certainly cannot account for the variants of transmission, reception, and assimilation that came to the fore in each case study.

Loosely speaking, Arabic-Islamic scholars accessed the history of the Roman West in retrospect, working their way back from Byzantium to republican Rome. Visigothic history aroused their curiosity only after the emergence of a regional identity in Muslim al-Andalus, but lost appeal in the face of the expanding Iberian Christians' claim to the Visigothic heritage. Thanks to the Franks' early medieval expansion and to the later involvement of groups from this expanded territorial base in various Mediterranean enterprises, the ethnonym 'Franks' became coterminous with 'Western Europeans' or 'Latin Christians' in many Arabic-Islamic texts of Middle Eastern, to a much lesser degree in those of western Muslim origin. Eastern Christian recollections of Late Antiquity, contacts in the border zones, finally the papacy's endorsement and active support of Latin-Christian expansionism provided Arabic-Islamic scholars with a fair idea of the history of the Roman bishopric. The reinforced presence of Latin Christians in the Mediterranean from the eleventh century onwards supplied fresh information on a sociopolitical landscape that had evolved considerably in the past few centuries.

In view of these variants of transmission, reception, and assimilation, it seems legitimate to downplay the role played by (religious) ideology and to highlight that various non-ideological factors influenced the flow of information from medieval Western Europe to the Arabic-Islamic world.

Both spheres were certainly not separated by the 'medieval iron curtain' advocated by Lewis.³³ Connectivity varied with regard to time, space, and social milieu. As compared to the heyday of a Mediterranean-based Roman Empire, connectivity was rather low in the sixth century and only regained momentum in the wake of the Arabic-Islamic expansion. Although temporarily disrupting existing networks of mobility and exchange, the Arabic-Islamic expansion gave rise to a new Mediterranean order. It brought together two spheres that had emerged in relative isolation from each other in the preceding one or two centuries. Already during the expansion, but even more so when the geopolitical situation had calmed down, both spheres began to interact. From then on, connectivity was generally high and expressed itself in innumerable contacts, a high degree of mobility and exchange, as well as important processes of entanglement and even hybridization. As a matter of course, connectivity was lower in the respective peripheries and higher in contact zones. In the period under investigation, the latter shifted in response to the

³³ Lewis, 'Discovery' (1957), p. 411.

geopolitical changes caused by later manifestations of Arabic-Islamic and, in particular, of Latin-Christian expansionism.

Despite the destruction that went with it, expansionism from both sides had the effect of augmenting rather than of decreasing the degree of connectivity. Expansionism certainly created and diffused images of a hostile 'Other' and fostered a bipolar world-view cultivated during regular military, religious, and normative confrontations of the two spheres. Both had emerged from the debris of empire. Both were keen on asserting a newfound identity in physical and ideological, i.e. religious terms. Both maintained an economy that also fed on the material riches gained through raids and conquest. This, however, is only one side of a much more differentiated reality, which also featured actors involved in peaceful relations and the resulting exchange of objects and ideas. Moreover, expansionism also gave rise to an important production of records about the Other—on both sides.

In the Arabic-Islamic sphere, several preparatory developments were necessary for this production to begin. Scholarly productivity necessitated the emergence of a social group dedicated to scholarly pursuits in Arabic. This group developed the necessary methods, procedures, and genres of scholarly enquiry. A written culture in Arabic as well as the accompanying intellectual infrastructures came into being in the two centuries after the appearance of Islam and reached early maturity only in the late Umayyad and early Abbasid era, when Islam had become synonymous with an imperial culture that had surmounted the limitations formerly imposed by concepts of Arab ethnicity. Only when Arabic was written by proponents of this well-established and self-confident imperial Islamic culture, did it become possible to dedicate a higher degree of attention to the surrounding non-Muslim world and to direct intellectual efforts towards its documentation.

This development took place slightly later in the Muslim West. It had come under Muslim control later than the Middle East and was more distant to the original centres of cultural production. Scholars writing in the early centuries of Islam were mainly stationed in the Middle East and not in the contact zones connecting Western Europe with the Islamic world, i.e. the Iberian and the Apennine Peninsulas, zones still subject to conquest, raids, and Muslim settlement. Only when al-Andalus and Sicily had firmly come under Muslim control in the ninth century, did Arabic-Islamic scholars become truly active in areas adjacent to the Christian societies of Western Europe. The regional lack of intellectual resources in the early medieval Muslim West can be held accountable for the general dearth of records on the Latin West in the period between the seventh and the ninth century. It also accounts for the fact that the earliest Arabic-Islamic records on Western Europe were produced in Egypt, Syria, or Iraq of the eighth to the early tenth century. A systematic production of records on Western Europe in the Muslim West only took place from the tenth century onwards. The acquired data then often travelled to the Middle East via various channels of transmission.

Reaching its first apogee in the late eleventh century, the military and economic expansion of Western Europe intensified the flow of information. By acquainting Muslims living outside the previously relevant contact zones with representatives of Western European societies, it increased the overall chances for direct exchange.

From this period onwards, Arabic-Islamic scholars in the West and the East continuously reported contact with the Christian societies of Western Europe.

Arabic-Islamic scholars occupied a specific place within the relevant chains of transmission and reception. Even if they lived and wrote in a contact zone and maintained links with the Christian population in their environment, they were not the prime group responsible for interaction with the Latin-Christian sphere. As opposed to translators, interpreters, merchants, mariners, etc., they often stood in the second rank with regard to direct communication. In spite of notable exceptions,³⁴ many a scholar remained dependent on second-hand information.

Language constituted one formidable barrier for the representatives of a scholarly tradition that had grown accustomed to thinking, reading, and writing in Arabic.³⁵ Although many Arabic-Islamic scholars may have grown up in another language, non-Arabic languages only rarely played a role in their intellectual training and endeavours outside the Persian sphere. A number of early Arabic-Islamic scholars participated, directly or indirectly, in the so-called Graeco-Syriac-Arabic translation movement and were able to deal with Greek words, maybe even with entire Greek texts. The occasional Western Muslim scholar reproduced Romance words in his writings and was even able to speak a Romance dialect. However, most Arabic-Islamic scholars had no systematic knowledge of foreign, including Western European languages. Lacking linguistic skills, they had no direct access to primary sources from the Latin-Christian sphere. In the period under investigation, this was not compensated by translation: in quantity and quality, the translation of Latin texts was never able to measure up to the earlier translations from Greek (via Syriac) to Arabic.

In view of all this, the main contribution of Arabic-Islamic scholars to the history of relations between the Latin-Christian and the Arabic-Islamic sphere lies in the collection, compilation, and evaluation of data acquired by others. More often than not, long chains of transmission separated an eyewitness or original source of information from the respective Arabic-Islamic author. Moreover, Arabic-Islamic scholars had serious problems, not only of acquiring but also of contextualizing and evaluating the available data about Western Europe. This explains many distortions in Arabic-Islamic texts from the entire period under investigation. The occasional creative explanation of certain phenomena cannot counterbalance the long list of 'lacunae' and misunderstandings.

Dependent on others for information, often lacking the necessary background knowledge and confronted with the challenge of explaining foreign phenomena in terms comprehensible to their audience, Arabic-Islamic scholars contributed to the distortion of data when assimilating, contextualizing, interpreting, and presenting information about medieval Western Europe. In this way, they played an important role in creating a distinct Arabic-Islamic perspective of the Latin-Christian sphere. The use of the generic term 'Franks' for the majority of Western Europeans, the treatment of the Punic Wars as a part of the Maghreb's regional history, or the definition of the pope as the Christians' *'imām'* or 'caliph' serve as examples for such

³⁴ Listed in Chapter 3.3.2.

³⁵ Cf. Chejne, *Language* (1969), pp. 14–15.

a specifically Arabic-Islamic reading of phenomena relevant to the history of Western Europe.

9.4. THE DYNAMICS OF RECORD-KEEPING

These general features should not obliterate that the production of records on the Latin-Christian world was a dynamic process subject to important chronological fluctuations and regional variants. These variations can be clearly correlated with the specific conditions of scholarly productivity, the opening, and closing of relevant channels of transmission, as well as important geopolitical changes.

Although it is not possible to rule out that a Roman Empire of western origin played a role in the collective memory not only of eastern Christian communities but also of those Arab groups who would turn to Islam in the course of the seventh century, it is certain that the pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arab world had little and unsystematic knowledge of the ancient, late antique, and early medieval Latin West.

The earliest historiographic and geographic records on the Latin West were produced in the Middle East of the eighth to tenth centuries, mainly in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. When the dust, whirled up by the Arabic-Islamic subjection of the Middle East, had settled, the establishment of an Arabic-Islamic system of rule and administration was accompanied by the emergence of the intellectual resources and infrastructures necessary to record data about the non-Muslim world. In this period, a self-centred, unsystematic and, in this sense, largely ahistorical approach to the past gave way to the systematic study of human society past and present. Rising scholarly interest in the Graeco-Syriac heritage and intensive interaction with various representatives of eastern Christianity acquainted Middle Eastern Muslim scholars with Ptolemaic geography and historical data about the ancient polities that had preceded Islam, in particular Sassanid Persia and Byzantium. The fact that Muslim scholarship now featured a number of non-Arabs and maintained contact with non-Muslim scholars promoted the transmission, reception, and assimilation of this data. Middle Eastern Christian scholars of various denominations, such as those read and frequented by al-Mas'ūdī,³⁶ were able to provide a wider historical perspective and furnished Arabic-Islamic scholars with data on the Roman Empire and its western extension as well as on ecclesiastical history during the time of the early patriarchs and the great ecumenical councils of Late Antiquity.

Information carriers from the recently conquered territories in the West found listeners in the Middle East where Arabic-Islamic scholars put down the earliest impressions of the Latin West in writing. These impressions mainly derived from superficial observation and interaction with the people encountered on various Mediterranean islands, the Iberian Peninsula, and in southern France. The early Middle Eastern records on the Visigoths and the Franks provide examples for the

³⁶ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 154–5, trans. Carra de Vaux, pp. 212–13.

meagre quantity and quality of the data acquired via these early channels of transmission. In the following two centuries, infrequent economic contact and the rare exchange of diplomatic envoys provided further specks of information about the contemporary Latin-Christian sphere. Thanks to these relations, which often took place in the contact zones created by the expansion, Middle Eastern scholars in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq received further information about the Christian parts of the Iberian Peninsula, the Frankish realm, and the Apennine Peninsula with its maritime cities and Frankish and Langobard overlords.

In the Muslim West, the production of records on Latin-Christian Europe was slightly delayed. In spite of regular relations with the northern shores of the Mediterranean with its predominantly Christian population, North-African sources of the early Middle Ages are scarce and remain silent on Latin-Christian Europe. The Iberian Peninsula had been subjected to Muslim rule around three-quarters of a century later than the Fertile Crescent. It had been invaded by rivalling Arab and Berber forces, who established rule in a territory that lay far away from the Arabic-Islamic heartlands. All this amounted to the expenditure of much energy and postponed the formation of local intellectual resources and infrastructures. Initially, these early infrastructures depended on the human resources and the intellectual backing of the Islamic heartlands. These remained the focus of scholarly attention for more than a century. However, when an independent scholarly infrastructure and regional identity emerged in the course of the ninth and early tenth centuries, Muslim al-Andalus emerged as one of the prime centres of documentation. Now Andalusian historiography and ethnography could fully measure up to its Middle Eastern counterpart. Up to date and full of fresh information, including new Arabic terminology for Roman and Latin-Christian phenomena, Andalusian scholarship of the tenth and eleventh centuries represents the first apogee in the overall production of Arabic-Islamic records on Latin-Christian Europe before the outbreak of the crusades. Aided by important compilations such as the *kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, Andalusian scholars systematically acquired data on the Roman, Visigothic, and Christian history of the Iberian Peninsula and the western Mediterranean while recording substantial information about contemporary affairs, i.e. their contacts with Norsemen, the western and eastern Frankish realm, several Slavic and other eastern peoples, as well as inhabitants of the Apennine Peninsula such as the people of Rome, the pope, and the Amalfitans.

Knowledge acquired in the West was transmitted to the Middle East relatively early. In tenth-century Egypt, al-Mas'ūdī was able to make use of a Frankish chronicle acquired in al-Andalus only seven years earlier.³⁷ The observations of Middle Eastern travellers, e.g. Ibn Ḥawqal's on Sicily,³⁸ seconded the flow of data from west to east. Between the eleventh and the early twelfth century, this flow of information seems to have thinned out. The disruptions that characterized the Middle East at this time, i.e. the establishment of Turkoman groups in Anatolia and Greater Syria as well as the first crusade, can probably be held responsible for the

³⁷ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 912, p. 146 (AR), p. 344 (FR).

³⁸ Ibn Ḥawqal, *ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, pp. 110, 129, 201–3.

scarcity of Middle Eastern sources on the Latin-Christian sphere in this period. Confronted with regional turmoil, Middle Eastern scholarship presumably displayed diminished absorptive capacities with regard to information from the far west. However, at the latest from the middle of the twelfth century onwards, as soon as the first impact of the crusading movement had been digested and new political forces, i.e. the Zangid and Ayyubid dynasties, had assumed leadership, Middle Eastern scholarship systematically began to produce records on the Latin-Christian presence in the Middle East. The crusades brought Latin-Christian sources of information nearer to Middle Eastern Arabic-Islamic scholars and provided them with a large quantity of new information, e.g. about the crusaders' fighting techniques, their dealings with the Muslims and, eventually, their character and customs. Soon Arabic-Islamic scholars did not content themselves with recording what happened in their Middle Eastern environment. They also began to display curiosity for the crusaders' sphere of origin. The understanding that Christian forces were pressing upon the Muslim world in Sicily, al-Andalus, and the Middle East gave rise to a theoretical conception of Latin-Christian, alias 'Frankish' expansionism. At the same time, closer observation of these 'Franks' revealed that they were made up of various different groups. Arabic-Islamic scholars clearly understood that Pisans, Genoese, Venetians, Hungarians, Germans, English, Burgundians, French, Aragonese, or Catalans, etc. differed from each other with regard to their ethnonym, their region of origin, their political organization, their economic capacities, as well as their interaction with Muslim powers.

In the Middle East, new information was either acquired through direct contact with the military, political, and commercial representatives of Western European powers or via the scholarly literature of al-Andalus. The latter's merits were increasingly acknowledged in Middle Eastern works of this period, e.g. in the histories of Ibn al-Athīr and al-Dhahabī.³⁹ Vice versa, the Muslim West received news about Middle Eastern affairs. Eastern rulers informed their western peers about recent events, e.g. the death of Frederick Barbarossa.⁴⁰ Andalusian travellers to the east such as Ibn Jubayr reported their impressions of crusader rule back home,⁴¹ while Andalusian scholars such as Ibn Sa'īd made use of data on the crusades collected by their Middle Eastern colleagues.⁴² Trans-regional interaction within the Islamic orbit repeatedly facilitated the transmission of data about the Latin-Christian world from one part of the Arabic-Islamic world to the other.

Notwithstanding, Middle Eastern and Western Muslim perspectives clearly differed from each other. Middle Eastern scholars of the early twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries had less knowledge about the Iberian Peninsula and were prone to define its Christian peoples as 'Franks'. Andalusian and North African scholars, in turn, refrained from imposing the ethnonym 'Franks' on Iberian Christians and

³⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 4, AH 92, pp. 439–40 (Leiden), p. 556 (Beirut); al-Dhahabī, *tārikh*, ed. Tadmurī, vol. 32, AH 478, pp. 24–5.

⁴⁰ Saladin to the Almohad ruler Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf, in Abū Shāma, *al-rawdatayn*, ed./trans. de Meynard (RHC hist. or. 4), pp. 491, 494.

⁴¹ Ibn Jubayr, *riḥla*, s. ed.

⁴² Ibn Sa'īd, *al-jughrafiyā*, ed. al-'Arabī, p. 199.

clearly differentiated between the various powers of the Iberian Peninsula, but were considerably less informed about Middle Eastern affairs.

Due to the fact that the high and late medieval Mediterranean basin was swarming with Latin Christians, al-Andalus lost its pre-eminent position as the most important centre for the production of records on the Latin-Christian sphere. This is also due to the tendency displayed by Andalusian scholars of this period to focus on the affairs of al-Andalus and to mention only those parts of Latin Christendom that impinged directly upon Andalusian affairs. When Umayyad al-Andalus disintegrated in the early eleventh century, it gave way to a cluster of comparatively weak *ta'ifa*-states in perpetual rivalry. Two North African invasions, first by the Almoravids in the late eleventh, then by the Almohads in the twelfth century, could not prevent that al-Andalus slowly but surely succumbed to the military pressure exerted by the expanding Christian North. Muslim regional identity was increasingly faced with the danger of extinction. As a consequence, knowledge about the peninsula's Roman and Visigothic past, thoroughly mastered by Andalusian scholars of the tenth and the eleventh century, almost sunk into oblivion. Later works of Andalusian Arabic-Islamic historiography restrict themselves to the history and affairs of Muslim al-Andalus. When they deal with Christians, they focus on the emergence and the rise of the peninsula's more recent polities and tend to impose the rather imprecise ethnonym 'al-Rūm' on the peninsula's Christians past and present.

The Christian onslaught on Muslim al-Andalus also affected scholarly production in North Africa. The steady trickle of Andalusian emigrants rose to a torrent of refugees in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This had the effect of transmitting large quantities of information about Andalusian affairs to North Africa.⁴³ Consequently, North African scholars from the thirteenth century onwards such as Ibn 'Idhārī and Ibn Khaldūn increasingly regarded the history of Muslim al-Andalus and its relations to the neighbouring Christians as their domain.

However, probably because of its political fragmentation and constant political turmoil between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the Maghreb with Ifrīqiya only constituted a documentary centre of secondary importance. Mamluk Egypt represents the focal point of scholarly culture and the prime centre of documentation in this late period. Its attractiveness even for western Muslim scholars is exemplified by Ibn Khaldūn's move from the Maghreb to Egypt at the end of the fourteenth century and is probably due to the stability of this polity in the late Middle Ages. Mamluk Egypt was neither subject to the onslaught of Christian forces, as was al-Andalus, nor to the political fragmentation characteristic of the Maghreb and Ifrīqiya. Thanks to the Mamluks' prestigious victory against the Mongols in the Battle of 'Ayn Jālūt in 658/1260, Egypt had been spared the ravages and political upheavals produced by the arrival of Turkoman and Mongol groups in Iran, Iraq, Anatolia, Syria, and Palestine. The Mamluks' destruction of the last crusader stronghold in Acre in 1291 endowed Egypt's rulers with further

⁴³ Cf. Latham, 'Study' (1957), pp. 203–49; Talbi, 'Contacts' (1973), pp. 84–8.

power and prestige. An attractive transit region for trade, administered by highly sophisticated government machinery, Mamluk Egypt maintained a great number of commercial and political contacts with the Latin West. The immigration of Western Muslim scholars, as well as regular contact with a Latin-Christian sphere maintaining important insular and commercial outposts in the eastern Mediterranean, provided scholars in Mamluk Egypt with data and documents dealing with Latin-Christian activities in an area ranging from the Iberian Peninsula to the Black Sea. Mamluk scholarship of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was able to bring many strands together. Various manuals for chancery secretaries show that a certain familiarity with Roman, Visigothic, and Frankish history as transmitted by older Arabic-Islamic literature went hand in hand with knowledge about the contemporary European powers active in the Mediterranean: a secretary working in the Mamluk administration was expected to be knowledgeable about the history of relations, bilateral agreements, and forms of address relevant to the maintenance of diplomatic and economic contacts. Thus, scholars active in Mamluk Egypt of this period displayed an understanding of Latin-Christian history from Roman times up to the fifteenth century.

Neither Arabic-Islamic centres of documentation nor channels of transmission remained stable throughout the period under investigation. Scholarly activity required a minimum of social stability and a large amount of material and immaterial resources. Channels of transmission opened and closed in reaction to geopolitical and social changes, changes that favoured the establishment of relations, provided the necessary requirements for peaceful cohabitation and interaction, or, vice versa, destroyed existing networks of exchange on a regional or local level. Expansionism provided conquerors and conquered with new data on the respective 'Other' and created direct links that, under favourable circumstances, became channels of transmission. But it could also perturb or even destroy pre-existing local intellectual infrastructures, e.g. by reducing available resources or by provoking the flight of intellectual elites.

Depending on the period, the quantity and quality of records differed considerably from region to region. In the first three centuries of the *hijra*, the Middle East produced more records for the sole reason that it had at its disposal better infrastructure and more intellectual resources than the Muslim West. In the ensuing period predating the crusades, al-Andalus took the lead because of its closer connections with Latin-Christian societies. From the twelfth century onwards, al-Andalus as well as the Middle East both produced records on Latin Christians in their immediate environment. North Africa, so far rather silent, became a centre of documentation of increasing importance thanks to North African engagement in al-Andalus and the indirect impact of the Reconquista on North Africa. In the late Middle Ages, Mamluk Egypt represented a stronghold of stability and intellectual activity in an Islamic world assaulted from many sides. It was able to retain this position until the Ottomans took over great parts of the Arabic-Islamic world in the sixteenth century, establishing a new centre of transmission and reception in Constantinople/Istanbul.

9.5. ESSAY IN COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

In the many discussions that contributed to the present study, various interlocutors aired the assumption that the Arabic-Islamic world knew more about India than about Latin-Christian Europe.

To bolster this hypothesis, one could highlight that medieval Arabic-Islamic scholarship produced an extremely dense, informative, and balanced monograph on contemporary India, but never a comparable monograph on the 'Frankish' sphere.⁴⁴ Al-Bīrūnī's (d. c.442/1050) extraordinary description of India was completed in 421/1030 in the orbit of a Ghaznavid court intent on tightening and extending its control over the northern parts of the subcontinent.⁴⁵ It features an elaborate examination of Sanskrit sources, some of which al-Bīrūnī had translated himself, supplemented by conversations with Hindu pundits whom al-Bīrūnī had met personally. The work consists of eighty substantial chapters and testifies to the author's effort to provide a truly scholarly, that is, impartial view on the religious life, philosophy, literature, metrology, geography, cosmography, astronomy, manners, customs, and festivals of contemporary India.⁴⁶ The present study has shown that Arabic-Islamic scholars produced a large number of records on the Latin-Christian sphere. However, there exists no single Arabic-Islamic text on Latin-Christian Europe that can rival al-Bīrūnī's comprehensive description of India.

Al-Bīrūnī's scholarly output contains practically no information on the western dimension of the Roman Empire, the Visigoths, the Franks, or the pope. But why should an eleventh-century Arabic-Islamic scholar from Central Asia have been interested in phenomena of the 'Far West'?⁴⁷ Does not the fact that India features in western Muslim scholarship of the same period corroborate that India effectively played a more important role in Arabic-Islamic consciousness than medieval Western Europe? In his history of scientific achievements, the Andalusian scholar Ṣā'id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) mentions the Indians (*al-Hind*) as the first among the scientifically productive peoples, but ignores the peoples of medieval Western Europe.⁴⁸ An entire chapter on India in the work of the Andalusian scholar al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) clearly suggests that India, the 'realm of wisdom' (*mamlakat al-ḥikma*) in al-Bakrī's words,⁴⁹ enjoyed a much higher reputation among Arabic-Islamic scholars than Latin-Christian Europe did.

India certainly occupied a different position in the information landscape that shaped the formation and evolution of medieval Arabic-Islamic scholarship. As a cultural orbit with its own literary, scientific, and philosophical tradition, India was much older than the 'start-up culture' of early medieval Western Europe that

⁴⁴ See Chapter 1.2.2. on the role played by Rashid al-Dīn's history of the Franks in the discussion of this issue.

⁴⁵ Bosworth, 'Bīrūnī' (1990), pp. 274–6.

⁴⁶ al-Bīrūnī, *taḥqīq*, ed./trans. Sachau, p. 5 (AR), p. 7 (EN).

⁴⁷ al-Bīrūnī, *al-āthār*, ed./trans. Sachau.

⁴⁸ Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Shaykhū, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁹ al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 355, p. 241.

could not be praised for its ancient traditions and wisdom.⁵⁰ As opposed to medieval Western Europe, India was also much nearer to the Arabic-Islamic sphere of origin—in time and in space. References to Indian swords can already be found in pre-Islamic poetry of the sixth century,⁵¹ references to Roman or post-Roman Europe cannot.⁵² Before the expanding Muslims ventured into the western Mediterranean in the seventh century, Byzantium seems to have obstructed the Arabs' gaze to the west⁵³ to a greater extent than Sassanid Persia and the Indian Ocean blocked their gaze to the east.⁵⁴ Thus, India was already part of the Arabic-Islamic horizon when Muslim troops set out to establish themselves in the West, carrying their Middle Eastern world-view to the Atlantic and the Cantabrian Sea. This world-view was cherished and continuously bolstered by new arrivals and imports from the east. In the early phase of Muslim establishment in the West, Andalusians went to the Middle East in search of knowledge, not vice versa. The flow of information went from east to west, not from west to east.⁵⁵ This may explain why, in the eleventh century, the Andalusian scholars Ṣā'id al-Andalusī and al-Bakrī dealt with India in their works.

Although returning conquerors and Andalusian travellers to the Middle East brought along some knowledge about the Latin West,⁵⁶ it took Middle Eastern scholars some time to acquire substantial information about the Muslim West and its neighbours. As we have seen, works of the tenth century written by scholars such as Ibn Rustah, al-Mas'ūdī, and Ibn Ḥawqal, feature a noticeable increase of information in terms of quantity and quality.⁵⁷ From the twelfth century onwards, the period of the crusader onslaught and Western economic expansion, Middle Eastern scholars active in Syria and Egypt, such as Ibn al-Athīr and al-Qalqashandī, engaged intellectually with the Latin West again to find out more about the many different kinds of 'Franks' infesting the eastern Mediterranean—among other things by turning to the documentation of the Muslim West.⁵⁸ Such information was not available to the eleventh-century Central Asian scholar al-Bīrūnī who, writing before the age of Latin-Christian expansionism in a region unaffected by Western European affairs, knew almost nothing about the Muslim West and its Christian neighbours.

The documentary disequilibrium between east and west sketched out in the preceding paragraphs is not a consistent feature of medieval Arabic-Islamic scholarship. We have at our disposal several writings in which the world from Western Europe to the Indian subcontinent appears as a (comparatively) balanced whole. This is not

⁵⁰ It is only in the late Middle Ages, in the works of Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 1, p. 633, that Arabic-Islamic scholarship acknowledges significant intellectual (in this case 'philosophical') activity in the Latin West. See Chapter 3.3.2. for Ibn Khaldūn's comment.

⁵¹ Cf. Abel, *Sammlung* (1891), p. 160 (Index entry *muhannad*). ⁵² See Chapter 2.1.2.

⁵³ Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shahāda, vol. 6, p. 140: 'al-'Arab yawma'idhin lam yakūnū ya'rīfūn al-Faraj, wa-mā qatalū fi l-Shām illā l-Rūm, fa-zannū annahum hum al-ghālibūn 'alā umam al-naṣrāniyya fa-inna Hiraql huwa malik al-naṣrāniyya kullihā fa-ghallabū ism al-Rūm 'alā jamī' umam al-naṣrāniyya'; Ibn-Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères*, trans. de Slane, vol. 1, p. 208. See Chapters 2.1.2., 5.1.1., 6.1.

⁵⁴ Cf. Crone, *Trade* (2004), pp. 41–2, 46–9. ⁵⁵ See Chapters 2.2.1. and 3.1.

⁵⁶ See Chapters 5.1. and 6.1. ⁵⁷ See Chapters 5.2.1., 6.2., 7.2.1., 8.2.3., and 8.3.1.

⁵⁸ See Chapters 5.3.1., 6.4.2. to 6.5.2., 7.3., and 8.

only valid for the works of western Muslim scholars such as the above-mentioned al-Bakrī who had access to western and eastern sources of information. While variegated data on the Indian subcontinent travelled to the west for the above-mentioned reasons, information on the Latin-Christian sphere acquired in the various contact zones, and then in direct contact with Latin Christians in the eastern Mediterranean, increasingly found its way into Middle Eastern works of Arabic-Islamic scholarship.⁵⁹ Middle Eastern historiographers of the ninth and the early tenth centuries still dedicated a significantly larger portion of their works to eastern rather than to western affairs.⁶⁰ Al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), however, whose descriptions of the Roman Empire, the Galician, Frankish, and Langobard spheres have been subject to scrutiny in this study, equitably dealt with both Western Europe and the Indian subcontinent.⁶¹ As we have seen, Ibn al-Athīr's (d. 630/1233) *al-kāmil fī l-tārikh*, i.e. *The Complete History*, features manifold data about the western dimension of the Roman Empire, the best account of Visigothic history in pre-modern Arabic-Islamic historiography, masses of data on the Franks including a theory on their rise to power, several references to the papacy, and minute descriptions of the Latin-Christian takeover in Sicily, the Iberian Peninsula, and the crusader Middle East. At the same time, his work contains ample information—in the form of annalistic entries, not necessarily on the religious culture and traditions of the Hindus, but on the history of Hindu-Muslim encounters.⁶²

Stretching from the Iberian Peninsula in the west to northwestern India in the east and thus lying in and between Western Europe and India, the medieval Arabic-Islamic world of scholarship inevitably produced records on both spheres. While this remains true, the functioning of this trans-regional information landscape defies simple explanations. By juxtaposing a Central Asian scholar's lack of information on Western Europe and a contemporary Andalusian scholar's knowledge on India, we have shown that the geographical position of an author at the eastern or the western extremity of the Arabic-Islamic sphere cannot solely be held responsible for what this author knew about India or the Latin West respectively. Medieval Arabic-Islamic scholarship also built on different foundations and followed a different 'rhythm' with regards to the production of records on each sphere. India—the older and more established cultural orbit—was present from an early period onwards. It was also nearer to the early centres of Islamic culture in the Middle East that laid the foundations of Arabic-Islamic scholarship in the east and the west, to the effect that Arabic-Islamic scholars in al-Andalus treated information on India as part of their cultural heritage. The emerging orbit of medieval Western Europe, in turn, slowly settling down after a period of struggling with post-Roman transformations, was far removed from the Middle Eastern Islamic heartlands and had no influence on the formation of Arabic-Islamic scholarship. It only became relevant after the Muslim expansion to the west, increasing its impact as a result of intensifying relations and, in particular, of high and late medieval

⁵⁹ See Chapters 3.2.2., 4.2.2., 5.2.3., 6.2.1., and 7.2.2.

⁶⁰ Cf. the works written by al-Balādhurī, al-Ya'qūbī, and al-Ṭabarī.

⁶¹ His passages on India are conveniently compiled in Al-Mas'ūdī, *Religion*, trans. Hasan.

⁶² Conveniently compiled, although badly translated, in Ibn al-Athīr, *Religion*, trans. Hasan.

Latin-Christian expansionism. Notwithstanding, it would be too simple to claim that, in terms of quantity and quality, Arabic-Islamic records on India and medieval Western Europe became on a par in this later period. Once again, we have to consider that Arabic-Islamic scholarly production featured important regional variants, which have been sketched out in the preceding subchapter with regard to its documentation of the Latin West. Concerning India, late medieval Andalusian scholarship with its focus on the Iberian Peninsula was certainly not able to measure up with its Mamluk counterpart. Issues of genre and individual scholarly predilections should not be neglected either. Although the late medieval Muslim West displayed a tendency to produce works of a regional scope, it also brought forth the universal history of Ibn Khaldūn as well as two important works of geography by Ibn Saʿīd and al-Ḥimyarī that consider both western and eastern locations.

India and medieval Western Europe play a different role in Arabic-Islamic records, not because 'the Islamic world' held a radically different attitude towards one of these cultural orbits. The Arabic-Islamic sphere may have been inspired by Indian philosophy, astronomy and, last not least, mathematics, thus introducing an entirely new and revolutionary numerical system to the Euromediterranean.⁶³ Arabic-Islamic scholars may have received access to a greater number of works translated from Sanskrit, Persian, and Greek to Arabic than from Latin, they may have written one monograph on India and none on the Franks. These observations, however, do not validate simplistic generalizations that aim to reduce a multiplicity of complex and evolving networks of transmission and reception to a hierarchy of civilizations allegedly characteristic of a 'Muslim' world-view. In view of the many factors that conditioned the flow of information and the production of records, it seems doubtful whether the effort to *measure* the quantity and quality of data at the disposal of an intellectual elite dispersed in an area ranging from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Asia and a time frame of eight centuries can really produce relevant results. Playing off India against Europe, it seems, beguiles the investigating scholar into judging the extant records rather than understanding when, where, how, and why they came into being.

A detailed comparison of the Arabic-Islamic documentation on India and on medieval Western Europe still awaits investigation. In view of the results obtained in the present study, we can assume that Arabic-Islamic records will have neither covered the entire Indian subcontinent nor all periods and aspects of the subcontinent's history and culture(s). The information landscape that provided the necessary connections between multifaceted India and the multifarious sphere of Arabic-Islamic scholarship will have been as complex, the resulting records as fragmentary, and biased, as those treated in the preceding pages. Regardless of the results of such a thorough comparative analysis, there can be no doubt that Western Europe played an increasingly important role in medieval Arabic-Islamic collective awareness and memory. This considered, it seems worthwhile to attempt another

⁶³ Cf. Sezgin, *Numerals* (2007).

form of comparison by opposing how medieval Latin-Christian Europe and the Arabic-Islamic sphere recorded each other mutually.

Historical records are always fragmentary, historians of every age forced to piece together shreds of biased source material. In the field of research on cross-cultural perceptions, a historian working on Latin sources is confronted with many problems also faced by the scholar dealing with Arabic-Islamic records: the so-called 'Germanic' world of Antiquity has to be reconstructed via Roman sources that provide brief and highly biased glimpses into what was happening beyond the empire's northern borders.⁶⁴ Non-Christian cults and practices in medieval Europe are mainly described in Latin-Christian sources that use well-established topoi to relegate emphatically such religious activities to the realm of superstition and demon-worship.⁶⁵ Before the ninth century, there existed almost no written records from Scandinavia apart from short Runic texts.⁶⁶ Longer documents were mainly produced by Latin-Christian authors who either both lived in adjacent regions and envisioned the region's Christianization,⁶⁷ or by their more distant colleagues who focused on the negative impact of Viking raids on their immediate environment.⁶⁸ In line with earlier Christian records on non-Christians, these Latin-Christian authors failed to record much data about pre-Christian religiosity, which they generally denigrated.⁶⁹

Against this backdrop, Arabic-Islamic records seem no less or no more fragmentary or biased than those produced by the Romans or their Latin-Christian contemporaries. Like their Roman and Latin-Christian colleagues, Arabic-Islamic scholars, describing societies beyond their own cultural orbit, wrote from a position of mental and geographic distance about an area that differed in terms of language, religion, as well as social and political organization. Consequently, the fragmentary state and bias of the extant records is not remarkable as such. However, Roman and Latin-Christian records on other (non-Muslim) societies are used neither to describe the overall character of the recording civilization as arrogant or condescending, nor to interpret perceived geopolitical disequilibria of our own times.⁷⁰ This obviously has to do with the fact that the ideological demarcations between 'Romans' and 'barbarians', as well as between 'Christians' and 'pagans' are only of historical relevance, whereas those between 'Islam' and 'the West' have not yet ceased to exist.

In the period under investigation, there is no reason to believe that Western Europeans exhibited an interest in other cultures that can be classified as extraor-

⁶⁴ Pohl, *Germanen* (2004), pp. 1–6, 51–8.

⁶⁵ Harmening, *Superstitio* (1979); Padberg, *Christianisierung* (1998), pp. 188–90.

⁶⁶ Wood, 'Accounts' (2007), pp. 60–5.

⁶⁷ Scior, *Eigene* (2002), pp. 96–8, 103–35, 200–4, 285–7; Fraesdorf, *Norden* (2005); Foerster, *Vergleich* (2009), pp. 32–42.

⁶⁸ Coupland, 'Rod' (1991), pp. 535–54; Dumville, 'Images' (2002), pp. 250–63; Foerster, *Vergleich* (2009), pp. 24–32.

⁶⁹ Staats, 'Geist' (1991), pp. 7–31; Søndergaard, 'Edge' (2001), pp. 51–71; Fraesdorf, 'Power' (2002), pp. 309–22; Wood, 'Frontier' (2008), pp. 230–48; Foerster, *Vergleich* (2009), pp. 57–72.

⁷⁰ See Chapter 1.3.2.

dinary or peculiar to what one historian called the 'European mind'.⁷¹ Medieval Latin-Christian records on the Arabic-Islamic sphere are as fragmentary and as prone to ideological othering, if not more so, as Arabic-Islamic records on the Latin-Christian sphere. The monumental works on medieval Western European perceptions of Islam written by Norman Daniel, Richard Southern, Philippe Sénac, Benjamin Kedar, and John Tolan prove sufficiently that the negative portrayal of Muslims and their religion occupies a preponderant place in medieval Latin-Christian sources.⁷² However, until very recently, scholarly preoccupation with the Latin-Christian portrayal of Islam as the religious Other has obliterated that Latin-Christian texts also feature a large quantity of material on trouble-free Christian-Muslim interaction and correlated images.⁷³ This focus on highly ideological records has also pushed into the background that Latin-Christian scholars took a long time not only to investigate Islam systematically,⁷⁴ but also to record data on the history and functioning of Arabic-Islamic societies that did not focus on Islam, its founding figure Muḥammad, or instances of direct interaction.

Before the twelfth century, only very few Latin-Christian works dedicate substantial passages to the internal affairs of the Arabic-Islamic sphere. Two rather exceptional Hispano-Latin chronicles written around the middle of the eighth century feature some data on Muḥammad, the Umayyad rulers of the nascent Islamic Empire, even the Abbasid revolution and, of course, the Muslim invasion and early governors of al-Andalus.⁷⁵ In the ninth century, Anastasius Bibliothecarius (d. 879) provided his readers with a Latin version of Theophanes' (d. 818) chronicle and thus made a Byzantine perspective on Muḥammad, the early caliphs, the Umayyads, and the Abbasids accessible to readers in the Latin West.⁷⁶ This data was then used by the southern Italian historiographer Landolfus Sagax in his tenth- or eleventh-century *Historia Romana*.⁷⁷ Other Latin-Christian works written between the eighth and the early twelfth century in all parts of Western Europe

⁷¹ Roberts, *History* (2007), p. 536 (quote); Lewis, *Discovery* (1982/2001), p. 9.

⁷² Daniel, *Islam* (2009); Southern, *Views* (1962); Sénac, *L'Occident* (2000); Kedar, *Crusade* (1988); Tolan, *Saracens* (2002); Tolan, *Sons* (2008). Cf. the entries on Latin-Christian authors in Thomas and Mallett (eds), *Relations*, vol. 4 (2012).

⁷³ König, 'Perceptions' (2012), pp. 26–8. Cf. Skottki, 'Perceptions' (2011), pp. 107–34. That early medieval perceptions of 'Saracens' were more differentiated has already been highlighted by Goetz, 'Sarazenen' (2009), pp. 64–6.

⁷⁴ A point underscored by d'Alverny, 'Connaissance' (1965), pp. 577–602; König, 'Perceptions' (2012), pp. 26–8.

⁷⁵ *Continuatio Byzantia-Arabica*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), pp. 334–69 = *Chronica Byzantia-Arabica*, ed. Gil, pp. 7–14; *Continuatio Hispana*, ed. Mommsen (MGH AA 11), pp. 334–69 = *Chronica Muzarabica*, ed. Gil, pp. 15–54; Wolf, 'Views' (1986), pp. 281–93; Wolf, 'Lives' (1990), pp. 89–101.

⁷⁶ Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Historica Ecclesiastica*, ed. Bekker, a. 622, p. 164 (death of Muḥammad); a. 651, p. 173 (Battle of Şiffin); a. 739, pp. 226–7 (Abbasid revolution); p. 281 (Christian refugees from Syria and Palestine to Cyprus). On Theophanes' original sources, see Brandes, 'Islam' (2009), pp. 313–44.

⁷⁷ Landolfus Sagax, *Historia Romana*, ed. Crivelucci, vol. 2, lib. 20, cap. 58, pp. 132–3 (death of Muḥammad); lib. 20, cap. 68, pp. 138–9 (accession to power of Mu'āwīya); lib. 21, cap. 7, p. 144 (Battle of Şiffin); lib. 24, cap. 25, pp. 218–19 (Abbasid revolution); lib. 26, cap. 40, p. 287 (Christian refugees from Syria and Palestine to Cyprus); cf. Klueting, 'Machometus' (2008), p. 294.

contain data about confrontations and interaction with the 'Saracens', but largely fail to provide information on the Arabic-Islamic sphere itself.⁷⁸

Only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, did authors such as Peter the Venerable (d. 1156),⁷⁹ William of Tyre (d. 1186),⁸⁰ Jacques de Vitry (d. c. 1240),⁸¹ and William of Tripolis (d. after 1273)⁸² begin dedicating substantial passages and even entire chapters to Arabic-Islamic history. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (d. 1270), archbishop of Toledo, then produced his *Historia Arabum*, a Latin-Christian work of historiography largely based on Arabic sources and 'the only extant text from the Latin Middle Ages that treats the history of a Muslim society in monographic form'.⁸³ In the fourteenth century, this work was flanked by several Portuguese and Castilian translations or paraphrases of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzi's *akhbār mulūk al-Andalus*.⁸⁴ In Western Europe, these works stand at the beginning of the systematic occupation with, not only Islam, but with the history of the Arabic-Islamic sphere.⁸⁵ It is conspicuous that these beginnings fall into the period of Latin-Christian expansionism and that their authors were all, in one way or another, part of the machinery of military and missionary expansion.

It almost seems as if the Arabic-Islamic and the Latin-Christian spheres switched roles in the course of the period under investigation. Part of an imperializing Arabic-Islamic culture, Muslim scholars of the ninth to the eleventh centuries produced works of geography and ethnography of outstanding quality, but from the eleventh or the twelfth century onwards, were relegated to the position of chroniclers of Latin-Christian expansionism. Vice versa, Latin-Christian scholars of the eighth to the tenth centuries wrote as victims and chroniclers of Arabic-Islamic expansionism. After the first victories in the eleventh century, they produced the occasional triumphant text on defeated Saracens.⁸⁶ Now that they had become part of a more

⁷⁸ Apart from the works on Western European perceptions of Islam cited above, see Becket, *Perceptions* (2003); Mohr, *Wissen* (2005), pp. 68–75, 251–60, 294–8; Goetz, 'Sarazenen' (2009), pp. 39–66; Bade, 'Vorstellungen' (2012), pp. 89–120. Engreen, 'Pope' (1945), pp. 318–30; and Gantner, 'Visions' (2012), pp. 403–26, deal with the papal perspective. Both *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. Westerberg; and Schwarz, *Amalfi* (1978), provide insight into perceptions relevant to southern Italy.

⁷⁹ Petrus Venerabilis, *Summa*, ed./trans. Glei, § 11, pp. 14–15; Petrus Venerabilis, *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, ed./trans. Glei, prologus, § 11, pp. 46–7.

⁸⁰ Willelmus Tyrensis, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens (CCCM 63), vol. 1, cap. 1–9, pp. 105–22; cf. Schwinges, 'Wahrnehmung' (1998), pp. 101–28.

⁸¹ Iacobus de Vitriaco, *Historia orientalis*, trans. Grosse, §§ 3–14, pp. 79–113, on Muḥammad, his successors, and the Egyptian and the western caliphates.

⁸² Guilelmus Tripolitanus, *Notitia de Machometo*, ed./trans. Engels, cap. 3–4, pp. 203–11, on Muḥammad and the Arabic-Islamic expansion; Guilelmus Tripolitanus, *De statu Saracenorum*, ed./trans. Engels, cap. 1–22, pp. 270–330, on Muḥammad, the Arabic-Islamic expansion, and the spread of Islam, with a brief overview of events in the thirteenth century, ending with the year 1273.

⁸³ Maser, 'Rodrigo' (2012), p. 353; cf. Maser, *Historia* (2006); Schwinges, 'Wahrnehmung' (1998), pp. 101–28.

⁸⁴ On the translations of this work see the overview in Lévi-Provençal, 'Description', (1953), p. 52. For the editions of these translations see *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, ed. Cintra, vol. 2, pp. 39–75; *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and de Andrés.

⁸⁵ A topic treated up to the early twentieth century by Fück, *Studien* (1955) and Klein-Franke, *Antike* (1980). Also see Toomer, *Wisedome* (1996), pp. 14–52, 313–15, on Arabic studies in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries.

⁸⁶ Examples are provided by the *Liber Maiolichinus*, ed. Calisse, as well as the *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, edited and commented by Cowdrey, 'Mahdia Campaign' (1977), pp. 1–29.

self-secure and imperializing culture with sufficient resources, they began occupying themselves systematically with the 'Saracen' Other in terms of religion, history, and society.

If the link between imperializing culture, expansionism, and the systematic production of records is as close as suggested, it would explain why, in the early modern era, Western Europe systematically pursued the study of Islam, the Arabic-Islamic heritage, as well as the history of North Africa and the Middle East whereas—this is the classical picture—Arab intellectuals only began producing records on Western Europe again in noticeable quantity and quality when the jump to 'modernity' and the will to free the Arab world from the 'imperialist yoke' made intellectuals look to Europe for inspiration in the nineteenth century as part of the so-called *nahḍa*-movement.⁸⁷ However, Nabil Matar's recent study of Maghrebian writings on Western Europe in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries,⁸⁸ Jocelyne Dakhli's analysis of the large-scale diffusion of the early modern *lingua franca* among Muslim populations in the Mediterranean,⁸⁹ Bernard Heyberger's and Carsten Walbinder's volume on 'Lebanese' perceptions of Europeans,⁹⁰ as well as Wolfgang Kaiser's and Claudia Moatti's collection of studies on various forms of mobility in the Mediterranean,⁹¹ etc. should warn us not to over-simplify matters and to assume that Arabic-Islamic populations of the period post-1500 and pre-1800 were completely ignorant of inner-European affairs.

In sum, a comparative approach certainly suggests that the production of records on the other cultural sphere was as closely linked to questions of resources, infrastructure, and the geopolitical balance of power as to religious ideology, the latter constituting only one among several factors in an issue of much greater complexity.

9.6. UNITY AND DIVERSITY OF THE LATIN-CHRISTIAN SPHERE

Medieval Arabic-Islamic scholarship never coined an Arabic term for 'Latin Christendom' and refrained from depicting the Latin-Christian sphere as a clear-cut and self-contained cultural entity.⁹² The geographic concept of 'Europe' (*Ūrūṣā*), used by a few scholars of the ninth and tenth centuries influenced by the Graeco-Syriac heritage,⁹³ never gained a foothold in medieval Arabic-Islamic scholarship.

⁸⁷ Tomiche, 'nahḍa' (1993), pp. 900–3. ⁸⁸ Matar, *Europe* (2009).

⁸⁹ Dakhli, *Lingua* (2008), p. 17; Dakhli, 'Histoire' (2010), pp. 21–7.

⁹⁰ Heyberger and Walbinder (eds), *Européens* (2002).

⁹¹ Kaiser, 'Kaufleute' (1997), pp. 11–31; Moatti (ed.), *Mobilité* (2005); Kaiser and Moatti (eds), *Gens* (2007); Kaiser, Moatti and Pébarthe (eds), *Monde* (2009).

⁹² König, 'Historiographers' (2012), pp. 427–46.

⁹³ Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 155. The text is reproduced by Ibn al-Faqīh, *mukhtaṣar*, ed. de Goeje, p. 6; al-Hamdānī, *ṣifāt jazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, vol. 1, p. 32, trans. in Miquel, *Géographie* (2001), vol. 2,1, pp. 34–5. Ibn Khurdādhbah, *al-masālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 3, refers to Ptolemy, as does al-Hamdānī, *ṣifāt jazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, vol. 1, who also uses the alternative term 'Cello-Galatia' (*Qālṭughalāṭīyya*) in the passage cited above.

The division of the world into four quadrants also failed to become widely accepted.⁹⁴ Most Arabic-Islamic geographers preferred to follow the Ptolemaic division of the world into seven climate zones, situating Western European toponyms in the fourth to the seventh climate zones together with places farther east that were regarded as displaying the same climatic characteristics.⁹⁵

Neither did Arabic-Islamic scholars believe that Western European peoples constituted a single ethnic group.⁹⁶ Genealogical theories, which linked various peoples north of the Mediterranean to a common ancestor⁹⁷ or defined them as the progeny of the third of, all in all, seven primeval peoples,⁹⁸ did not represent scholarly consensus⁹⁹ and rarely play a major role in actual descriptions of these peoples, their territories, customs, and activities. Although Arabic-Islamic scholars, especially of Middle Eastern origin, used the term 'Franks' for several Western European peoples, this term lacked a precise definition that was accepted unanimously. Western Muslim scholars tended to exclude the Christian peoples of the Iberian Peninsula, with the exception of the Catalans or Aragonese. Middle Eastern scholars, in turn, tended to impose the ethnonym 'Franks' on many if not all Western European peoples, but also acknowledged that these 'Franks' were made up of several peoples, each meriting an individual ethnonym. In later works of universal history, the term applies equally to the Franks of early medieval Europe as well as to the Western European proponents of Latin-Christian expansionism. Even among Middle Eastern scholars, there was no unanimous consensus on the question which western peoples were 'Frankish' and which not.

Arabic-Islamic scholars also refrained from defining Western European peoples as members of a distinct religious community. Peoples such as the Galicians and Franks, rulers such as Clovis, and institutions such as the papacy were repeatedly classified as 'Melkite'.¹⁰⁰ In this regard, Western Europeans did not differ from the Byzantines (*al-Rūm*), who were also regarded as Melkites by most Arabic-Islamic scholars,¹⁰¹ as opposed to Nestorians, Jacobites, Maronites, and other Christian groups of the Middle East. When the Mamluk scholar al-Qalqashandī deals with the correspondence between the Mamluk court and non-Muslim rulers, he does not clearly distinguish between 'Frankish' and 'non-Frankish' Christians, but

⁹⁴ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 23; Šā'id al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Bū 'Alwān, p. 38.

⁹⁵ König, 'Historiographers' (2012), pp. 431–2. ⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 432–4.

⁹⁷ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, ed./trans. Pellat, § 910, p. 145 (AR), p. 343 (FR).

⁹⁸ al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 77, 83; Šā'id al-Andalusī, *ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Bū 'Alwān, p. 38.

⁹⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāhāda, vol. 2, pp. 3–14, to give only one example, was not quite sure which of the Western European peoples stemmed from Yafeth or another of Noah's sons.

¹⁰⁰ al-Mas'ūdī, *murūj*, § 917–19, ed./trans. Pellat, p. 150 (AR), p. 346 (FR); al-Mas'ūdī, *al-tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 147; al-Bakrī, *al-masālik*, ed. van Leeuwen and Ferré, § 567–8, pp. 340–1; al-'Umārī, *masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Schiaparelli, pp. 306–7; Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāhāda, vol. 1, p. 292; al-Qalqashandī, *subh al-a'shā*, ed. Ibrāhīm, vol. 5, p. 472; vol. 6, pp. 93–4; vol. 8, p. 42.

¹⁰¹ al-Qalqashandī, *ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 93–4, groups the Franks (*al-Ifiranjā*), the pope (*al-bāb*), and the Byzantines (*al-Rūm*) together in his presentation of Melkite Christianity, which is largely based on al-Shahrastānī.

between non-Muslim rulers in the west including the 'Frankish' rulers of al-Andalus and France on the one hand, non-Muslim rulers in the north including the pope, the Italian maritime cities, and the Byzantines on the other hand.¹⁰² Only in the late Middle Ages, in a passage on the council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–44) written by al-Maqrīzī, does an Arabic-Islamic scholar acknowledge a confessional discrepancy between 'east' and 'west' by pointing to the fact that the Byzantines and the papacy differed in matters of faith.¹⁰³

It seems absurd to consider that Arabic-Islamic scholars believed that Latin Christendom constituted a political entity. From the early Middle Ages onwards, Arabic-Islamic scholars acknowledged the existence not only of various peoples, but also of a multiplicity of rulers in this part of the world. High and late medieval scholars addressing the role of the pope vis-à-vis the rulers and peoples of Christendom, the position and role of the emperor, the communal system of the maritime republics of Italy, or the titles and offices held by various Western European authorities, clearly understood that the Latin-Christian sphere featured different political entities and systems of rule.

Notwithstanding, Arabic-Islamic scholars also highlighted regularly that strong links connected the peoples of Western Europe with each other. Once again, al-Maʿūdī led the way, asserting that Rome had and still constituted the capital of a greater Frankish realm encompassing the entire northern hemisphere, and that various northern peoples regularly cooperated against the Muslims in al-Andalus and on the Apennine Peninsula.¹⁰⁴ In spite of the terminological incongruities of the term 'Franks', this ethnonym was often used as a generic term

¹⁰² In a chapter dedicated to the writings sent by the Mamlūk court to foreign rulers, al-Qalqashandī, *ibid.*, vol. 8, divides the infidel rulers (*mulūk al-kuffār*) into the following categories:

1) non-Muslim rulers in the West in al-Andalus and what lies behind it in the north of al-Andalus and on the Great Continent (*mulūk al-kuffār bi-bilād al-Maghrib min jazirat al-Andalus wa-mā walāhā mim mā huwa shamāl al-Andalus min al-arḍ al-kabīra*). These are, pp. 23–4: a) the master of Toledo (*ṣāhib Ṭulayṭula*), b) the master of Lisbon (*ṣāhib Ashbūna*), c) the master of Barcelona etc. (*ṣāhib Barshalūna*), d) the master of Navarre (*ṣāhib Bira*). The chapter repeatedly mentions the King of France;

2) non-Muslim rulers in the East. These are, pp. 27, 29: a) kingdom of the Georgians (*mamlakat al-Kurj*), b) kingdom of the Armenians (*mamlakat al-Arman*);

3) non-Muslim rulers in the South. These are, pp. 39, 41: a) the Abyssinian-Amhari ruler (*ṣāhib Amharā*), b) the master of Nubia (*ṣāhib Dugula... mamlakat al-Nūba*);

4) non-Muslim rulers in the North, that is the Byzantines and the Franks ordered according to the different peoples (*mulūk al-kuffār bi-l-jānīb al-shamālī min al-Rūm wa-l-Faranja ʿalā ikhtilāf ajnāsihim*). These are, pp. 42, 46–51: a) the pope (*al-bāb*), b) the Byzantine ruler (*malik al-Rūm wa-huwa ṣāhib al-Qusṭantiniyya*), c) the rulers of Genoa (*hukkām Janwa*), d) the master of Venice (*ṣāhib al-Bunduqiyya*), e) '*ṣāhib Sanūb*' (?) near the Byzantines and the Turkomans. f) the master of the Bulgars (*ṣāhib al-Bulghār*), g) the ruler of Rhodes (*malik Rūdus*), h) the master of the island of 'al-Maṣṭakā' near Alexandria, i) the ruler of Cyprus (*mutamallik Qubrus*), j) the ruler of Montferrat (*malik Mūnḡurād*), k) the female ruler of Naples (*ṣāhibat Nābul*).

The subchapter dedicated to letters received by non-Muslim foreign rulers (*ibid.*, pp. 119, 121, 123) divides them into the following categories: 1) rulers of Georgia (*mulūk al-Kurj*), 2) rulers of Abyssinia (*mulūk al-Ḥabasha*), 3) Byzantine rulers (*mulūk al-Rūm*), 4) Frankish rulers in al-Andalus and northern regions (*min jihat mulūk al-lfranj bi-l-Andalus wa-l-jihāt al-shamālīyya wa-mā walā dhālikā*).

¹⁰³ al-Maqrīzī, *al-sulūk*, ed. ʿAṭā, vol. 7, AH 843, p. 446.

¹⁰⁴ See Chapters 4.2.1. and 6.4.1.

for various Western European groups and peoples. Hostility and joint activism directed against the Islamic world certainly fortified the notion that Western European peoples constituted some kind of entity. Ibn al-Athīr, who regarded the Norman conquest of Sicily, the Leonese-Castilian takeover of Toledo, and the crusades as different expressions of 'Frankish' expansionism, is probably the most explicit in this regard.¹⁰⁵ Definitions of the pope as the spiritual, the emperor as the political leader of the Franks show that some Arabic-Islamic scholars even recognized institutional links connecting the various groups and polities of Latin Christendom.¹⁰⁶

Arabic-Islamic depictions of Latin-Christian Europe meandered between descriptions of diversity on the one hand, the acknowledgement of unity on the other. The notion of diversity was expressed in terms of an inconsistent terminology, the acknowledgement of various different peoples, polities, and political systems, as well as, last but not least, the description of change. The notion of unity can be summarized in terms of a Frankish sphere of Melkite persuasion capable of joint action against the Islamic world and represented by the pope, several Frankish peoples and their rulers, including an emperor. In view of the complex history of late antique and medieval Europe, it is hardly surprising that Arabic-Islamic depictions of the Latin-Christian sphere oscillated between these two poles.

All in all, medieval Arabic-Islamic scholars undoubtedly had a notion that a 'Latin-Christian' sphere existed. In the period under investigation, they became aware of the western dimension of the Roman Empire, traced the rise of the Franks and the papacy, and recorded the emergence of high and late medieval powers such as Aragon, Castile, England, France, Genoa, Germany, Hungary, Portugal, and Venice. Perceptive, clear-sighted scholars such as al-Mas'ūdī understood very early that shared Roman roots and the willingness to cooperate against common enemies of different ethnic origin and religious affiliation bound Western European peoples together occasionally. His later peers were able to look back on an additional half-millennium of shared history and intensive interaction with an orbit that had surged forth into the Mediterranean sphere under the sign of the cross and in search of profit. Consequently, those gifted among al-Mas'ūdī's later colleagues were able to retrace the rise of the Latin-Christian, alias the 'Frankish', sphere from its Roman origins to the polities and societies of late medieval Europe. In this sense, a Latin-Christian sphere, arisen from the debris of the western Roman Empire of Late Antiquity, emerged in the writings of medieval Arabic-Islamic scholars. Their understanding of medieval Western European cultural unity, however, was as vague and imprecise as their 'Latin-Christian' contemporaries' sense of cohesion.¹⁰⁷ As a clear-cut entity, Latin-Christian Europe remains difficult to

¹⁰⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 10, AH 491, p. 185 (Leiden), p. 272 (Beirut); cf. Chevedden, 'Interpretation' (2006), pp. 96–8.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Wāṣil, *muṣfarrij*, ed. Rabi' and 'Ashūr, vol. 4, AH 626, pp. 250–1; Ibn al-Furāt, ed./trans. Lyons, vol. 1, AH 644, p. 11 (AR), vol. 2, p. 9 (EN); Ibn Khaldūn, *tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shāhāda, vol. 1, p. 292.

¹⁰⁷ See Haas, 'Kreuzzugschroniken', pp. 86–95; König, 'Historiographers' (2012), pp. 444–5.

grasp—not only in the writings of Arabic-Islamic scholars. Giving way to the Europe of differing written vernaculars and rival Christian denominations at the end of our period of investigation, it constitutes an ephemeral phenomenon, a mental construction—partly medieval, partly imposed on the medieval period by scholarship—that emphasizes cultural uniformity to the detriment of diversity.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Cf. König, 'Historiographers' (2012), pp. 427–30.

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Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West provides an insight into how the Arabic-Islamic sphere perceived medieval Western Europe in an age that is often associated with violent Christian-Muslim relations during the rise and expansion of Islam, the so-called Reconquista, and the Crusades. A long and dominant scholarly tradition claims that Muslims of this period held an arrogant and ignorant attitude towards its northern neighbours, merely regarding medieval Christian Europe as an uncivilized and hostile cultural backwater clinging to a superseded religion. The study nuances this view by focussing on the mechanisms of transmission and reception that characterized the flow of information from one sphere to the other. By explaining how Arabic-Islamic scholars acquired and processed data on medieval Western Europe, it traces the two-fold 'emergence' of Latin-Christian Europe—a sphere that increasingly encroached upon the Mediterranean and therefore became more and more prominent in Arabic-Islamic scholarly literature.

Chapter One questions previous interpretations of related Arabic-Islamic records that reduce a large and differentiated range of Arabic-Islamic perceptions to a single basic pattern subsumed under the keywords 'ignorance', 'indifference', and 'arrogance'. Chapter Two lists channels of transmission by means of which information on Latin-Christian Europe reached the Arabic-Islamic sphere. Chapter Three deals with the general factors that influenced the reception and presentation of this data at the hands of Arabic-Islamic scholars. Chapters Four to Eight analyse how these scholars acquired and dealt with information on themes such as the western dimension of the Roman Empire, the Visigoths, the Franks, the papacy and, finally, Western Europe in the age of Latin-Christian expansionism. Against this background, Chapter Nine provides a concluding re-evaluation.

Jacket illustration: In this simplified graphic representation of the study's main topic, numerous channels of transmission draw together at the temple of an Arabic-Islamic scholar modelled on a statue of the Andalusian polymath Ibn Rushd/Averroes in Córdoba (d. 595/1198). Thanks to the acquisition of miscellaneous data on medieval Western Europe, this representative of Arabic-Islamic scholarship is thus enabled to name and describe medieval European groups and areas in Arabic. © Shareef Fahim.

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